

SENATE RECORD VOTES

100th CONGRESS-2nd SESSION

From January 25, 1988

To October 21, 1988

(379 Rollcalls)

Prepared and Compiled by the
Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

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100th Congress, 2nd Session

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(379 Rollcall Votes)

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Vote No.	Date 1988	Voting Position
SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE		
1	1-25	 Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (73-5)
2	1-27	 Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (76-15)
CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY (S. 557, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-259, without approval)		
3	1-27	 Hollings motion to table Symms amendment (taking with it Nickles perfecting amendment): Repeals provision which prohibits FCC from granting waiver to rule forbidding ownership of both newspaper and television station in same community. (60-30)
4	1-27	 Hatch-Thurmond amendment: Prohibits application of Act to any part of religious entity that does not receive Federal financial assistance. (36-56)
5	1-27	 Thurmond amendment: Limits application of Act to only specific educational institution which receives Federal assistance within school system. (16-70)
6	1-27	 Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (75-15)
7	1-28	 Hatch amendment: Expands exemption to Title IX of Education Amendments of 1972 for educational institutions controlled by religious organization to also exempt any institution which is closely identified with tenets of religious organization. (39-56)
8	1-28	 <i>Weicker-Kennedy-Packwood-Metzenbaum amendment: States that no provision of Act shall be construed to force any individual or hospital receiving Federal funds to perform or pay for abortion. (55-40)</i>
9	1-28	 <i>Danforth amendment: Amends Title IX of Education Amendments of 1972 by adding that nothing in Title shall be construed to require or prohibit any person, or entity, to provide or pay for any benefit or service, including use of facilities, related to abortion or to permit penalty to be imposed on any person or individual because he/she is seeking or has received any benefit or service related to legal abortion. (56-39)</i>
10	1-28	 Hatch substitute amendment: Provides institution-wide coverage of civil rights law in education area only; excludes from institution-wide coverage other services provided to elderly, handicapped, and minorities; expands religious school exemptions to those schools identified with tenets of particular religious organization; and limits application of Act to only specific educational institution which receives Federal assistance within school system. (19-75)
11	1-28	 Humphrey amendment: Exempts "small providers" from having to make structural alterations for purpose of accessibility by handicapped, rather than exempting them from making "significant" structural alterations. (13-79)
12	1-28	 Passage. (75-14)
ILO CONVENTION NO. 144—INTERNATIONAL LABOR STANDARDS (Treaty Doc. 99-20)		
13	2-1	 Adoption of resolution of ratification. (81-2)
ILO CONVENTION NO. 147—MINIMUM STANDARDS IN MERCHANT SHIPS (Treaty Doc. 99-21)		
14	2-1	 Adoption of resolution of ratification. (84-0)
INSPECTOR GENERAL ACT AMENDMENTS (S. 908, P.L. 100-504)		
15	2-2	 Passage. (85-0)
NOMINATION OF ANTHONY M. KENNEDY TO BE ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF SUPREME COURT		
16	2-3	 Confirmation. (97-0)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
			CONTRA AID (S.J. Res. 243)
17	2-4	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to bill. (54-43)
18	2-4	.....	Passage. (51-48)
			CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (S. 2)
19	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (71-18)
20	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (57-17)
21	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (57-21)
22	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (47-1)
23	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to arrest absent Senators and bring them to Chamber. (45-3)
24	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (51-9)
			NOMINATION OF TOM C. KOROLOGOS TO U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY
25	2-23	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to executive session to consider nomination. (64-0)
			CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (S. 2)
26	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (55-36)
27	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (51-42)
28	2-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (51-41)
29	2-23	.....	Byrd motion to table Specter motion to reconsider Vote No. 23. (47-45)
30	2-26	.....	<i>Adams, et al., eighth cloture motion on committee substitute for bill. (53-41)</i>
			COMMITTEE FUNDING (S. Res. 381)
31	2-26	.....	Adoption. (84-8)
			AFGHANISTAN RESOLUTION (S. Res. 386)
32	2-29	.....	Adoption. (77-0)
			POLYGRAPH PROTECTION (H.R. 1212, P.L. 100-347)
33	3-1	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of bill. (74-19)
34	3-2	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (67-27)
35	3-2	.....	<i>Quayle modified amendment: Stipulates that nothing in Act precludes employer from administering scientifically valid test, other than lie detector test, to determine extent to which prospective employee may have used controlled substance. (96-0)</i>
36	3-2	.....	<i>Kennedy motion to table Thurmond amendment: Permits private employer to use lie detector test on prospective security personnel. (20-76)</i>
37	3-2	.....	Kennedy motion to table Boschwitz amendment: Permits employer to administer lie detector test to employee who requests testing. (56-38)
38	3-2	.....	Kennedy motion to table Gramm amendment: Permits use of lie detector tests on employees or prospective employees of any common carrier, including any air transport. (55-37)
39	3-2	.....	Kennedy motion to table Cochran substitute amendment: Permits States that currently allow use of polygraph tests to continue usage if they satisfy testing standards established by Secretary of Labor. (65-29)
40	3-2	.....	Kennedy motion to table Gramm amendment: Permits any employer to administer polygraph test to employee or prospective employee if test is administered in accordance with DOD procedures. (57-35)
41	3-2	.....	<i>Dodd motion to table Metzenbaum, et al., amendment: Expresses sense of Senate that proposed World Bank loan to Mexico for its steel industry is not in best interests of U.S. and World Bank should reject loan. (45-48)</i>
42	3-3	.....	<i>Byrd, et al., cloture motion on committee substitute for bill. (77-19)</i>
43	3-3	.....	Passage. (69-27)
			INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT (S. 1721)
44	3-4	.....	Cohen motion to table McClure amendment: Permits President to withhold from Congress details of covert operation if President determines that risk of disclosure would pose additional, direct threat to life of U.S. official or if informing Congress would jeopardize cooperation of other intelligence services critical for success of operation. (65-23)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
			NOMINATION OF WILLIAM F. BURNS TO BE DIRECTOR OF ACDA
45	3-4	.....	Confirmation. (83-0)
			OZONE DEPLETING SUBSTANCES PROTOCOL (Treaty Doc. 100-10)
46	3-14	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to executive session to consider Treaty. (82-1)
47	3-14	.....	Adoption of resolution of ratification. (83-0)
			IMMIGRATION PREFERENCES (S. 2104)
48	3-14	.....	Simpson motion to table Bumpers amendment: Strikes section that awards immigration preference status for up to 5,000 persons who agree to invest \$2 million which will create full-time employment for at least 10 citizens or permanent residents. (51-33)
			INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT (S. 1721)
49	3-15	.....	<i>Boren, et al., cloture motion on committee substitute for bill. (73-18)</i>
			IMMIGRATION PREFERENCES (S. 2104)
50	3-15	.....	Passage. (88-4)
			INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT (S. 1721)
51	3-15	.....	Cohen motion to table Chafee amendment: Changes from 48 hours to ten days deadline by which President must notify Congress that covert activity is under way. (60-32)
52	3-15	.....	Passage. (71-19)
			PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION (H.R. 1414, P.L. 100-408)
53	3-16	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (71-24)
54	3-16	.....	<i>Johnston-Metzenbaum modified amendment: Establishes \$100,000 civil penalty for violations of any DOE regulation by nuclear contractors and criminal penalty of \$25,000 and/or two years in prison for knowing and willful violations of any nuclear safety-related rule by any director, officer, or employee. (94-0)</i>
55	3-16	.....	Johnston motion to table Metzenbaum, et al., amendment, as amended by Bumpers perfecting amendment: Requires Attorney General to sue to recover contract award fee (profit) paid to DOE-indemnified nuclear contractor, if nuclear incident resulted from contractor's gross negligence or willful misconduct. (53-41)
56	3-16	.....	Breaux-Burdick-Stafford amendment: Provides up to \$7 billion in Federal indemnification in event of commercial nuclear power plant accident to be paid only after commercial utility has paid \$7 billion in damages. (21-72)
57	3-17	.....	<i>Breaux amendment (as substitute for McClure amendment): Extends Act for 20 years instead of 30 years. (50-34)</i>
58	3-17	.....	<i>McClure amendment (as amended by Breaux substitute amendment—Vote No. 57): Extends Act for 20 years instead of 10 years. (45-36)</i>
59	3-18	.....	Johnston motion to table Glenn amendment: Creates independent Defense Safety Review Board to oversee DOE health and safety practices and establishes Radiation Study Advisory Board to advise and assist DOE in researching health effects of ionizing radiation. (44-47)
60	3-18	.....	Glenn motion to table Johnston motion to reconsider Vote No. 59. (43-48)
61	3-18	.....	Johnston motion to reconsider Vote No. 59. (46-44)
62	3-18	.....	Reconsideration of Vote No. 59. (48-43)
63	3-18	.....	Johnston motion to table Glenn motion to reconsider Vote No. 62. (49-42)
			BERING SEA FISHING (S. Res. 396)
64	3-21	.....	Adoption. (78-0)
			JAPAN-U.S. AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR ENERGY USES (S.J. Res. 241, Rejected)
65	3-21	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of joint disapproval resolution. (41-40)
66	3-21	.....	Passage (rejected). (30-53)
			CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY (S. 557, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-259, without approval)
67	3-22	.....	Reconsideration of vetoed bill. (73-24)
			HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (S. 79)
68	3-23	.....	<i>Graham, et al., cloture motion on committee substitute for bill. (33-59)</i>

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
69	3-24	.....	<i>Graham, et al., second cloture motion on committee substitute for bill. (2-93)</i>
70	3-24	.....	Hollings motion to table Danforth-McConnell modified amendment (taking with it McConnell-Danforth amendment): Establishes broad, new standard of Federal tort liability that supercedes State law; alters existing standards for joint and several liability; and imposes new standard for punitive damages. (53-39)
71	3-24	.....	Mitchell motion to table Nickles amendment (taking with it Rudman perfecting amendment): Adds provisions of S. 1894, which require reductions in annual emissions of sulfur dioxide and oxides of nitrogen in order to control acid rain. (70-22)
72	3-24	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (58-33)
73	3-24	.....	<i>Murkowski perfecting amendment (to Nickles amendment): Requires GAO to prepare financial impact statement to accompany conference report on bill. (92-0)</i>
			PANAMANIAN DEMOCRACY (S. Con. Res. 108)
74	3-25	.....	Adoption. (92-0)
			HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (S. 79)
75	3-25	.....	Kennedy motion to table Helms amendment (taking with it Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment to require HHS to disseminate information to U.S. health, public safety, and emergency service workers concerning methods to reduce risk of AIDS infection): Requires Risk Assessment Board to designate as at risk those health and emergency care workers who risk occupational exposure to AIDS and to develop notification and medical monitoring or health counseling for these workers. (45-33)
76	3-28	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (68-15)
77	3-28	.....	<i>Graham, et al., third cloture motion on committee substitute for bill. (41-44)</i>
78	3-28	.....	Kennedy motion to table Metzenbaum amendment (taking with it Cranston, et al., second degree amendment): Requires HHS to disseminate information to U.S. health, public safety, and emergency service workers concerning methods to reduce risk of AIDS infection. (0-86)
79	3-29	.....	<i>Graham, et al., fourth cloture motion on committee substitute for bill. (42-52)</i>
			URANIUM ENRICHMENT (S. 2097)
80	3-30	.....	Johnston motion to table Evans-Bradley-Packwood perfecting amendment (to Johnston, et al., modified amendment): Deletes charges imposed for using foreign uranium and states sense of Congress calling for investigation of impact of uranium imports on national security and economic security interests. (47-45)
81	3-30	.....	Passage. (62-28)
			BANKING—GLASS-STEAGALL (S. 1886)
82	3-30	.....	Passage. (94-2)
			CONTRA AID (H.J. Res. 523, P.L. 100-276)
83	3-31	.....	Passage. (87-7)
			PANAMA—ECONOMIC SANCTIONS (S. Res. 403)
84	3-31	.....	Adoption. (92-1)
			FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (H. Con. Res. 268, Action Completed)
85	4-11	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of resolution. (83-0)
86	4-12	.....	<i>Symms, et al., perfecting amendment (to Chiles, et al., amendment): States sense of Congress that legislation should be enacted to exclude Social Security, Highway, and Aviation Trust Funds from budget and to balance budget in five years. (85-8)</i>
87	4-13	.....	<i>Stevens-McClure perfecting amendment (to Chiles, et al., amendment): States sense of Congress that Postal Service should be off budget. (85-8)</i>
88	4-13	.....	<i>Chiles motion to table Gramm modified perfecting amendment (to Chiles, et al., amendment): States sense of Congress that legislation should be enacted to take Military Retirement, Civil Service Retirement, and Unemployment Trust Funds off budget and to balance budget in five years. (45-49)</i>
89	4-13	.....	Chiles motion to table Gramm perfecting amendment (to Chiles, et al., amendment): States sense of Congress that legislation should be enacted to require that Federal deficit include current value of unfunded liabilities. (53-43)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
90	4-13	.....	Domenici motion to table Chiles substitute amendment (to Chiles, et al., amendment): States sense of Congress that legislation should be enacted to take Social Security off budget and to balance budget in five years. (70-26)
91	4-13	.....	<i>Specter, et al., amendment: Increases Administration of Justice Function 750 by \$100 million for increased prison construction and General Government Function 800 by \$25 million for increased funding for Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, offset by decreasing Allowances Function 920. (76-18)</i>
92	4-13	.....	<i>DeConcini, et al., amendment: Provides for reserve fund for antidrug initiative which shall not become effective until deficit-neutral legislation has been reported and President and bipartisan leadership in Congress agree that drug threat poses dire emergency. (93-0)</i>
93	4-14	.....	Chiles motion to table Weicker, et al., modified amendment: Increases funding level for Health Function 550 for such programs as childhood immunization, geriatric training, and community health centers, and makes same reductions in Science, Space, and Technology Function 250, assuming such cuts in super collider program. (57-38)
94	4-14	.....	Bentsen motion to table Armstrong, et al., amendment: Phases in indexing of basis used in computing capital gains tax by reducing estimated revenues and Community and Regional Development Function 450 funding. (66-29)
95	4-14	.....	Adoption. (69-26)
			BAHAMAS ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION (S.J. Res. 292, Rejected)
96	4-14	.....	Passage (rejected). (40-53)
			MEXICO ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION (S.J. Res. 268)
97	4-14	.....	Passage. (63-27)
			LOBBYING—"REVOLVING DOOR" (S. 237)
98	4-15	.....	<i>Rudman perfecting amendment (to Thurmond, et al., modified substitute amendment): Strikes partial exemption for attorneys. (83-0)</i>
99	4-15	.....	<i>Rudman perfecting amendment (to Thurmond, et al., modified substitute amendment): Prohibits Members of Congress from affiliating with professional corporations and receiving compensation for professional services. (81-0)</i>
100	4-15	.....	<i>Rudman perfecting amendment (to Thurmond, et al., modified substitute amendment): Prohibits Members of Congress from converting excess campaign funds to personal use upon leaving Congress. (83-0)</i>
			JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT (H.R. 442, P.L. 100-383)
101	4-20	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (73-22)
102	4-20	.....	Stevens motion to table Hecht amendment: Strikes provisions providing individual payments to U.S. citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who were interned during World War II and to compensate surviving Aleuts for losses during evacuation. (67-30)
103	4-20	.....	Matsunaga motion to table Helms amendment: Prohibits restitution payments under Act in any year having budget deficit. (61-35)
104	4-20	.....	Stevens motion to table Helms amendment: Prohibits restitution payments to Japanese-Americans who were interned during World War II, until Japan has fairly compensated families of persons killed at Pearl Harbor. (91-4)
105	4-20	.....	Passage. (69-27)
			CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS (S.J. Res. 282)
106	4-21	.....	Gramm motion to table Gramm motion to recommit resolution to Committee, with instructions, and with substitute amendment containing provisions of Gramm substitute amendment: Proposes Constitutional amendment to require Congress to adopt balanced budget prior to each fiscal year, unless both Houses pass, by three-fifths vote, legislation permitting outlays to exceed receipts; limits rate of total receipts increase for any fiscal year to rate of GNP increase in prior year, unless Congress, by majority vote, enacts bill directly providing for increase; allows Congress to waive provisions in fiscal year in which declaration of war is in effect; makes permanent public debt limit that exists on date of ratification which shall only be increased thereafter by three-fifths vote of both Houses; and makes article effective for second fiscal year beginning after ratification. (5-90)
107	4-21	.....	<i>Hollings, et al., cloture motion on Hollings perfecting amendment (to Gramm motion to recommit joint resolution to Committee, with instructions) which contains provisions of resolution. (52-42)</i>

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
108	4-22	.....	<i>Hollings, et al., second cloture motion on Hollings perfecting amendment (to Gramm motion to recommit joint resolution to Committee, with instructions) which contains provisions of resolution. (53-37)</i>
			VETERANS' COMPENSATION FOR ATOMIC EXPOSURE (H.R. 1811, P.L. 100-321)
109	4-25	.....	Passage. (48-30)
			TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3, Vetoes)
110	4-27	.....	Adoption of conference report. (63-36)
			AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH (S. 1220)
111	4-27	.....	Helms amendment: Prohibits use of funds to provide hypodermic needles and syringes, thereby prohibiting funding for intravenous blood testing, vaccine testing, and intravenous administration of antibiotics and chemotherapy. (19-66)
112	4-28	.....	Helms amendment: Prohibits use of funds to provide hypodermic needles or syringes to drug addicts, thereby prohibiting intravenous home health care from being provided to AIDS patients who are drug addicts. (37-59)
113	4-28	.....	<i>Kennedy-Hatch amendment (as substitute for Hatch-Dole amendment): Prohibits use of funds to provide hypodermic needles or syringes to individuals for use in administering illegal drugs, unless Surgeon General determines that demonstration needle exchange program would be effective in reducing drug abuse and risk of public infection with AIDS. (70-27)</i>
114	4-28	.....	<i>Kennedy, et al., amendment (as substitute for Armstrong amendment): Requires Congressional Biomedical Ethics Board to report to Congress on ethical issues connected with administration of nutrition and hydration to dying patients. (60-36)</i>
115	4-28	.....	<i>Nickles amendment: Requires routine, confidential AIDS testing of individuals convicted of felonious intravenous drug or sexual offenses. (97-0)</i>
			IMMIGRATION AMNESTY EXTENSION (H.R. 4222)
116	4-28	.....	<i>Kennedy, et al., cloture motion on motion to bring up bill. (40-56)</i>
			AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH (S. 1220)
117	4-28	.....	Kennedy motion to table Helms amendment (as substitute for Nickles amendment)—Vote No. 118. (22-73)
118	4-28	.....	<i>Helms amendment (as substitute for Nickles amendment): Prohibits use of funds to provide educational, informational, or risk reduction materials or activities to promote or encourage homosexual activity; requires such materials to emphasize abstinence from illegal intravenous drug use and from sexual activity outside a sexually monogamous marriage (including abstinence from homosexual activities); and requires Federally-funded AIDS information and education materials to provide warnings that homosexual and bisexual activities, multiple sex partners, and intravenous drug use are high risk activities for becoming infected with AIDS. (71-18)</i>
119	4-28	.....	<i>Helms motion to table Kennedy-Hatch modified amendment (as substitute for Kennedy amendment): Requires education programs funded by Act to stress public health benefits of abstinence and single monogamous relationship and avoidance of illegal intravenous drug use. (29-61)</i>
120	4-28	.....	Passage. (87-4)
			DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (H.R. 4264, Vetoes)
121	5-9	.....	<i>Dixon amendment: Retains current law requiring in-State purchase of alcoholic beverages for resale on military installations. (53-29)</i>
122	5-10	.....	<i>Dixon, et al., modified perfecting amendment (to Dixon modified amendment, as amended): Modifies provisions creating Commission on Base Realignment and Closure. (83-13)</i>
123	5-10	.....	Nunn motion to table Wilson, et al., amendment: Requires any military department which constructs family housing project after October 1, 1988, to provide Federal financial assistance to affected public school districts which can show substantial increase in student enrollment. (59-33)
124	5-11	.....	Exon motion to table Proxmire perfecting amendment (to Johnston, et al., amendment—Vote No. 125): Reduces by \$700 million funding for SDI. (66-29)
125	5-11	.....	Exon motion to table Johnston, et al., amendment: Earmarks \$700 million of SDI funding to reimburse NASA for DOD's share of cost of space shuttle and station. (50-46)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
126	5-11	.....	Warner motion to table Exon motion to reconsider Vote No. 125. (47-50)
127	5-11	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (72-23)
128	5-11	.....	Exon motion to reconsider Vote No. 125. (48-50)
129	5-11	.....	Nunn motion to table Bumpers, et al., amendment: Prohibits funds to overhaul, maintain, operate, or deploy any MIRVed strategic nuclear weapons launcher or platform that would cause U.S. to exceed numbers of MIRVed ICBMs, MIRVed ballistic missiles, and MIRVed strategic systems as of January 25, 1988; allows waiver if U.S. and Soviet Union have agreed to new strategic arms agreement or Soviet Union has exceeded its level. (51-45)
130	5-12	.....	Reid motion to table Hatfield-Kennedy-Mitchell modified amendment: Imposes mutual, conditional, two-year moratorium on underground nuclear explosions with yield greater than five kilotons each. (57-39)
131	5-12	.....	McCain motion to table Kennedy, et al., amendment: Prohibits introduction of U.S. troops into Honduras or Nicaragua for combat unless Congress has declared war or authorized their presence, or President has determined that they are necessary to protect or evacuate American citizens, or to respond to military attack. (60-37)
132	5-12	.....	<i>Gramm motion to table Heinz, et al., amendment: Strikes section permitting DOD to waive Buy America provisions for any item if cost of procurement abroad is 10 percent less than domestic cost and DOD determines that country that produces item does not impose limitations on procurement of U.S.-produced goods for its armed forces; and strikes section repealing current law requiring DOD to purchase 300,000 short tons of anthracite coal. (32-64)</i>
133	5-12	.....	Exon motion to table Simon-Levin amendment: Reduces funding for MX rail-garrison program by \$500 million and increases funding for conventional forces. (61-36)
134	5-12	.....	McCain motion to table Adams amendment: Prohibits use of funds to escort or convoy commercial vessels under U.S. flag but formerly owned by Kuwait or Kuwaiti nationals, or to defend commercial vessels in Persian Gulf registered under other nations' flags if Congress enacts joint resolution of disapproval within 15 days of submission by President of plan outlining presence of U.S. Armed Forces in Persian Gulf; provides that, if joint disapproval resolution is not enacted, plan shall be deemed approved by Congress and funds for Persian Gulf activities may be appropriated only in accordance with plan; and prohibits funds for U.S. Armed Forces in Persian Gulf in any future year unless Congress specifically appropriates funds for that purpose. (82-13)
135	5-13	.....	Cohen motion to table Kennedy-Levin-Nunn amendment: Requires Navy to maintain current level of 14 deployable aircraft carriers by directing that two aircraft carriers be decommissioned 30 days after USS Abraham Lincoln and USS George Washington are commissioned. (56-37)
136	5-13	.....	Exon motion to table Wallop, et al., amendment: Earmarks \$100 million of amount authorized for SDI for deploying accidental launch protection system (ALPS). (56-37)
137	5-13	.....	Exon motion to table Levin-Johnston-Dixon amendment: Reduces funding for SDI program from \$4.6 billion to \$4.0 billion and increases funding for conventional defense programs. (51-43)
138	5-13	.....	Heinz motion to table Gramm amendment: Reinstates Buy American waiver provisions struck by Vote No. 132. (53-37)
139	5-13	.....	<i>Wilson-Nunn-Warner, et al., amendment: Provides for drug enforcement assistance by military in form of aerial detection, law enforcement authority to make arrests, and \$60 million authorization for National Guard for drug interdiction efforts. (83-6)</i>
140	5-16	.....	Stennis motion to table Johnston-Breaux amendment: Prohibits Secretary of Navy from limiting competition for building DDG-51 Aegis-class destroyer to two shipyard contractors to which competition is limited for three ships currently being built unless limitation will result in lower total program costs or is necessary to meet Naval cost, schedule, or performance requirements; and precludes Secretary from certifying reason for limiting competition until after receipt of all bids. (63-24)
141	5-16	.....	Dixon motion to table Helms amendment: Prohibits funds for implementing U.S.-USSR Afghan agreement. (63-30)
142	5-16	.....	Levin motion to table D'Amato, et al., amendment: Permits death penalty to be imposed on any person engaging in or working to further continuing criminal enterprise who intentionally kills or participates substantially in killing of individual. (27-68)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
143	5-17	.....	<i>Helms modified amendment: Prohibits aid to Panamanian Defense Force unless President certifies that no Soviet, Cuban, or Nicaraguan armed forces are in Panama and that General Manuel Noriega has been removed from office. (95-0)</i>
144	5-17	.....	<i>Dole, et al., amendment: States sense of Senate that U.S. government should not conduct negotiations or make arrangements with General Noriega which would drop drug-related indictments. (86-10)</i>
INF TREATY (Treaty Doc. No. 100-11)			
145	5-18	.....	Pell-Lugar motion to table Helms point of order that Treaty is not in order because it is not signed by person authorized to bind Soviet State. (91-6)
146	5-20	.....	Lugar motion to table Division I of Symms amendment: Treaty shall not enter into force until President certifies that Soviet Union is no longer violating SALT I ABM Treaty. (85-11)
147	5-20	.....	Lugar motion to table Division II of Symms amendment: Treaty shall not enter into force until President certifies that Soviet Union is no longer violating 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. (87-10)
148	5-20	.....	Lugar motion to table Division III of Symms amendment: Treaty shall not enter into force until President certifies that Soviet Union is no longer violating Biological and Chemical Weapons Bans. (86-11)
149	5-20	.....	Lugar motion to table Division IV of Symms amendment: Treaty shall not enter into force until President certifies that Soviet Union is no longer violating SALT I Interim Agreement. (82-15)
150	5-20	.....	Lugar motion to table Division V of Symms amendment: Treaty shall not enter into force until President certifies that Soviet Union is no longer violating SALT II. (89-8)
151	5-20	.....	Exon motion to table Humphrey amendment: Treaty shall not enter into force until President certifies that stockpile of NATO ammunition and fuel has been increased from seven days to 15 days. (73-8)
152	5-23	.....	Pell motion to table Helms amendment: Prohibits exchange of instruments of ratification until President certifies that number of SS-20 missiles possessed by Soviet Union is true. (81-13)
153	5-23	.....	Pell motion to table Wallop modified amendment: Neither party may produce any other missile stage which is outwardly similar to, or interchangeable with, any other stage of existing type of intermediate-range ground-based launch cruise missile. (68-26)
154	5-23	.....	Pell motion to table Humphrey amendment: Treaty shall not enter into force unless parties have also agreed to strategic nuclear arms reduction agreement. (81-5)
155	5-25	.....	Helms amendment: Treaty may be terminated with 15 days notice if either party has provided materially misleading and false data or there has been any material breach of Treaty or its protocols. (9-89)
156	5-25	.....	Hollings, et al., amendment: Conditions Senate's agreement to Treaty on agreement of USSR that references in Treaty to ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) be deemed references only to nuclear GLCMs. (28-69)
157	5-26	.....	<i>Nunn-Warner-Boren, et al., amendment (as amended by Helms perfecting amendment): Clarifies that both exchange of notes in Geneva and agreed minute signed May 12 between U.S. and USSR and agreements signed on May 21, 1988, regarding Treaty's application to "futuristic" weapons and on-site inspection, shall have same force and effect as Treaty. (96-0)</i>
158	5-26	.....	<i>Byrd perfecting amendment (to Committee condition): Provides that Senate's advice and consent to ratification of Treaty is subject to condition that U.S. shall interpret Treaty in accordance with common understanding of Treaty shared by President and Senate at time Senate gave its consent to ratification; and if at later time, question arises of interpretation of Treaty provision on which no common understanding was reached that provision shall be interpreted in accordance with applicable U.S. law. (72-27)</i>
159	5-26	.....	Bradley motion to table Helms, et al., amendment: Adds to instruments of ratification that U.S. declares that it intends to continue to negotiate START Treaty with USSR; and U.S. shall not be bound to adhere to any contemplated treaty until verification and Senate approval. (See Vote No. 165.) (38-60)
160	5-26	.....	Byrd motion to table Wilson, et al., amendment: Provides that Senate's advice and consent to ratification of Treaty is subject to condition that U.S. shall not be bound to any interpretation of Treaty that is not equally binding on Soviet Union under applicable international law. (53-45)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
161	5-27	.....	Pell-Lugar motion to table Wallop, et al., amendment: Requires President to inform Soviet Union, prior to exchanging instruments of ratification, that U.S. will consider any Soviet violation of Treaty as grounds for withdrawing from Treaty. (66-30)
162	5-27	.....	Pell-Lugar motion to table Pressler amendment: Prohibits exchange of instruments of ratification unless President personally certifies to Senate whether Soviet Union is in full compliance with Helsinki Accords. (86-10)
163	5-27	.....	Byrd motion to table Specter amendment: Defines term "common understanding" included in Byrd perfecting amendment (Vote No. 158) as "shared interpretation which is both authoritatively communicated to Senate by executive and clearly intended, generally understood, and relied upon by Senate in its advice and consent to ratification." (67-30)
164	5-27	.....	Byrd motion to table Specter amendment: Adds to resolution of ratification statement that notwithstanding any provision in Byrd Condition (Vote No. 158), there is no Senate intent to change heretofore accepted constitutional law of U.S. on treaty ratification as interpreted by Supreme Court. (64-33)
165	5-27	.....	<i>Helms, et al., modified amendment: Adds to instruments of ratification that U.S. declares that it intends to continue to negotiate START Treaty with USSR; U.S. shall not be bound to adhere to any contemplated treaty until ratification and Senate approval, but nothing shall imply that U.S. will take actions to make future treaty impossible. (94-4)</i>
166	5-27	.....	Adoption of resolution of ratification (93-5) FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (H. Con. Res. 268, Action Completed)
167	6-6	.....	Adoption of conference report. (58-29) PERSIAN GULF/WAR POWERS (S.J. Res. 305)
168	6-6	.....	Byrd point of order that resolution is not privileged under War Powers Resolution. (54-31) TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3, Vetoed)
169	6-8	.....	Reconsideration of vetoed bill. (61-37) MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS COVERAGE (H.R. 2470, P.L. 100-360)
170	6-8	.....	Adoption of conference report. (86-11) DEATH PENALTY/DRUG-RELATED KILLINGS (S. 2455)
171	6-9	.....	D'Amato motion to table the Levin-Evans-Danforth modified amendment (as substitute for bill): Requires mandatory life sentence without possibility of release for drug-related murder of law enforcement officer or other innocent person (in lieu of death penalty). (65-31)
172	6-9	.....	<i>Dole, et al., cloture motion on bill. (70-26)</i> POLYGRAPH PROTECTION (H.R. 1212, P.L. 100-347)
173	6-9	.....	Adoption of conference report. (68-24) DEATH PENALTY/DRUG-RELATED KILLINGS (S. 2455)
174	6-10	.....	D'Amato motion to table Simon amendment: Restricts use of death penalty to drug-related killing of law enforcement officer. (66-28)
175	6-10	.....	Passage. (65-29) VIETNAM WOMEN VETERANS MEMORIAL (S. 2042, P.L. 100-660)
176	6-14	.....	Passage. (96-1) LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4587, P.L. 100-458)
177	6-14	.....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (89-8)
178	6-14	.....	Passage. (78-18) ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4567, P.L. 100-371)
179	6-14	.....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (96-2)
180	6-14	.....	Chair ruling that Reid-Hecht amendment (which increases appropriation to Nevada for nuclear waste oversight responsibilities) is legislation on appropriation and out of order. (68-29)
181	6-15	.....	Passage. (92-5) MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4586, P.L. 100-447)
182	6-15	.....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (97-1)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
183	6-15	.....	<i>Sasser-Bradley-Graham amendment: States sense of Senate that, during Toronto Economic Summit, President should consult with allied leaders on impact on western security of tied and untied loans, trade credits, direct investments, joint ventures, lines of credit, and guarantees or other subsidies to Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba, Vietnam, Libya, or Nicaragua. (96-0)</i>
184	6-15	.....	Passage. (93-2) BICENTENNIAL COIN/FSLIC MORATORIUM (H.R. 3251, P.L. 100-378)
185	6-15	.....	Proxmire motion to table Graham perfecting amendment (to Proxmire amendment): Permits FSLIC to establish criteria for measuring degree to which any insured institution poses risk to FSLIC's reserves and to assess an additional premium. (80-15)
186	6-15	.....	Passage. (96-0) CORPORATE TAKEOVERS (S. 1323)
187	6-16	.....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (79-12) WELFARE OVERHAUL/WORKFARE (H.R. 1720, P.L. 100-485)
188	6-16	.....	<i>Moynihan motion to table Dole-Armstrong amendment: Requires that one parent in two-parent AFDC-Unemployed Parent household participate for 16 hours per week in either work supplementation or community work experience program. (41-54)</i>
189	6-16	.....	Passage. (93-3) BIOTECHNOLOGY COMPETITIVENESS (S. 1966)
190	6-17	.....	Passage. (88-1) NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION AUTHORIZATION (H.R. 4418, P.L. 100-570)
191	6-17	.....	Passage. (88-1) GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS WILDERNESS (H.R. 1495)
192	6-20	.....	<i>Sasser, et al, cloture motion on motion to bring up bill. (49-35)</i> CORPORATE TAKEOVERS (S. 1323)
193	6-21	.....	<i>Division I-A of Armstrong-Metzenbaum-Shelby-Gramm amendment: Prohibits golden parachutes unless approved in advance by shareholders. (98-1)</i>
194	6-21	.....	Proxmire motion to table Division I-B of Armstrong-Metzenbaum-Shelby-Gramm amendment: Prohibits "poison pills" (special preferred stock issue which is triggered upon takeover that has effect of diluting ownership of all other stock) unless approved by shareholders. (40-57) GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS WILDERNESS (H.R. 1495)
195	6-21	.....	<i>Sanford, et al, second cloture motion on motion to bring up bill. (54-42)</i> RETAIL COMPETITION ENFORCEMENT (S. 430)
196	6-21	.....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (62-28) PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (S. 2527, P.L. 100-379)
197	6-22	.....	Dole motion to table Byrd motion to bring up bill—Vote No. 198. (30-61)
198	6-22	.....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (64-29) ANTI-DRUG SUMMIT (S. Res. 442)
199	6-23	.....	Adoption. (94-0) PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (S. 2527, P.L. 100-379)
200	6-23	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (72-20) IRAQI CHEMICAL WEAPONS USE (S. Res. 408)
201	6-24	.....	Adoption. (91-0) PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (S. 2527, P.L. 100-379)
202	6-24	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Quayle modified amendment: Provides complete defense for any action brought for noncompliance if employer has paid, within 3 weeks of shutdown or layoff, an amount equal to higher of employee's final rate of pay or final 3-year average for each day for which notice was not provided. (59-31)
203	6-24	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Thurmond-Hatch, et al, amendment: Applies Hobbs Act (Federal extortion statute) to cases of labor violence. (60-27)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
			TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4775, P.L. 100-440)
204	6-24	.....	Bentsen-Packwood motion to table Melcher amendment: Exempts local nonprofit senior citizen organizations that provide senior services with annual gross revenue of less than \$50,000 from user fee that IRS charges for certifying that it is nonprofit and tax-exempt and offsets cost by requiring IRS to adjust fees charged to larger nonprofit organizations. (63-21)
			NOMINATION OF HENRY F. COOPER TO BE AMBASSADOR AS U.S. NEGOTIATOR FOR DEFENSE AND SPACE ARMS
205	6-27	.....	Confirmation. (71-0)
			TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4775, P.L. 100-440)
206	6-27	.....	Chair ruling that McClure amendment (which requires President to consider extent to which nation—Soviet Union—has complied with humanitarian provision in Helsinki Accords before granting Most-Favored-Nation status) is legislation on appropriation and out of order. (57-24)
207	6-27	.....	Passage. (81-4)
			PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (S. 2527, P.L. 100-379)
208	6-27	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Kassebaum-Dole, et al, amendment (as substitute for bill): Requires 60-day notice prior to any plant closing involving employment loss of at least 50 employees and does not require notice for plant layoffs regardless of number of workers affected or duration of layoff. (64-32)
209	6-27	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Hatch amendment: States that nothing in Act shall require employer to serve written 60-day notice when permanently replacing person deemed to be economic striker under National Labor Relations Act. (53-37)
210	6-27	.....	Proxmire motion to table Gramm amendment: Exempts banks and savings and loans that in judgment of FDIC or FHLBB, respectively, are in danger of closing. (63-29)
			WORK INCENTIVE (WIN) PROGRAM EXTENSION (H.R. 4731, P.L. 100-364)
211	6-28	.....	Passage. (97-0)
			PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (S. 2527, P.L. 100-379)
212	6-28	.....	<i>Hatch-Metzenbaum amendment: Adds language that employer is not required to serve written notice when permanently replacing economic striker provided that nothing in Act shall be deemed to validate or invalidate any judicial or administrative ruling relating to hiring of permanent replacements under National Labor Relations Act. (91-0)</i>
213	6-28	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Quayle amendment: Exempts employer from requirement to serve notice if plant closing or mass layoff is due, directly or indirectly, to strike. (60-37)
214	6-28	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Domenici amendment (as substitute for bill): Eliminates requirement for 60 days notice for all mass layoffs except those caused by hostile takeovers. (62-34)
215	6-28	.....	<i>Hatch amendment: Adds clarification that mailing of notice to employee's last known address or inclusion in paycheck will be considered acceptable methods for giving notice of plant closing or mass layoff. (95-0)</i>
216	6-28	.....	<i>Hatch modified amendment: Clarifies that employees will receive notice of plant closing or mass layoff that occurs incident to sale of business, from either seller or purchaser. (97-0)</i>
217	6-28	.....	<i>Hatch amendment: Makes technical clarifications and conforms attorneys' fees provision to existing statutes. (97-0)</i>
218	6-28	.....	<i>Dole amendment: Provides that no notice shall be required if plant closing or mass layoff is due to natural disaster. (95-0)</i>
219	6-28	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Gramm amendment: Permits employer to close plant or lay off workers before 60-day notification period has elapsed if 50 percent of employees voluntarily terminate their employment. (59-34)
220	6-28	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (79-18)
221	6-29	.....	<i>Metzenbaum, et al, cloture motion on bill. (58-39)</i>
222	7-6	.....	<i>Reid, et al, second cloture motion on bill. (88-5)</i>
223	7-6	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Wilson amendment: Exempts from advance notification plant closings and mass layoffs caused by inability of employer to obtain, at competitive cost, sufficient supplies of materials required in manufacturing products or in providing services. (58-37)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
224	7-6	.....	Metzenbaum motion to table Quayle amendment: Makes advance notification applicable to plant closings which result in unemployment of minimum of 75 employees and to mass layoffs which affect one-half of workforce. (63-32)
225	7-6	.....	Passage. (72-23) ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4567, P.L. 100-371)
226	7-7	.....	Adoption of conference report. (91-3) MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT (H.R. 1807, P.L. 100-656)
227	7-7	.....	Passage. (92-0) FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4637, P.L. 100-461)
228	7-7	.....	<i>Kennedy, et al., amendment, as amended: Modifies requirement that annual report on voting practices in U.N. be developed in consultation with Congress. (93-0)</i>
229	7-7	.....	Inouye motion to table Humphrey amendment: Prohibits \$71 million for International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) unless loan policies are revised to reflect terms that are no more favorable than those available to American farmers. (48-41)
230	7-7	.....	Inouye motion to table Humphrey amendment: Strikes \$931.2 million for U.S. contribution to International Development Association (part of World Bank). (70-19)
231	7-7	.....	Passage. (76-15) D.C. APPROPRIATIONS (H.R. 4776, P.L. 100-462)
232	7-7	.....	Harkin motion to table Exon amendment (to Committee amendment): Prohibits Federal or D.C. funds from being used to perform abortions except in cases of rape, incest, ectopic pregnancy, and where life of mother would be endangered if fetus were carried to term. (49-37)
233	7-7	.....	Harkin motion to table Humphrey amendment: Prohibits Federal or D.C. funds from being used to perform abortions except where life of mother would be endangered if fetus were carried to term. (51-34)
234	7-8	.....	Chair ruling that Armstrong amendment (which allows educational institutions in D.C. affiliated with religious organization to deny, restrict, abridge, or condition use of any fund, service, facility, or benefit, or granting of any endorsement, approval, or recognition to any organization for, engaged in, promoting, encouraging, or condoning any homosexual act, lifestyle, orientation, or belief) is not legislation on appropriation and is in order. (43-40)
235	7-8	.....	Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 234. (42-41)
236	7-11	.....	<i>Armstrong amendment: Prohibits expenditure of funds under this Act after December 31, 1988, if D.C. government has not enacted law allowing educational institutions in D.C. affiliated with religious organization to deny, restrict, abridge, or condition (a) use of any fund, service, facility, or benefit, or (b) granting of any endorsement, approval, or recognition to any organization for, or engaged in promoting, encouraging, or condoning any homosexual act, lifestyle, orientation, or belief. (58-33)</i>
237	7-11	.....	Passage. (64-29) VA JUDICIAL REVIEW (S. 11, P.L. 100-687)
238	7-11	.....	Cranston motion to table Murkowski amendment (as substitute for bill): Permits judicial review of VA decisions concerning an individual's claim only in cases where lawfulness or interpretation of VA regulation is at issue. (61-36)
239	7-11	.....	Passage. (86-11) DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS (H.R. 3471, P.L. 100-527)
240	7-11	.....	Glenn motion to table Murkowski-Thurmond, et al., amendment: Permits President to appoint Secretary of Veterans Affairs but makes establishment of new Department effective January 21, 1989. (52-43)
241	7-11	.....	Cranston motion to table Simpson amendment: Adds provisions authorizing judicial review of VA regulations and claims decisions (as passed by Senate--Vote No. 239). (83-11)
242	7-12	.....	Passage. (84-11) DOT APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4794, P.L. 100-457)
243	7-12	.....	Passage. (91-6)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4800, P.L. 100-404)			
244	7-12	.....	Heinz, et al., amendment: Increases UDAG funding by \$30 million for recaptured total of \$80 million, offset by reducing funding for National Aero-Space Plane. (34-63)
245	7-12	.....	Moynihan-Lautenberg-Chafee amendment: Increases EPA funding by \$275 million for Sewage Treatment Construction Grants, \$25 million for Nonpoint Pollution Control Program, and \$5 million for Wellhead Protection Program, offset by \$150 million reduction for NASA. (32-64)
246	7-12	.....	Durenberger-Moynihan amendment: Appropriates \$25 million for grants to States for Nonpoint Pollution Control Program and \$5 million for Wellhead Protection Program, offset by reductions for EPA salaries and expenses, control, and compliance, and R&D. (63-33)
247	7-13	.....	Passage. (86-11)
INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4867, P.L. 100-446)			
248	7-13	.....	Byrd, et al., amendment (to Dole, et al., amendment): States sense of Senate condemning recent actions taken by Sandinistas against internal opposition and media and expulsion of American diplomats, and states that violations of human rights in Nicaragua could cause Congress to consider providing additional humanitarian and other appropriate aid, including military aid, to Contras. (91-4)
249	7-13	.....	Nickles amendment: Strikes language prohibiting Interior Department from permitting drilling on existing leases within eastern Gulf of Mexico. (37-59)
250	7-13	.....	Passage. (92-4)
DOD AUTHORIZATION (H.R. 4264, Vetoes)			
251	7-14	.....	Quayle motion to recommit conference report with instructions. (35-58)
252	7-14	.....	Adoption of conference report. (64-30)
ENDANGERED SPECIES (H.R. 1467)			
253	7-25	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to bill. (78-0)
LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4783, P.L. 100-436)			
254	7-25	.....	Weicker motion to table Helms amendment (to Committee amendment): Strikes funding for Title X, Family Planning Services. (65-21)
255	7-25	.....	Chiles motion to table Helms amendment (to Committee amendment): Prohibits funds for Title X, Family Planning, if HHS has not promulgated regulations to prohibit provision of contraceptives to unmarried minors without prior written parental consent. (54-34)
HUNGER PREVENTION/TEFAP (S. 2560, P.L. 100-435)			
256	7-26	.....	Gramm amendment: Reduces funds for Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program by an amount equal to value of any surplus commodities donated. (14-81)
257	7-26	.....	Passage. (90-7)
COMMERCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4782, P.L. 100-459)			
258	7-27	.....	Dole amendment: States sense of Senate that China should halt sale of ballistic missiles to Middle East and Persian Gulf nations and endorse U.N.-sponsored international arms embargo against Iran and Iraq. (97-0)
259	7-27	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (68-29)
260	7-27	.....	Gramm-Cochran-Nickles amendment: Increases funding for Drug Enforcement Administration by \$58.55 million, offset by reduction for Legal Services Corporation. (28-66)
261	7-27	.....	Passage. (80-16)
LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4783, P.L. 100-436)			
262	7-27	.....	Germaneness of Cranston-Kennedy amendment: Prohibits any AIDS education program funded under this act from being designed to encourage, directly, intravenous drug abuse or homosexual sexual activity; and requires AIDS education programs to be designed to reduce exposure to, and transmission of, AIDS virus by providing accurate information and to provide information on health risks of promiscuous sexual activity and intravenous drug abuse. (56-41)
263	7-27	.....	Cranston-Kennedy amendment: Prohibits any AIDS education program funded under this act from being designed to encourage, directly, intravenous drug abuse or homosexual sexual activity; and requires AIDS education programs to be designed to reduce exposure to, and

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
			<i>transmission of, AIDS virus by providing accurate information and to provide information on health risks of promiscuous sexual activity and intravenous drug abuse. (61-37)</i>
264	7-27	.....	Chiles motion to table Helms modified amendment: Eliminates language of Cranston-Kennedy amendment (Vote No. 263) and prohibits any State from receiving funds for AIDS public education if State has not made a "good faith" effort to notify spouse married to AIDS-infected patient since December 31, 1976, that AIDS-infected spouse has AIDS. (49-48)
265	7-27	.....	Weicker motion to table Cranston motion to reconsider Vote No. 264. (51-46)
266	7-27	.....	Weicker motion to table Helms-Exon amendment (to Committee amendment): Prohibits HHS funds including Medicaid block grants to provide contraceptives or prescriptions therefor at public schools. (48-45)
267	7-27	.....	Weicker motion to table Helms amendment (to Committee amendment): Strikes language in bill which permits victim of rape or incest to receive Federally-funded abortion, and in lieu thereof requires HHS to promulgate regulations to prohibit AIDS information materials from promoting or encouraging directly homosexual sexual activities. (47-46)
268	7-27	.....	<i>Exon amendment (to Committee amendment): Makes victim of rape or incest eligible for Federally-funded abortion only if incident was reported promptly to law enforcement agency; permits payments for drugs for termination of ectopic pregnancy; and allows any State right to refuse to fund any abortion except where mother's life would be endangered if fetus were carried to term. (73-19)</i>
269	7-27	.....	<i>Kennedy motion to table Humphrey modified amendment: Prohibits materials or programs funded by Act from promoting or encouraging homosexuality or using words stating that homosexuality is "normal," "natural," or "healthy." (15-82)</i>
270	7-27	.....	Passage. (80-16) ENDANGERED SPECIES (H.R. 1467, P.L. 100-478)
271	7-28	.....	Passage. (93-2) DROUGHT ASSISTANCE (H.R. 5015, P.L. 100-387)
272	7-28	.....	<i>Karnes modified amendment: States sense of Senate that Congress should act before adjourning to exempt diesel fuel used for farming and fishing from Federal excise tax and to repeal application of accounting capitalization rules to farm animals ("heifer tax"). (94-0)</i>
273	7-28	.....	Passage. (94-0) NOMINATION OF TIMOTHY TOWELL TO BE AMBASSADOR TO PARAGUAY
274	7-29	.....	Confirmation. (88-0) AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4784, P.L. 100-460)
275	7-29	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (68-20)
276	7-29	.....	<i>DeConcini, et al, amendment: Increases funding by \$30.8 million for special supplemental food program for women, infants, and children (WIC) offset by reducing each individual appropriation item in bill by 0.7 percent except for mandatory programs. (87-4)</i>
277	7-29	.....	<i>Leahy motion to table Bumpers, et al., amendment: Bases trust fund assessments of Farm Credit System member institutions on percentage of bonds actually issued by Financial Assistance Corporation rather than on Corporation's total unused bond-issuing authority. (43-45)</i>
278	7-29	.....	Passage. (74-8) FAIR HOUSING (H.R. 1158, P.L. 100-430)
279	8-1	.....	<i>Helms amendment (to Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment): Clarifies that transvestites do not qualify for special treatment as "individuals with handicaps." (89-2)</i>
280	8-1	.....	<i>Helms amendment (to Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment): Prohibits Supreme Court from reviewing school prayer case. (71-20)</i>
281	8-2	.....	Kennedy motion to table Humphrey amendment (to Kennedy-Specter, et al., substitute amendment): Prohibits provisions which affect design and construction of housing from taking effect if they increase such housing costs. (88-7)
282	8-2	.....	Kennedy motion to table Humphrey amendment (to Kennedy-Specter, et al., substitute amendment): Limits applicability of provisions regarding handicapped accessibility in multi-unit buildings to 20 percent and requires that at least one unit per development be handicapped-accessible. (84-12)
283	8-2	.....	Passage. (94-3)

Vote Date Voting
No. 1987 Position

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 4848, P.L. 100-418)

284 8-3 Bentsen motion to table Durenberger, et al., amendment: Delays repeal of prohibition on Soviet fur imports until President certifies that USSR does not deny its citizens right to emigrate or that emigration practices will be relaxed and repeal of fur import prohibition will contribute to relaxed emigration practices. (64-32)

285 8-3 Bentsen-Packwood motion to table Wallop-Hecht amendment: Strikes U.S. Trade Representative authority to determine under section 301 whether foreign trade practice requires U.S. action and requires President to act. (69-26)

286 8-3 Bentsen-Packwood motion to table McClure amendment: Requires President to consider human rights record of any Helsinki Accords signator before extending Most-Favored-Nation status. (67-28)

287 8-3 Bentsen-Packwood motion to table Wallop amendment: Strikes establishment of Competitiveness Policy Council. (62-33)

288 8-3 Passage. (85-11)

ETHANOL PRODUCTION ENROLLMENT CORRECTIONS (S. Con. Res. 135)

289 8-3 Passage. (62-34)

NOMINATION OF JOHN P. LAWARE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

290 8-4 Confirmation. (90-3)

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 5026, P.L. 100-393)

291 8-4 Cranston motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Cranston-DeConcini-Murkowski amendment: Provides \$233.3 million to meet expenditures required by law for FY 1988 VA compensation COLA and veterans health-care entitlements. (89-5)

292 8-4 Warner amendment: Expresses sense of Senate that Congress should expeditiously pass 4.1 percent military pay raise and 7.0 percent raise for quarters allowance effective January 1, 1989. (91-1)

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4781, P.L. 100-463)

293 8-4 Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of bill. (93-0)

CENTRAL AMERICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (S. Con. Res. 63)

294 8-5 Adoption. (92-3)

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4781, P.L. 100-463)

295 8-5 Johnston motion to table Bradley, et al., amendment: Strikes prohibition on sale of AEGIS weapon system to Japan for integration into naval ships unless ship is U.S.-made. (20-75)

296 8-5 Johnston motion to table Wallop amendment: Increases funding for SDI R&D by transferring additional \$500 million from NASA's defense-related activities account. (50-44)

DROUGHT ASSISTANCE (H.R. 5015, P.L. 100-387)

297 8-8 Adoption of conference report. (92-0)

NUCLEAR REGULATION REORGANIZATION (H.R. 1315)

298 8-8 Ford-Domenici-Johnston, et al., amendment: Substitutes government purchase program of domestic uranium in lieu of imposing fees on foreign uranium used in domestic reactors; establishes Uranium Revitalization Fund for tailings reclamation and domestic uranium purchases; capitalizes Fund from fees imposed on public utilities and domestic uranium industry and from income earned by Corporation. (78-17)

299 8-8 Passage. (89-6)

OCEAN DUMPING REFORM (S. 2030, P.L. 100-688)

300 8-9 Passage. (97-0)

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4800, P.L. 100-404)

301 8-9 Adoption of conference report. (88-8)

NOMINATION OF KAREN B. PHILLIPS TO ICC

302 8-10 Confirmation. (71-24)

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4781, P.L. 100-463)

303 8-10 Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (72-22)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position
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SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 5026, P.L. 100-393)

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| 304 | 8-10 | | Byrd motion to table Dole, et al., amendment: Provides \$27.4 million in humanitarian assistance to Nicaraguan Contras for civic action, and non-military training and human rights programs; authorizes immediate release of \$16 million in lethal aid; authorizes exchange of more-needed lethal items for less-needed lethal items of equal value; permits President to designate CIA as mode of delivering aid; eliminates prohibition on U.S. personnel being in 20-mile zone paralleling Nicaraguan land borders; and sets forth economic incentives for Nicaraguan government to establish democracy, including termination of trade embargo and \$10 million in relocation assistance for Nicaraguan Contras. (57-39) |
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DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4781, P.L. 100-463)

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| 305 | 8-10 | | Byrd-Dodd-Boren, et al., amendment (to Byrd amendment): Provides \$27 million in humanitarian aid for Contras and \$5 million in medical assistance for civilian victims; requires humanitarian aid to be disbursed only by AID, OAS, or another nongovernmental organization; permits President to request release of \$16.5 million of previously-appropriated lethal aid after consulting with four democratic presidents in region; and expedites consideration of such request. (49-47) |
| 306 | 8-10 | ..... | Nunn-Warner-Johnston amendment: Incorporates into bill by reference provisions of DOD authorization bill as passed by Senate. (90-2) |
| 307 | 8-11 | | Johnston motion to table McCain-Glenn, et al., modified amendment (as substitute for Johnston-Nunn-Warner, et al., amendment): Strikes provisions in underlying amendment which cap U.S. military dependents overseas at 1987 level, and requires 10 percent reduction in dependents overseas by October 1, 1991. (36-59) |
| 308 | 8-11 | | Passage. (90-4) |

ROMANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS (S. Res. 461)

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| 309 | 8-11 | | Adoption of resolution condemning Romania for human rights abuses, particularly its plan to raze agricultural villages in traditionally Hungarian areas. (93-0) |
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NOMINATION OF RICHARD L. THORNBURGH TO BE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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| 310 | 8-11 | | Confirmation. (85-0) |
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NUCLEAR ACCIDENT CONVENTIONS (Treaty Doc. No. 100-4)

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| 311 | 9-7 | | Adoption of resolution of ratification. (97-0) |
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IAEA STATUTE AMENDMENTS (Treaty Doc. No. 99-7)

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| 312 | 9-7 | | Adoption of resolution of ratification. (97-0) |
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INTERNATIONAL NATURAL RUBBER AGREEMENT (Treaty Doc. No. 100-9)

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| 313 | 9-7 | | Adoption of resolution of ratification. (97-0) |
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TEXTILE, APPAREL, AND FOOTWEAR TRADE (H.R. 1154, Vetoed)

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| 314 | 9-7 | | Hollings, et al., cloture motion on bill. (68-29) |
| 315 | 9-7 | | Hollings motion to table Gramm point of order that consideration of bill violates Constitution which requires that all revenue raising bills originate in House. (71-24) |
| 316 | 9-7 | ..... | Hollings motion to table Packwood amendment: Makes annual import quotas on each category of textiles and textile products inapplicable if Secretary of Commerce determines that average return on assets of U.S. textile and textile product manufacturers for preceding calendar year exceeded national average return on assets of all U.S. manufacturing industries. (62-34) |
| 317 | 9-7 | ..... | Hollings motion to table Gramm amendment: Allows President to suspend application of import limitations if he determines they would impose proportionately greater economic burden on poor. (60-34) |
| 318 | 9-7 | ..... | Hollings motion to table Division I. of Evans amendment: Exempts from import limitations those countries that purchased more U.S.-produced textiles and textile products than they exported to U.S. (59-31) |
| 319 | 9-7 | ..... | Hollings motion to table Gramm amendment: Exempts coveralls, uniforms, workshoes, and workboots from import limitation. (62-28) |
| 320 | 9-8 | ..... | Hollings motion to table Gramm amendment: Permits President, after consulting with USTR, to exempt from import quotas any country that imposes lower tariffs and quotas on U.S. exports than those imposed on country's exports to U.S. (68-26) |

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
321	9-8	.....	Cohen motion to table Packwood amendment: Exempts athletic footwear from footwear quotas. (66-28)
322	9-8	.....	Hollings motion to table Graham amendment: Exempts Caribbean Basin Initiative countries from import limitations. (59-34)
323	9-9	.....	Cohen motion to table Chafee amendment (as substitute for bill): Strikes nonrubber footwear from list of regulated imports. (63-26)
324	9-9	.....	Passage. (57-32) PRESIDENT ZIA OF PAKISTAN (S. Res. 468)
325	9-9	.....	Adoption. (85-0) LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4783, P.L. 100-436)
326	9-13	.....	Chiles motion to table Weicker motion to insist on Senate amendment: Makes victim of rape or incest eligible for Federally-funded abortion only if incident is reported promptly to law enforcement agency. (44-46)
327	9-13	.....	Reconsideration of Vote No. 326. (47-43) NOMINATION OF NICHOLAS F. BRADY TO BE SECRETARY OF TREASURY
328	9-14	.....	Confirmation. (92-2) TEXTILE, APPAREL, AND FOOTWEAR TRADE (H.R. 1154, Vetoed)
329	9-15	.....	Passage. (59-36) MINIMUM WAGE (S. 837)
330	9-15	.....	Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of bill. (87-7) SOVIET ABM TREATY VIOLATIONS (S. Res. 474)
331	9-16	.....	Adoption. (81-0) CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (H.R. 5090, P.L. 100-449)
332	9-19	.....	Passage. (83-9) NOMINATION OF LAURO F. CAVAZOS TO BE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
333	9-20	.....	Confirmation. (94-0) MINIMUM WAGE (S. 837)
334	9-22	.....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (80-15)
335	9-22	.....	<i>Kennedy, et al., cloture motion on committee substitute amendment for bill. (53-43)</i>
336	9-23	.....	<i>Kennedy, et al, second cloture motion on committee substitute amendment for bill. (56-35)</i> PROMPT PAYMENTS (S. 328, P.L. 100-496)
337	9-23	.....	Sasser motion to table Grassley-Armstrong amendment (to House amendment): Establishes 15-member Presidential Advisory Panel for Coordination of Government Debt Collection. (54-33) COMMERCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4782, P.L. 100-459)
338	9-27	.....	Adoption of conference report. (77-13) PARENTAL LEAVE (S. 2488)
339	9-28	.....	<i>Thurmond, et al., modified amendment (to second committee amendment): Clarifies that current prohibitions on advertisement of child pornography apply to computer advertisements; prohibits buying and selling children for use in child pornography; requires producers of sexually explicit material to document ages of persons appearing in material; creates new offense which prohibits certain businesspersons from receiving or possessing, with intent to sell, obscene matter which has moved in interstate or foreign commerce; makes it illegal to sell or possess obscene material or child pornography on Federal lands; increases penalty for obscene Dial-A-Porn violations; and makes it illegal to provide obscene programming on cable and subscription television services. (97-0)</i> DEFENSE AUTHORIZATON, 1989 (H.R. 4481, P.L. 100-456)
340	9-28	.....	Adoption of conference report. (91-4) WELFARE OVERHAUL/WORKFARE (H.R. 1720, P.L. 100-485)
341	9-29	.....	Adoption of conference report. (96-1)

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4637, P.L. 100-461)			
342	9-30	.....	Inouye motion to table Symms modified amendment (to House amendment to Senate amendment): Strikes six-year authorization for additional U.S. contributions to World Bank. (57-34)
343	9-30	.....	Sanford motion to table Metzenbaum-Helms perfecting amendment (to Pell amendment): Prohibits OPIC from insuring, reinsuring, or guaranteeing (1) projects which produce exports to U.S. that directly compete with goods manufactured in U.S. unless project is located in country with annual per capita income of \$984 or less; (2) any petroleum producing project or hotel project; and (3) assistance to any financial institution that is not in underdeveloped nation. (72-23)
PARENTAL LEAVE (S. 2488)			
344	9-30	.....	Byrd motion to table Dole motion to postpone further consideration until October 6. (52-42)
AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4784, P.L. 100-460)			
345	9-30	.....	Adoption of conference report. (90-4)
DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4781, P.L. 100-463)			
346	9-30	.....	Johnston motion to table Helms, et al., amendment (to House amendment to Senate amendment): Prohibits funds to dismantle Poseidon submarines unless President has certified to Congress that USSR has dismantled Krasnoyarsk radar. (66-25)
347	9-30	.....	<i>Johnston motion to table Nunn perfecting amendment (to Nunn, et al., substitute amendment for Senate amendment): Strikes earmarking for nine university research projects. (35-53)</i>
D.C. APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (H.R. 4776, P.L. 100-462)			
348	9-30	.....	Nickles motion to table Bradley motion to disagree to House amendment: Prohibits District of Columbia (as well as Federal) funds from being used to perform abortions except where life of mother would be endangered if fetus were carried to term. (45-44)
PARENTAL LEAVE (S. 2488)			
349	10-3	.....	<i>Reid, et al., cloture motion on Byrd motion to recommit bill to Labor Committee with instructions to report back forthwith with substitute amendment containing provisions dealing with parental leave, child pornography, and child care. (85-6)</i>
BERNE COPYRIGHT CONVENTION IMPLEMENTATION (H.R. 4262, P.L. 100-568)			
350	10-5	.....	Passage. (90-0)
TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTION (H.R. 4333, P.L. 100-647)			
351	10-6	.....	<i>Kennedy-Metzenbaum, et al., amendment: Exempts from individual gross income interest from U.S. savings bonds paid for college tuition and phases out tax exemption when income reaches \$60,000 to \$80,000. (94-0)</i>
352	10-6	.....	Humphrey motion to table Humphrey, et al., amendment: Denies tax-exempt status to any organization receiving more than one percent of its gross receipts from performing abortions except in cases where life of mother would be endangered if fetus were carried to term. (56-39)
353	10-6	.....	Gramm motion to recommit bill with instructions to report back forthwith with committee substitute amendment, as amended, with Gramm amendment: Cuts EDA, Legal Services Corporation, Amtrak, Low-Income Energy Assistance, and coal for Defense Stock Fund to fund drug program. (22-72)
354	10-6	.....	Baucus motion to table Rudman amendment: Increases excise tax on cigarettes, liquor, wines, and beer to fund drug program. (60-33)
PARENTAL LEAVE (S. 2488)			
355	10-7	.....	<i>Adams, et al., cloture motion on committee substitute amendment for bill. (50-46)</i>
TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (H.R. 4333, P.L. 100-647)			
356	10-7	.....	<i>DeConcini, et al., amendment: Expresses sense of Senate that Senate conferees should oppose any restrictions on use of tax-exempt bonds by nonprofit organizations building residential rental property. (88-0)</i>
357	10-7	.....	Evans motion to table Evans-Cranston-Durenberger modified perfecting amendment (to Cranston-Evans-Durenberger amendment): Establishes Commission on Compensation Equity to study whether wage discrimination against minority and female employees exists in the

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
			Federal pay and classification system and requires study to include both job content (comparable worth) analysis and economic analysis. (14-72) (Amendment fell when underlying amendment was withdrawn.)
358	10-7	.....	Riegle motion to table D'Amato, et al., amendment: Increases limit on tax-free employer-provided mass transit fringe benefits from \$15 per month to \$38 per month offset by doubling gas guzzler tax on automobiles that achieve less than 22.5 miles per gallon. (43-41)
359	10-7	.....	Cranston motion to table Cranston perfecting amendment (to Bradley amendment): Repeals restriction in D.C. appropriations bill that prohibits use of D.C. funds to pay for abortions except where life of mother is endangered. (40-43) (Amendment fell when underlying amendment was withdrawn.)
360	10-7	.....	Inouye motion to table Gore amendment: Adds text of S. 889, Satellite Television Fair Marketing Act. (43-36)
361	10-7	.....	<i>Bumpers substitute amendment (for Warner amendment): Adds 542 acres to Manassas National Battlefield Park to protect area from development. (50-25)</i>
362	10-11	.....	Baucus motion to table Bradley amendment: Increases earned income tax credit for low-income individuals from 14 to 15 percent, maximum credit from \$875 to \$978, and income phaseout level credit from \$19,400 to \$19,820; and offsets \$1.6 billion revenue loss by deleting most revenue-losing provisions of committee substitute. (85-2)
363	10-11	.....	Baucus motion to table Bradley amendment: Strikes most revenue-losing provisions of Committee substitute and allocates approximately \$1.6 billion to be saved over three years for drug program. (82-5)
364	10-11	.....	<i>Pell-Helms amendment: Imposes immediate sanctions against Iraq for use of chemical weapons that (1) prohibit export to Iraq of items on munitions control list and items controlled for national security, and (2) require U.S. to oppose international financial institution loans to Iraq. (87-0)</i>
365	10-11	.....	<i>Daschle-Dole substitute amendment (for Melcher amendment): Clarifies that 1988 crop disaster payments can be counted as income for 1989 and offsets cost by permitting U.S. to collect estate tax from foreign spouse of deceased U.S. citizen. (87-1)</i>
366	10-11	.....	Passage. (87-1)
			MILITARY BASE CLOSINGS (S. 2749, PL. 100-526)
367	10-12	.....	Adoption of conference report. (82-7)
			DRUG ABUSE (H.R. 5210, P.L. 100-690)
368	10-13	.....	Hatfield-Evans-Levin-Chafee amendment: Strikes death penalty and 20-year minimum sentence for drug-related killings and substitutes therefor mandatory life sentence without possibility of parole. (25-64)
369	10-13	.....	Kennedy amendment: Prohibits death sentence if that sentence furthers racially disproportionate pattern. (35-52)
370	10-13	.....	D'Amato motion to table Simon amendment: Makes death penalty applicable only for drug-related killing of police officer or innocent bystander. (72-16)
371	10-13	.....	<i>Domenici, et al., amendment: Permits Attorney General, as alternative to criminal prosecution, to impose \$10,000 civil penalty for possession of controlled substance. (88-0)</i>
372	10-14	.....	<i>Gramm-Domenici amendment: Allows courts to deny Federal benefits, including means-tested benefits, to individuals convicted of drug <u>trafficking</u> for up to five years for first offense, ten years for second offense, and mandates permanent cutoff for third offense; allows courts to deny non-means-tested Federal benefits to those convicted of drug <u>use</u> for up to one year for first offense and five years for second offense; provides drug treatment program benefits if convicted addict is in long-term drug treatment program; and states that Federal benefits may <u>not</u> be denied for social security, medicare, railroad retirement, veterans' benefits, or other benefits for which payments or services are required for eligibility. (78-11)</i>
373	10-14	.....	<i>Wilson, et al., amendment: Requires establishment of four-State pilot program for testing applicants for driver's license for unlawful usage of controlled substance; requires each State to deny driving privileges for one year if tests show illicit drug usage. (77-10)</i>
374	10-14	.....	<i>Kerry, et al., amendment: Requires negotiations with foreign governments in attempt to require foreign banks to keep records of U.S. currency transactions in excess of \$10,000, and requires President to impose appropriate penalties and sanctions against countries engaged in money laundering affecting U.S. narcotics trafficking. (85-3)</i>

<i>Vote No.</i>	<i>Date 1987</i>	<i>Voting Position</i>	
375	10-14	.....	Metzenbaum, et al., amendment: Bans undetectable firearms (plastic guns) manufactured after March 1, 1988. (89-0)
376	10-14	.....	Passage. (87-3)
MONTANA WILDERNESS (S. 2751 Pocket Vetoed)			
377	10-18	.....	Symms amendment: States sense of Senate that Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, and Commerce should consult immediately with allied governments on impact on Western security of various types of private and public sector credit flows and debt reschedulings to Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba, Vietnam, Libya, and Nicaragua; calls for multilateral voluntary initiative to end untied loans to these countries for both national security and prudent commercial banking reasons. (64-2)
378	10-18	.....	Pell motion to table McCain modified amendment: States sense of Senate that Senate condemns continued suppression of human rights and blatant violations of Esquipulas II Accord by Sandinistas; U.S. should continue efforts to strengthen internal democratic opposition and independent media by reaffirming its support of humanitarian assistance to Contras; and continued violations of Accord will very likely result in additional military assistance to Contras. (12-54)
VETERANS' BENEFITS (H.R. 4741)			
379	10-18		Murkowski motion to table Daschle, et al., amendment: Implements four-year test period to permit use of GI bill for commercial flight training. (15-47)

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SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 1

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 25, 1988, 12:14 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2

SENATE PROCEDURE (ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
Vote Nos. 1, 2.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (73)			NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (22)	
Democrats (43 or 100%)		Republicans (30 or 86%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (5 or 14%)	Democrats (11)	Republicans (11)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong		Hecht	Bentsen ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond		McCain	Boren ⁻²	Cohen ⁻²
Biden	Leahy	Boschwitz		Quayle	Daschle ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Cochran		Symms	DeConcini ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher	D'Amato		Weicker	Gore ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Danforth			Graham ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bumpers	Mikulski	Dole			Heflin ⁻²	Kasten ⁻²
Burdick	Moynihan	Domenici			Johnston ⁻²	Packwood ⁻²
Byrd	Nunn	Evans			Matsunaga ⁻²	Rudman ⁻²
Chiles	Pell	Gramm			Mitchell ⁻²	Specter ⁻²
Conrad	Proxmire	Grassley			Simon ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Cranston	Pryor	Hatch				
Dixon	Reid	Hatfield				
Dodd	Riegle	Helms				
Exon	Rockefeller	Humphrey				
Ford	Sanford	Kassebaum				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Lugar				
Glenn	Sasser	McClure				
Harkin	Shelby	McConnell				
Hollings	Stennis	Murkowski				
Inouye	Wirth	Nickles				
Kennedy		Pressler				
		Roth				
		Simpson				
		Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Thurmond				
		Trible				
		Wallop				
		Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats—43 or 59%
Republicans—30 or 41%

Against (5)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 2

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 27, 1988, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-138

SENATE PROCEDURE (ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.

Vote Nos. 1, 2.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (76)			NAYS (15)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (26 or 63%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (15 or 37%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong		Bond	Exon ⁻³	Cochran ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz		Chafee	Gore ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	D'Amato		Cohen	Matsunaga ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Danforth		Gramm	Simon ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻¹
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Domenici		Hecht		Wallop ^{-1AN}
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger		Helms		
Bradley	Levin	Evans		Karnes		
Breaux	Melcher	Garn		Kasten		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Grassley		McCain		
Burdick	Mikulski	Hatch		McConnell		
Byrd	Mitchell	Hatfield		Nickles		
Chiles	Moynihan	Humphrey		Quayle		
Conrad	Nunn	Kassebaum		Specter		
Cranston	Pell	Lugar		Symms		
Daschle	Proxmire	McClure		Weicker		
DeConcini	Pryor	Packwood				
Dixon	Reid	Pressler				
Dodd	Riegle	Roth				
Ford	Rockefeller	Rudman				
Fowler	Sanford	Simpson				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Stafford				
Graham	Sasser	Stevens				
Harkin	Shelby	Thurmond				
Heflin	Stennis	Trible				
Hollings	Wirth	Warner				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 63%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (76)
Democrats— 50 or 66%
Republicans— 26 or 34%

Against (15)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 15 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 3

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 27, 1988, 10:59 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-147

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY (CROSS-OWNERSHIP)

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1381

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Symms amendment (taking with it the Nickles perfecting amendment No. 1382) to repeal the provision in the Continuing Appropriations Act, 1988 (P.L. 100-202) which prohibits the Federal Communication Commission from granting a waiver to the rule forbidding ownership of both a newspaper and a television station in the same community.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that the provision in the Continuing Appropriations Act codifying the cross-ownership rule violates an individual's first amendment rights. It prevents owners of newspapers and TV stations from even seeking a waiver of the rule. The provision was included in the Continuing Appropriations bill without the knowledge of the full Senate, and some felt it was targeted specifically at Rupert Murdoch, who is seeking another waiver of the rule from the FCC. They were concerned that this action could force a major American newspaper, The New York Post, out of business. An FCC ruling that someone objects to can always be challenged in court.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) countered that the cross-ownership rule protects the diversity of viewpoints in sources of public information, a fundamental first amendment principle with which the Supreme Court is in agreement. With the recent repeal of the Fairness Doctrine, the rule is made more important in protecting the public interest. Rupert Murdoch should not be the only publisher in America who can buy a TV station and retain ownership of a newspaper in the same community. Since he was aware of the rule when he bought the station, and has had more than two years to comply, a waiver is not justified. The D.C. Court of Appeals has stayed any action of the FCC for 45 days after ruling on Murdoch's legal challenge, so The New York Post will not be forced out of business. Some supported the concept of the amendment but opposed its inclusion in this bill.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)			NAYS (30)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)	Republicans (12 or 29%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (29 or 71%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Dixon	Armstrong	Bingaman ⁻²	Dole ^{-2AN}
Baucus	Kerry	Chafee		Bond	Exon ⁻¹	Domenici ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cohen		Cochran	Gore ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Biden	Leahy	Durenberger		D'Amato	Heflin ^{-2AY}	Murkowski ⁻¹
Boren	Levin	Evans		Danforth	Simon ⁻²	Wallop ^{-1AN}
Bradley	Matsunaga	Hatfield		Garn		
Breaux	Melcher	Packwood		Gramm		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Rudman		Grassley		
Burdick	Mikulski	Stafford		Hatch		
Byrd	Mitchell	Stevens		Hecht		
Chiles	Moynihan	Warner		Heinz		
Conrad	Nunn	Weicker		Humphrey		
Cranston	Pell			Karnes		
Daschle	Proxmire			Kassebaum		
DeConcini	Pryor			Kasten		
Dodd	Reid			Lugar		
Ford	Riegle			McCain		
Fowler	Rockefeller			McClure		
Glenn	Sanford			McConnell		
Graham	Sarbanes			Nickles		
Harkin	Sasser			Pressler		
Hollings	Shelby			Quayle		
Inouye	Stennis			Roth		
Johnston	Wirth			Simpson		
				Specter		
				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats—48 or 80%
Republicans—12 or 20%

Against (30)
Democrats—1 or 3%
Republicans—29 or 97%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 4

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 27, 1988, 12:15 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-154

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1384

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Hatch-Thurmond amendment which prohibits the application of this Act to any part of a religious entity that does not receive Federal financial assistance (thereby permitting discrimination at a geographically separate religious facility, part of which receives Federal financial assistance).

NOTE: Proponents claimed that the bill exceeds the previous application of Title IX to such a degree that if a local Catholic parish has a food program for which it receives Federal funds, the entire Catholic Church becomes liable to the rules and regulations of this bill. No such broad coverage of the most basic religious institutions existed prior to the Grove City case, and the Senate should not sacrifice religious freedoms to strengthen civil rights protections. The threat of government regulation is a disincentive to religious institutions to continue providing needed community services. The amendment would narrow the application of the provision to just the programs in a religious institution which receive Federal funds, not the entire religious institution.

Opponents pointed out that the bill could not result in the regulation of religious institutions since a distinction is made between corporations whose primary purpose is providing social services and those whose primary purpose is another function, such as religion. In the latter case, the bill would apply only to those "geographically separate" facilities providing social services and receiving Federal funds—not the the entire religious institution. It would have no impact on the right of religious institutions to discriminate on the basis of religion, to the extent that it is not an excuse for racial discrimination. The amendment would narrow the application of the bill to the program within the facility receiving Federal funds, thus permitting discrimination elsewhere within the same facility. A number of religious organizations participated in the hearings on this bill and none requested this amendment. The bill was reported out of the Labor Committee by a 12-4 bipartisan vote.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (36)		NAYS (56)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (7 or 14%)	Republicans (29 or 71%)	Democrats (44 or 86%)	Republicans (12 or 29%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (5)
Boren	Armstrong	Adams	Johnston	Exon ⁻³	Cochran ⁻²
DeConcini	Bond	Baucus	Kennedy	Gore ^{-2AN}	Dole ⁻²
Ford	D'Amato	Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen	Hecht ⁻²
Heflin	Danforth	Biden	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Murkowski ⁻¹
Melcher	Domenici	Bingaman	Leahy	Evans	Wallop ^{-1AY}
Reid	Garn	Bradley	Levin	Heinz	
Stennis	Gramm	Breaux	Matsunaga	Kassebaum	
	Grassley	Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Packwood	
	Hatch	Burdick	Mikulski	Specter	
	Hatfield	Byrd	Mitchell	Stafford	
	Helms	Chiles	Moynihan	Weicker	
	Humphrey	Conrad	Nunn	Wilson	
	Karnes	Cranston	Pell		
	Kasten	Daschle	Proxmire		
	Lugar	Dixon	Pryor		
	McCain	Dodd	Riegle		
	McClure	Fowler	Rockefeller		
	McConnell	Glenn	Sanford		
	Nickles	Graham	Sarbanes		
	Pressler	Harkin	Sasser		
	Quayle	Hollings	Shelby		
	Roth	Inouye	Wirth		
	Rudman				
	Simpson				
	Stevens				
	Symms				
	Thurmond				
	Trible				
	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
1—Official Business	
2—Necessarily Absent	
3—Illness	
4—Other	
SYMBOLS:	
AY—Announced Yea	
AN—Announced Nay	
PY—Paired Yea	
PN—Paired Nay	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—86%
Republicans—71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (36)
Democrats—7 or 19%
Republicans—29 or 81%

Against (56)
Democrats—44 or 79%
Republicans—12 or 21%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 5

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 27, 1988, 1:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-157

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1385

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Thurmond amendment which limits the application of the Act to only the specific educational institution which receives Federal assistance within the school system (thereby permitting discrimination at one branch of a private school system while a separate branch of the same school system would continue to receive Federal funds).

NOTE: Proponents claimed that the bill expands Title IX coverage to the extent that an entire school system would be subject to the bill if only one school received Federal funds. Such an expansion of the coverage of Title IX not only exceeds previous law, but threatens religious liberty. Even schools that do not discriminate would be affected, since they would have to comply with regulatory preclearance red tape. The amendment would assure that Title IX coverage extends only to the institution of the religious or private school which receives Federal aid, instead of the entire school system. Opponents countered that to be considered a school system a significant linkage must exist among a group of schools in terms of common governing, common funding, etc. as described in detail in the committee report. Schools that are under some umbrella advocacy or membership group, or are accredited by a central accrediting agency, do not constitute a school system and therefore would not all be subject to Title IX. The amendment would have the negative effect of permitting private school systems to discriminate by funneling Federal funding to some schools while discriminating at others. The Roman Catholic Church, which runs probably the largest number of private schools and consequently is likely to be affected by the bill, does not support this amendment.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (16)		NAYS (70)		NOT VOTING (14)	
Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (16 or 42%)	Democrats (48 or 100%)	Republicans (22 or 58%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (8)
	Armstrong	Baucus	Johnston	Adams ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
	Garn	Bentsen	Kennedy	Cranston ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
	Gramm	Biden	Kerry	Exon ⁻³	Domenici ⁻²
	Hatch	Lautenberg	Cohen	Gore ^{-2AN}	Hecht ⁻²
	Helms	Leahy	D'Amato	Rockefeller ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
	Humphrey	Levin	Danforth	Simon ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻¹
	Karnes	Matsunaga	Durenberger		Wallop ^{-1AY}
	Kasten	Melcher	Evans		Warner ⁻²
	McClure	Metzenbaum	Grassley	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
	McConnell	Mikulski	Hatfield		
	Nickles	Mitchell	Heinz		
	Pressler	Moynihan	Kassebaum		
	Quayle	Nunn	McCain	1—Official Business	
	Simpson	Pell	Packwood	2—Necessarily Absent	
	Symms	Proxmire	Roth	3—Illness	
	Thurmond	Pryor	Rudman	4—Other	
		Reid	Specter	SYMBOLS:	
		Riegle	Stafford		
		Sanford	Stevens		
		Sarbanes	Trible		
		Sasser	Weicker	AY—Announced Yea	
		Shelby	Wilson	AN—Announced Nay	
		Stennis		PY—Paired Yea	
		Wirth		PN—Paired Nay	
		Inouye			

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (16)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—16 or 100%

Against (70)
Democrats—48 or 69%
Republicans—22 or 31%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 6

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 27, 1988, 5:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-172

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 557

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (75)			NAYS (15)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)	Republicans (26 or 63%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (15 or 37%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong		Chafee	Exon— ³	Bond— ²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz		Cohen	Gore— ²	Dole— ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cochran		D'Amato	Rockefeller— ²	Hecht— ²
Biden	Kerry	Danforth		Evans	Simon— ²	Murkowski— ¹
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Domenici		Gramm	Stennis— ²	Wallop— ¹
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger		Hatch		
Bradley	Levin	Garn		Helms		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Grassley		Kasten		
Bumpers	Melcher	Hatfield		McCain		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Heinz		McConnell		
Byrd	Mikulski	Humphrey		Nickles		
Chiles	Mitchell	Karnes		Quayle		
Conrad	Moynihan	Kassebaum		Specter		
Cranston	Nunn	Lugar		Symms		
Daschle	Pell	McClure		Weicker		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Packwood				
Dixon	Pryor	Pressler				
Dodd	Reid	Roth				
Ford	Riegle	Rudman				
Fowler	Sanford	Simpson				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Stafford				
Graham	Sasser	Stevens				
Harkin	Shelby	Thurmond				
Heflin	Wirth	Trible				
Hollings		Warner				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

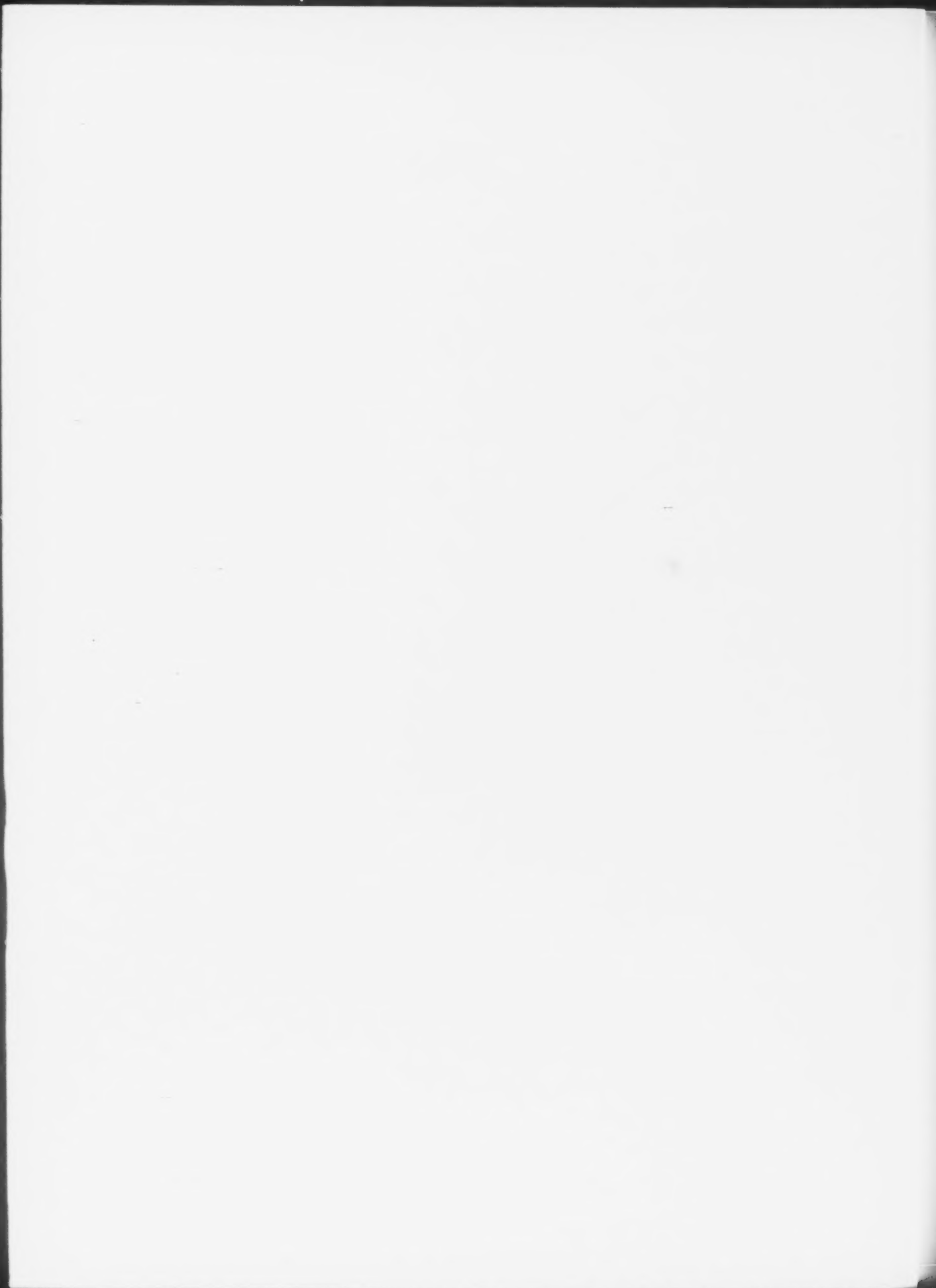
Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—63%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (75)
Democrats—49 or 65%
Republicans—26 or 35%

Against (15)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—15 or 100%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 7

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 28, 1988, 10:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-210

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1386

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Hatch amendment which expands the exemption to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 for educational institutions "controlled by a religious organization" if its application "would not be consistent with the religious tenets of such organization" also to exempt any institution which is "closely identified" with the tenets of a religious organization.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that church-related universities have changed since 1972 so that most are no longer controlled by a religious group and can no longer meet the religious exemption standard. Most have to go beyond their denominational constituencies for funding. This amendment strikes a constitutional balance between the need to promote the principles of equal rights, while allowing for the exercise of religious liberty. The amendment is supported by a number of groups, including the U.S. Catholic Conference and the National Association of Independent Colleges.

Opponents contended that liberalizing the standard for the granting of waivers is unwarranted. While the nature of educational institutions may have changed sufficiently to warrant a modification, this proposal is too vague. The wording, they insisted, leaves room for abuse. Any exemptions that are granted should be defined narrowly. No school applying for an exemption has ever been denied one. The record of application of the religious tenet exemption does not indicate the need to broaden it. Twenty-nine religious denominations or groups were cited that support the bill and oppose all substantive amendments.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (39)		NAYS (56)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (9 or 17%)	Republicans (30 or 70%)	Democrats (43 or 83%)		Republicans (13 or 30%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Adams	Lautenberg	Bond	Biden— ³	Dole— ²
Boren	Cochran	Baucus	Leahy	Boschwitz	Gore— ^{2AN}	Murkowski— ¹
Breaux	D'Amato	Bingaman	Levin	Chafee		Wallop— ^{1AY}
Exon	Danforth	Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen		
Ford	Domenici	Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		
Heflin	Garn	Burdick	Mikulski	Evans		
Johnston	Gramm	Byrd	Mitchell	Heinz		
Melcher	Grassley	Chiles	Moynihan	Packwood		
Stennis	Hatch	Conrad	Nunn	Rudman		
	Hatfield	Cranston	Pell	Specter		
	Hecht	Daschle	Proxmire	Stafford		
	Helms	DeConcini	Pryor	Weicker		
	Humphrey	Dixon	Reid	Wilson		
	Karnes	Dodd	Riegle			
	Kassebaum	Fowler	Rockefeller			
	Kasten	Glenn	Sanford			
	Lugar	Graham	Sarbanes			
	McCaig	Harkin	Sasser			
	McClure	Hollings	Shelby			
	McConnell	Inouye	Simon			
	Nickles	Kennedy	Wirth			
	Pressler	Kerry				
	Quayle					
	Roth					
	Simpson					
	Stevens					
	Symms					
	Thurmond					
	Trible					
	Warner					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—83%
Republicans—70%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (39)
Democrats—9 or 23%
Republicans—30 or 77%

Against (56)
Democrats—43 or 77%
Republicans—13 or 23%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Bord, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 8

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 28, 1988, 1:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-225

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY (ABORTION)

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1393

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Weicker-Kennedy-Packwood-Metzenbaum amendment which adds the following: "no provision of this Act or amendment made by this Act shall be construed to force or require any individual or hospital or other institution, program, or activity receiving Federal funds to perform or pay for an abortion." (See also Vote No. 9.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that there should be nothing in the bill that expands abortion rights or forces institutions or hospitals to perform or pay for abortions through their health insurance plans. While this amendment protects existing law regarding abortion, the Danforth amendment (Vote No. 9) would change the law by repealing the executive branch's regulations—something the Administration can do readily itself. It would overturn the title IX regulations issued under the Ford Administration, which forbids educational institutions receiving Federal funds from discriminating against students or employees who are seeking, or have had, an abortion. This is a civil rights, not an abortion, bill designed to restore the scope of coverage of the four basic civil rights statutes that require recipients of Federal funds to refrain from discrimination. The amendment, unlike the Danforth amendment, would not change the law regarding abortion, they insisted.

Opponents claimed that the amendment would not prevent a court from mandating the funding or the performance of abortions by hospitals affiliated with a Roman Catholic University on the basis that refusing to do so constitutes sex discrimination under title IX. Without the Danforth amendment, the Senate would reaffirm the regulations that existed before Grove City which equates refusal to fund or provide abortions with sex discrimination. Legal opinion and the Justice Department feel that such reaffirmation would broaden the instances where abortion may be required, even at a Catholic hospital.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (55)			NAYS (40)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (41 or 79%)		Republicans (14 or 33%)	Democrats (11 or 21%)	Republicans (29 or 67%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Boren	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Cohen	Conrad	Bond	Gore ^{-2AY}	Murkowski ⁻¹
Bentsen	Lautenberg	D'Amato	DeConcini	Boschwitz		Wallop ^{-1AN}
Bingaman	Leahy	Evans	Exon	Cochran	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Bradley	Levin	Heinz	Ford	Danforth		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Kassebaum	Johnston	Domenici		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Packwood	Melcher	Durenberger		
Burdick	Mikulski	Rudman	Proxmire	Garn	SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Byrd	Mitchell	Simpson	Reid	Gramm		
Chiles	Moynihan	Specter	Shelby	Grassley		
Cranston	Nunn	Stafford	Stennis	Hatch		
Daschle	Pell	Stevens		Hatfield		
Dixon	Pryor	Weicker		Hecht		
Dodd	Riegle	Wilson		Helms		
Fowler	Rockefeller			Humphrey		
Glenn	Sanford			Karnes		
Graham	Sarbanes			Kasten		
Harkin	Sasser			Lugar		
Heflin	Simon			McCain		
Hollings	Wirth			McClure		
Inouye				McConnell		
				Nickles		
				Pressler		
				Quayle		
				Roth		
				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Warner		

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—79%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats—41 or 75%
Republicans—14 or 25%

Against (40)
Democrats—11 or 27.5%
Republicans—29 or 72.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

8

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 9

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 28, 1988, 2:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-237

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY (ABORTION)

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1392

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Danforth amendment which amends Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 by adding: "Nothing in this Title shall be construed to require or prohibit any person, or public or private entity, to provide or pay for any benefit or service, including the use of facilities, related to an abortion. Nothing in this section shall be construed to permit a penalty to be imposed on any person or individual because such person or individual is seeking or has received any benefit or service related to a legal abortion." (This amendment supersedes the Weicker-Metzenbaum, et al., amendment—Vote No. 8.)

NOTE: Proponents contended that the previous amendment does not prevent the government or the courts from mandating abortions. A Federal judge could require abortions on the basis that refusal to pay for, or perform, an abortion constitutes sex discrimination in violation of title IX, enacted in 1972 and implemented by HEW regulations in 1975. This amendment makes congressional intent very clear and resolves the ambiguity which has been raised regarding the obligation of religious and other educational institutions to provide abortion-related services or insurance coverage. This amendment provides the necessary protection of the freedom of conscience for institutions, even without religious affiliation, that choose not to perform abortions.

Opponents countered that the issue boils down to whether or not a woman should have a choice about abortion. No court has ever interpreted the 1975 regulations to mandate abortions. No institution that has applied for a religious exemption from Title IX of the Education Act of 1972 has ever failed to get it. This amendment is an effort to roll back the rights of women in this country in the hope that it will be followed by rolling them back more. The goal of the bill is to restore the civil rights law to the status it enjoyed prior to the Grove City decision and not to make substantive changes regarding abortion, as this amendment does.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (56)			NAYS (39)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (20 or 38%)		Republicans (36 or 84%)	Democrats (32 or 62%)		Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Karnes	Adams	Kerry	Chafee	Biden— ³ AN	Murkowski— ¹ PY
Boren	Bond	Kasten	Baucus	Lautenberg	Cohen	Gore— ² AN	Wallop— ¹ AY
Breaux	Boschwitz	Lugar	Bingaman	Leahy	Evans		
Conrad	Cochran	McCain	Bradley	Matsunaga	Packwood		
DeConcini	D'Amato	McClure	Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Specter		
Dixon	Danforth	McConnell	Burdick	Mikulski	Stafford		
Dodd	Dole	Nickles	Byrd	Mitchell	Weicker		
Exon	Domenici	Pressler	Chiles	Pell			
Ford	Durenberger	Quayle	Cranston	Pryor			
Graham	Garn	Roth	Daschle	Riegle			
Hellin	Gramm	Rudman	Fowler	Rockefeller			
Johnston	Grassley	Simpson	Glenn	Sanford			
Levin	Hatch	Stevens	Harkin	Sarbanes			
Melcher	Hatfield	Symms	Hollings	Sasser			
Moynihan	Hecht	Thurmond	Inouye	Simon			
Nunn	Heinz	Trible	Kennedy	Wirth			
Proxmire	Helms	Warner					
Reid	Humphrey	Wilson					
Shelby							
Stennis							

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING: Kassebaum (PN).....

RECEIVING: Murkowski (PY)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yeas
AN—Announced Nays
PY—Paired Yeas
PN—Paired Nays

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 62%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats— 20 or 36%
Republicans— 36 or 64%

Against (39)
Democrats— 32 or 82%
Republicans— 7 or 18%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 10

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 28, 1988, 2:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-242

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1394

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Hatch substitute amendment which provides institution-wide coverage of civil rights law in the education area only; excludes from institution-wide coverage other services provided to the elderly, handicapped, and minorities except in education; expands the religious school exemptions to those schools "identified with" the tenets of a particular religious organization; and limits the application of the Act to only the specific educational institution which receives Federal assistance within the school system (thereby permitting discrimination at one branch of a private school system while a separate branch of the same system would continue to receive Federal funds).

NOTE: Proponents asserted that there should be explicit institution-wide coverage of the four civil rights statutes that protect women, minorities, disabled citizens, and the elderly in the area of education, the only area in which there is documentation of harm from the Grove City decision. Outside education, application of the civil rights statutes should be limited to the plain language of each statute, its legislative history, and past agency practice—the same coverage that existed prior to Grove City. No one has demonstrated a need for the sweeping Federal coverage proposed in the bill. The Senate can always address other areas as the need arises. The Administration strongly supports the amendment.

Opponents countered that the amendment overturns only part of the Grove City decision, allowing the civil rights laws to continue to be interpreted in the narrow, program-specific manner that Congress did not intend when it passed the civil rights laws. This would permit discrimination in such areas as health care, social services, transportation, and housing. The amendment also includes two provisions that the Senate previously rejected: the treating of public and private schools differently, and the altering of religious tenet protections. The bill, in contrast, overturns the Grove City decision completely, and restores full protection against the use of Federal funds to discriminate.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (19)		NAYS (75)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (19 or 43%)	Democrats (50 or 100%)	Republicans (25 or 57%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (2)
Armstrong	Adams	Kennedy	Bond	Biden—3	Murkowski—1
Garn	Baucus	Kerry	Boschwitz	Chiles—2	Wallop—1AY
Gramm	Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee	Gore—2AN	
Grassley	Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	Inouye—2	
Hatch	Boren	Levin	Cohen		
Hecht	Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato		
Helms	Breaux	Melcher	Danforth		
Humphrey	Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole		
Karnes	Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici		
Lugar	Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger		
McClure	Conrad	Moynihan	Evans		
McConnell	Cranston	Nunn	Hatfield		
Nickles	Daschle	Pell	Heinz		
Pressler	DeConcini	Proxmire	Kassebaum		
Quayle	Dixon	Pryor	Kasten		
Symms	Dodd	Reid	McCain		
Thurmond	Exon	Riegle	Packwood		
Trible	Ford	Rockefeller	Roth		
Warner	Fowler	Sanford	Rudman		
	Glenn	Sarbanes	Simpson		
	Graham	Sasser	Specter		
	Harkin	Shelby	Stafford		
	Heflin	Simon	Stevens		
	Hollings	Stennis	Weicker		
	Johnston	Wirth	Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (19)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—19 or 100%

Against (75)
Democrats—50 or 67%
Republicans—25 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 11

100th Congress
2nd Session

January 28, 1988, 3:49 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-247

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY

BILL NO.: S. 557

AMENDMENT NO.: 1395

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Humphrey amendment which exempts "small providers" (businesses with fewer than 15 employees and which receive Federal funds) from having to make structural alterations for the purpose of accessibility to the handicapped, rather than exempting small providers from having to make "significant" structural alterations as in the bill. (In addition, small providers are exempt under current regulations if they can refer the handicapped to a more accessible provider.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that requiring businesses to make their establishments accessible to the handicapped imposes an unreasonable burden on small providers, such as corner grocery stores. Not only are such modifications expensive, but the bill's imprecise language could make small providers susceptible to lawsuits from those who consider the access provided for the handicapped inadequate. Allowing small providers the option of referring handicapped individuals to other establishments is not practical, since there may not be another local establishment.

Opponents claimed that no business receiving Federal funds should be permitted to ignore the needs of the disabled. Such a requirement does not impose an unreasonable burden on small businesses. Not only does the IRS already allow a \$35,000 yearly deduction for expenses incurred in making businesses accessible to the elderly and handicapped, but the bill does not require a business to make structural modifications if alternative means of providing the services are available, including recommending the individual to another establishment. No small business has advocated support for this amendment, or has ever lodged a complaint with the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee regarding compliance with the civil rights laws.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (13)		NAYS (79)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (13 or 30%)	Democrats (49 or 100%)	Republicans (30 or 70%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (3)
	Armstrong	Adams	Kennedy	Biden-3	McClure-2
	Garn	Baucus	Kerry	Chiles-2	Murkowski-1
	Gramm	Bentsen	Lautenberg	Gore-2AN	Wallop-1AY
	Hatch	Bingaman	Leahy	Inouye-2	
	Hecht	Boren	Levin	Simon-2	
	Helms	Bradley	Matsunaga		
	Humphrey	Breaux	Meicher		
	Lugar	Bumpers	Metzenbaum		
	McConnell	Burdick	Mikulski		
	Nickles	Byrd	Mitchell		
	Rudman	Conrad	Moynihan		
	Symms	Cranston	Nunn		
	Thurmond	Daschle	Pell		
		DeConcini	Proxmire		
		Dixon	Pryor		
		Dodd	Reid		
		Exon	Riegle		
		Ford	Rockefeller		
		Fowler	Sanford		
		Glenn	Sarbanes		
		Graham	Sasser		
		Harkin	Shelby		
		Heflin	Stennis		
		Hollings	Wirth		
		Johnston			
			Bond		
			Boschwitz		
			Chafee		
			Cochran		
			Cohen		
			D'Amato		
			Danforth		
			Dole		
			Domenici		
			Durenberger		
			Evans		
			Grassley		
			Hatfield		
			Heinz		
			Karnes		
			Kassebaum		
			Kasten		
			McCain		
			Packwood		
			Pressler		
			Quayle		
			Roth		
			Simpson		
			Specter		
			Stafford		
			Stevens		
			Trible		
			Warner		
			Weicker		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—70%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (13)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—13 or 100%

Against (79)
Democrats—49 or 62%
Republicans—30 or 38%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

NO. 12

January 28, 1988, 5:56 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-266

BILL NO.: S. 557

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which reaffirms pre-*Grove City College* judicial and executive branch interpretations and enforcement practices of the four major civil rights statutes—Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975—by restoring all four statutes to the broad institution-wide application which characterized coverage and enforcement until the Supreme Court's 1984 decision in *Grove City College v. Bell* which severely narrowed the application of coverage of these statutes; and amends Title IX to allow university hospitals that receive Federal funds to refuse to provide medical insurance coverage for or perform abortions.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (75)			NAYS (14)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (48 or 100%)		Republicans (27 or 66%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (14 or 34%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Kennedy	Bond		Armstrong	Biden—3AY	Dole—2
Baucus	Kerry	Boschwitz		Garn	Chiles—2AY	McClure—2
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee		Gramm	Ford—1	Murkowski—1AY
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran		Hatch	Gore—2AY	Rudman—2PY
Boren	Levin	Cohen		Hecht	Inouye—2	Wallop—1PN
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato		Helms	Simon—2	
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth		Humphrey		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Domenici		Karnes		
Burdick	Mikulski	Durenberger		Lugar		
Byrd	Mitchell	Evans		McConnell		
Conrad	Moynihan	Grassley		Nickles		
Cranston	Nunn	Hatfield		Quayle		
Daschle	Pell	Heinz		Symms		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Kassebaum		Thurmond		
Dixon	Pryor	Kasten				
Dodd	Reid	McCain				
Exon	Riegle	Packwood				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Pressler				
Glenn	Sanford	Roth				
Graham	Sarbanes	Simpson				
Harkin	Sasser	Specter				
Heflin	Shelby	Stafford				
Hollings	Stennis	Stevens				
Johnston	Wirth	Trible				
		Warner				
		Weicker				
		Wilson				

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:		
Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on		
Party Cohesion	For (75)	Against (14)
Democrats—100%	Democrats—48 or 64%	Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—66%	Republicans—27 or 36%	Republicans—14 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Reaffirms pre-*Grove City College* judicial and executive branch interpretations and enforcement practices of the four major civil rights statutes—Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975—by restoring all four statutes to the broad institution-wide application which characterize coverage and enforcement until the Supreme Court's 1984 decision in *Grove City College v. Bell* which severely narrowed the application of coverage of these statutes.

Amends each of the affected statutes by adding a section defining the phrase "program or activity" and "program" to make clear that discrimination is prohibited throughout entire entities if any part receives Federal financial assistance.

Contains a rule of construction which leaves intact the current exemption from coverage by the civil rights laws for "ultimate beneficiaries" of Federal financial assistance; incorporates regulatory "small providers" exceptions into the coverage provisions of section 504; and clarifies that the religious tenet exemption in Title IX extends to any activity of an entity controlled by a religious organization which would otherwise be covered by Title IX.

Provides that: "no provision of this Act or amendment made by this Act shall be construed to force or require any individual or hospital or other institution, program, or activity receiving Federal funds to perform or pay for an abortion."

Amends Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 by adding: "Nothing in this Title shall be construed to require or prohibit any person, or public or private entity, to provide or pay for any benefit or service, including the use of facilities, related to an abortion. Nothing in this section shall be construed to permit a penalty to be imposed on any person or individual because such person or individual is seeking or has received any benefit or service related to a legal abortion."

Specifies that for purposes of sections 503 and 504 of the Rehabilitation Act as they relate to employment the term "individuals with handicaps" does not include an individual who has a currently contagious disease or infection and who, as a result, would constitute a direct threat to the health or safety of other individuals, or is unable to perform the duties of his/her job.

BACKGROUND: In enacting Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which bars discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in a "program or activity" that receives Federal aid), Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (which prohibits sex discrimination in educational programs or activities receiving Federal financial assistance), Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (which prohibits recipients of Federal funding from discriminating against disabled persons), and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975 (which prohibits discrimination on the basis of age in the delivery of services and benefits supported by Federal funds), Congress intended that each be broadly interpreted to provide effective remedies against discrimination.

Debates emphasized both the anticipated breadth of coverage as well as the important and fundamental aims these statutes would achieve. This was clear not only in connection with Title VI, but also with the other civil rights statutes which were modeled on Title VI with respect to both language and intended effect. Contrary to the view of the Supreme Court in the *Grove City* decision that the language common to these statutes (i.e., "program or activity") should be given a limited interpretation, Congress intended broad coverage and the Executive Branch has historically insisted upon this view.

Because each of the statutes employs the same language to describe coverage so that the same standards are used to interpret and enforce all four laws, the Supreme Court's February 28, 1984, decision in the Title IX case, *Grove City College v. Bell*, affected all four statutes.

In *Grove City*, the Court unanimously held that the student aid dollars reaching the college through its students constituted Federal financial assistance to the school. However, in determining the scope of the duty not to discriminate, a divided court interpreted the law's "program or activity" phrase narrowly. Because the only Federal money reaching the college was in the form of student aid, the Court concluded that only the financial aid office was covered by Title IX. The rest of the college was left free to deny equal opportunities to women (and by analogy to minorities, disabled, and older persons). The *Grove City* ruling reversed years of administrative interpretation and enforcement practice by Republican and Democratic administrations and was in conflict with many court interpretations of the laws. On the same day, the Supreme Court ruled in an employment case arising under Section 504 that the phrase "program or activity" was as narrow under that law as under title IX (*Consolidated Rail Corporation v. Darrone*).

S. 557 defines the phrase "program or activity" and "program." It does not change in any way who is a recipient of Federal financial assistance; does not alter what is defined as "Federal financial assistance"; and does not alter the substance and definition of what constitutes discrimination under the statutes.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 13

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 1, 1988, 2:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-329

ILO CONVENTION ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR STANDARDS

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 99-20, "ILO Convention (No. 144) Concerning Tripartite Consultations to Promote the Implementation of International Labor Standards, adopted by the International Labor Conference at Geneva on June 21, 1976"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the Convention which requires members of the International Labor Organization (ILO) who ratify the convention to establish and maintain machinery to ensure effective tripartite consultations among governments, employers, and workers on ILO matters, and makes the ratification subject to the declaration that there is agreement by concerned U.S. government agencies, the AFL-CIO, and the U.S. Council for International Business that each ILO convention will be examined on its merits on a tripartite basis, and any differences between the Convention and Federal law and practice will be dealt with through the normal legislative process.

NOTE: The Convention will become binding on the United States 12 months after the date on which it registers its ratification with the Director-General of the ILO.

Treaty Doc. 99-20: Vote No. 13.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (81)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (44 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 95%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (10)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	Lugar		Heims	Baucus ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Bond	McCain		Symms	Boren ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Biden	Leahy	Boschwitz	McConnell			Chiles ⁻²	Domenici ⁻¹
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	Murkowski			Cranston ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Nickles			DeConcini ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Packwood			Dixon ^{-2AY}	Rudman ⁻²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler			Dodd ⁻²	Wallop ⁻¹
Burdick	Mikulski	Durenberger	Quayle			Gore ⁻²	
Byrd	Mitchell	Evans	Roth			Nunn ⁻²	
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson			Simon ⁻²	
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Exon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Ford	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Fowler	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Glenn	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Graham	Rockefeller	Heinz	Warner				
Harkin	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Heflin	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Hollings	Sasser	Kasten					
Inouye	Shelby						
Johnston	Stennis						
Kennedy	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats—44 or 54%
Republicans—37 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—2 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 14

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 1, 1988, 2:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-330

ILO CONVENTION ON MINIMUM STANDARDS IN MERCHANT SHIPS

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 99-21, "ILO Convention (No. 147) Concerning Minimum Standards in Merchant Ships, adopted by the International Labor Conference at its 62nd Session in Geneva on October 13, 1976"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the Convention, together with five understandings, which improves employment conditions in merchant ships and expands the ability of port states that are party to the Convention to take steps to protect the health and safety of seamen manning merchant vessels in those states.

NOTE: The Convention will enter into force for the United States 12 months after ratification has been registered with the Director-General of the ILO.

Treaty Doc. 99-21: Vote No. 14.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEAT

YEAS (84)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (16)	
Democrats (45 or 100%)		Republicans (39 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Lautenberg	Armstrong	Iugar			Baucus ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Bond	McCain			Boren ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Biden	Levin	Boschwitz	McConnell			Chiles ⁻²	Domenici ⁻¹
Bingaman	Matsunaga	Chafee	Murkowski			Cranston ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher	Cohen	Nickles			DeConcini ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Breaux	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Packwood			Dixon ^{-2AY}	Rudman ⁻²
Bumpers	Mikulski	Danforth	Pressler			Dodd ⁻²	Wallop ⁻¹
Burdick	Mitchell	Durenberger	Quayle			Gore ⁻²	
Byrd	Moynihan	Evans	Roth			Simon ⁻²	
Conrad	Sunn	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Exon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Ford	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Fowler	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Glenn	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Graham	Rockefeller	Heinz	Tinble				
Harkin	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Heflin	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Hollings	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Inouye	Shelby	Kasten					
Johnston	Stennis						
Kennedy	Wirth						
Kerry							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

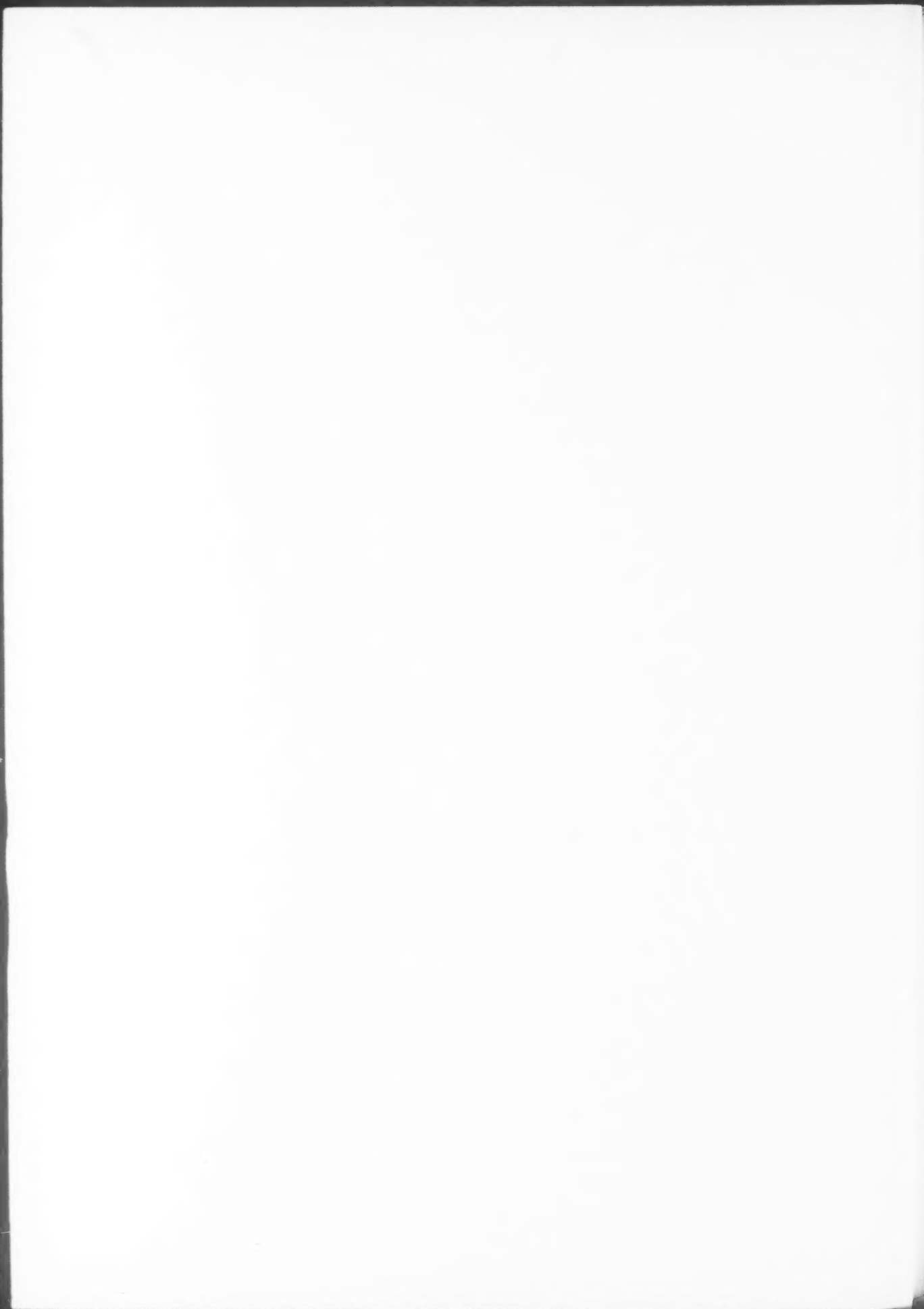
Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats—45 or 54%
Republicans—39 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 15

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 2, 1988, 3:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-424

INSPECTOR GENERAL ACT AMENDMENTS

BILL NO.: S. 908

TITLE: "Inspector General Act Amendments of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which creates new statutory Offices of Inspector General in the Department of the Treasury (one for the Internal Revenue Service and one for the rest of the Treasury Department), the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), and the Office of Personnel Management (OPM); requires other Federal entities to report annually to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget on their efforts to ensure audit and investigative coverage of their programs, operations, and personnel; standardizes Inspector General authorizing legislation; and provides uniform salaries and powers for all of the statutory Inspectors General.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on October 4, 1988. S. 908 became Public Law 100-504, approved October 18, 1988.

S. 908: Vote No. 15.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (85)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (15)	
Democrats (45 or 100%)		Republicans (40 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten			Biden ⁻³	D'Amato ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Daschle ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Gore ^{-2AY}	Karnes ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure			Heflin ^{-2AY}	Rudman ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConneil			Johnston ⁻²	Stevens ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski			Matsunaga ⁻²	Thurmond ⁻²
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Nickles			Melcher ⁻²	
Bumpers	Mikulski	Domenici	Packwood			Reid ⁻²	
Burdick	Mitchell	Durenberger	Pressler			Simon ⁻²	
Byrd	Moynihan	Evans	Quayle				
Chiles	Nunn	Garn	Roth				
Conrad	Pell	Gramm	Simpson				
Cranston	Proxmire	Grassley	Specter				
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatch	Stafford				
Dixon	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Rockefeller	Hecht	Trible				
Exon	Sanford	Heinz	Wallop				
Ford	Sarbanes	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Sasser	Humphrey	Weicker				
Glenn	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Stennis						
Harkin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 45 or 53%
Republicans— 40 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Establishes new statutory Offices of Inspector General in the FEMA, NRC, OPM, and the Treasury Department (one for the IRS and one for the rest of the Department, including the Customs Service, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms [BATF] and Secret Service).

Brings the statutory Offices of Inspector General in the Departments of Energy and Health and Human Services and the Railroad Retirement Board under the Inspector General Act of 1978.

Transfers all IRS internal auditors and investigators into the IRS' Office of Inspector General; prohibits the IRS Inspector General from being authorized to change taxpayer liability determinations; places the auditors from the Secret Service, Customs Service, and the BATF under the direction of the Treasury Department OIG; maintains responsibility for internal investigations within those Department bureaus, but allows the Treasury Department Inspector General to take over an internal investigation involving an employee within any of the bureaus; provides that the Treasury and IRS Inspectors General will be under the authority, direction, and control of the Treasury Secretary and the IRS Commissioner, respectively, with respect to OIG reviews which require access to sensitive matters; authorizes the Treasury Secretary or the Commissioner to restrict an audit or investigation involving sensitive information relating to law enforcement activities, national security and intelligence and counterintelligence matters, and deliberations and decisions on certain policy matters, and requires that Congress be notified of such action.

Transfers the functions of the NRC's Office of Inspector and Auditor and Office of Investigations to the new NRC Office of Inspector General; specifically authorizes the Chairman of the NRC to delegate supervision of the new Inspector General only to another Commission member.

Requires the establishment, within 180 days of enactment, of an internal audit unit in each of 33 designated Federal entities which have budget authority or program expenditures of \$100 million or more or are independent regulatory agencies; transfers all current internal audit and investigative resources within those entities into these units; prohibits transfer of program operating responsibilities to an internal audit unit; directs that the audit unit director be appointed by and under the general supervision of the head of the Federal entity and requires that Congress be notified of an audit unit director's removal from office or transfer and the reasons for such action; requires ratification of the removal or transfer of the Chief Postal Inspector (deemed to be the agency's internal audit unit director) by two-thirds of the U.S. Postal Service Governors; makes the internal audit unit director of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System subject to limitations similar to those placed on the Treasury and IRS Inspectors General regarding activities involving sensitive information; applies the reporting requirements of the Inspector General Act to these internal audit units.

Requires the head of each Federal entity not required to establish an internal audit unit to file a report annually with OMB which: indicates whether it has established an internal audit unit as defined in the bill, specifies the actions taken to ensure that its programs and operations are audited, and summarizes matters relating to the Federal entity which have been referred to prosecutive authorities, including a description of any preliminary investigation conducted by or at the request of the Federal entity.

Broadens the scope of and standardizes the Inspectors General semiannual reports to their agency head and Congress by requiring the inclusion of: a list of audit reports completed during the reporting period and a summary of the significant reports, a detailed statistical analysis of audit reports and their status, and a list of audit reports which were not resolved within one year of the date on which an audit determination was made; provides for the submission of more uniform reports by prescribing the definitions of audit terms to be used; and requires GAO to issue a new standard to ensure that audit determinations are generally made within six months after the completion of audit reports.

Provides that all statutory Inspectors General will be compensated at the Executive Level IV rate; and authorizes all Inspectors General to administer oaths, affirmations, and affidavits in the performance of their assigned duties.

Requires the President to include in his budget submission a "separate appropriation account" for each Office of Inspector General.

Excludes the disclosure of tax return information to congressional committees from prohibitions on public disclosures of information.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 16

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 3, 1988, 10:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-515

NOMINATION OF ANTHONY M. KENNEDY TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

POSITION: Associate Justice of the Supreme Court

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy, of California, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

NOTE: The Judiciary Committee reported the nomination favorably with a unanimous vote of 14 yeas. Proponents asserted that the more than 400 opinions Mr. Kennedy authored while on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals describe a judicial philosophy that is firmly within the mainstream of constitutional interpretation, and is devoid of ideological bias. He approaches the Constitution as a document that can respond to contemporary threats to fundamental rights and liberties. He is committed to enforcing the first amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech in all forms of expression, and believes that the Constitution protects rights beyond those specifically enumerated in its text, including the right to privacy. He has a balanced approach to the concept of "original intent," is an advocate of judicial restraint, and has no hidden agenda. Some Senators expressed reservations regarding a pattern of "reluctance" to deal positively with systematic discrimination, but were reassured by his testimony before the Judiciary Committee. The ABA rated him "well qualified."

Vote No. 16.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (46 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Biden—JAY	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Gore—2AY	
Benjamin	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Simon—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Eaton	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Wallop				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Karnes	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats—51 or 53%
Republicans—46 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 17

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 4, 1988, 2:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-555

CONTRA AID

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 243

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of the bill.

S.J. Res. 243: Vote Nos. 17, 18.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (54)			NAYS (43)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (13 or 25%)	Republicans (41 or 91%)		Democrats (39 or 75%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams	Lautenberg	Chafee	Biden— ¹	Weicker—2AN
Boren	Bond	McCain	Baucus	Leahy	Durenberger	Simon— ²	
Breaux	Boschwitz	McClure	Bingaman	Levin	Hatfield		
Chiles	Cochran	McConnell	Bradley	Matsunaga	Stafford		
DeConcini	Cohen	Murkowski	Bumpers	Meicher			
Exon	D'Amato	Nickles	Burdick	Metzenbaum			
Graham	Danforth	Packwood	Byrd	Mikulski			
Heflin	Dole	Pressler	Conrad	Mitchell			
Hollings	Domenici	Quayle	Cranston	Moynihan			
Johnston	Evans	Roth	Daschle	Pell			
Nunn	Garn	Rudman	Dixon	Proxmire			
Shelby	Gramm	Simpson	Dodd	Pryor			
Stennis	Grassley	Specter	Ford	Reid			
	Hatch	Stevens	Fowler	Riegle			
	Hecht	Symms	Glenn	Rockefeller			
	Heinz	Thurmond	Gore	Sanford			
	Helms	Trible	Harkin	Sarbanes			
	Humphrey	Wallop	Inouye	Sasser			
	Karnes	Warner	Kennedy	Wirth			
	Kassebaum	Wilson	Kerry				
	Kasten						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—75%
Republicans—91%

For (54)
Democrats—13 or 24%
Republicans—41 or 76%

Against (43)
Democrats—39 or 91%
Republicans—4 or 9%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 18

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 4, 1988, 9:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-621

CONTRA AID

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 243

SUBJECT: Passage of the joint resolution which approves the additional authority and assistance for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance (Contras) as requested by the President on January 27, 1988, pursuant to H.J. Res. 395 (P.L. 100-202). (The House companion resolution, H.J. Res. 444, was defeated by the House on February 3, 1988, by a vote of 211 to 219.)

NOTE: The President's request for additional assistance to the Nicaraguan Contras totals approximately \$60 million to be provided over a four-month period ending June 30, 1988. The request would be funded by the transfer of funds from prior year DOD appropriations.

The request includes \$32.65 million in non-lethal assistance, \$3.6 million in lethal assistance (defined as weapon systems and ammunition), and \$20 million to provide self-insurance against loss or damage of leased aircraft. Additionally, DOD is authorized to make available electronic equipment, radar, and other air defense equipment unofficially estimated at approximately \$8 million.

The request includes a provision that places the \$3.6 million for lethal assistance in escrow until March 31, 1988, after which the funds could be released upon the President's certification to Congress that (1) no mutually agreed upon ceasefire is in place, (2) the failure to achieve the ceasefire results from the lack of good faith efforts by the Sandinistas to comply with the Central American peace agreement, and (3) the Contras have engaged in good faith efforts to achieve a ceasefire.

The CIA's authority to administer all Contra assistance also is extended.

S.J. Res. 243: Vote Nos. 17, 18.

RESULT: JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (51)			NAYS (48)			NOT VOTING (1)	
Democrats (12 or 23%)	Republicans (39 or 85%)		Democrats (41 or 77%)	Republicans (7 or 15%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (0)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams	Lautenberg	Chafee	Biden—3	
Boren	Bond	Lugar	Baucus	Leahy	Durenberger		
Breaux	Boschwitz	McCain	Bingaman	Levin	Hatfield		
Chiles	Cochran	McClure	Bradley	Matsunaga	Packwood	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Egon	Cohen	McConnell	Bumpers	Melcher	Specter		
Graham	D'Amato	Murkowski	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Stafford		
Heflin	Danforth	Nickles	Byrd	Mikulski	Weicker		
Hollings	Dole	Pressler	Conrad	Mitchell		SYMBOLS:	
Johnston	Domenici	Quayle	Cranston	Moynihan			
Nunn	Evans	Roth	Daschle	Pell			
Shelby	Garn	Rudman	DeConcini	Proxmire			
Stennis	Gramm	Simpson	Dixon	Pryor		AY—Announced Yea	
	Grassley	Stevens	Dodd	Reid		AN—Announced Nay	
	Hatch	Symms	Ford	Riegle		PY—Paired Yea	
	Hecht	Thurmond	Fowler	Rockefeller		PN—Paired Nay	
	Heinz	Trible	Glenn	Sanford			
	Helms	Wallop	Gore	Sarbanes			
	Humphrey	Warner	Harkin	Sasser			
	Karnes	Wilson	Inouye	Simon			
	Kassebaum		Kennedy	Wirth			
			Kerry				

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

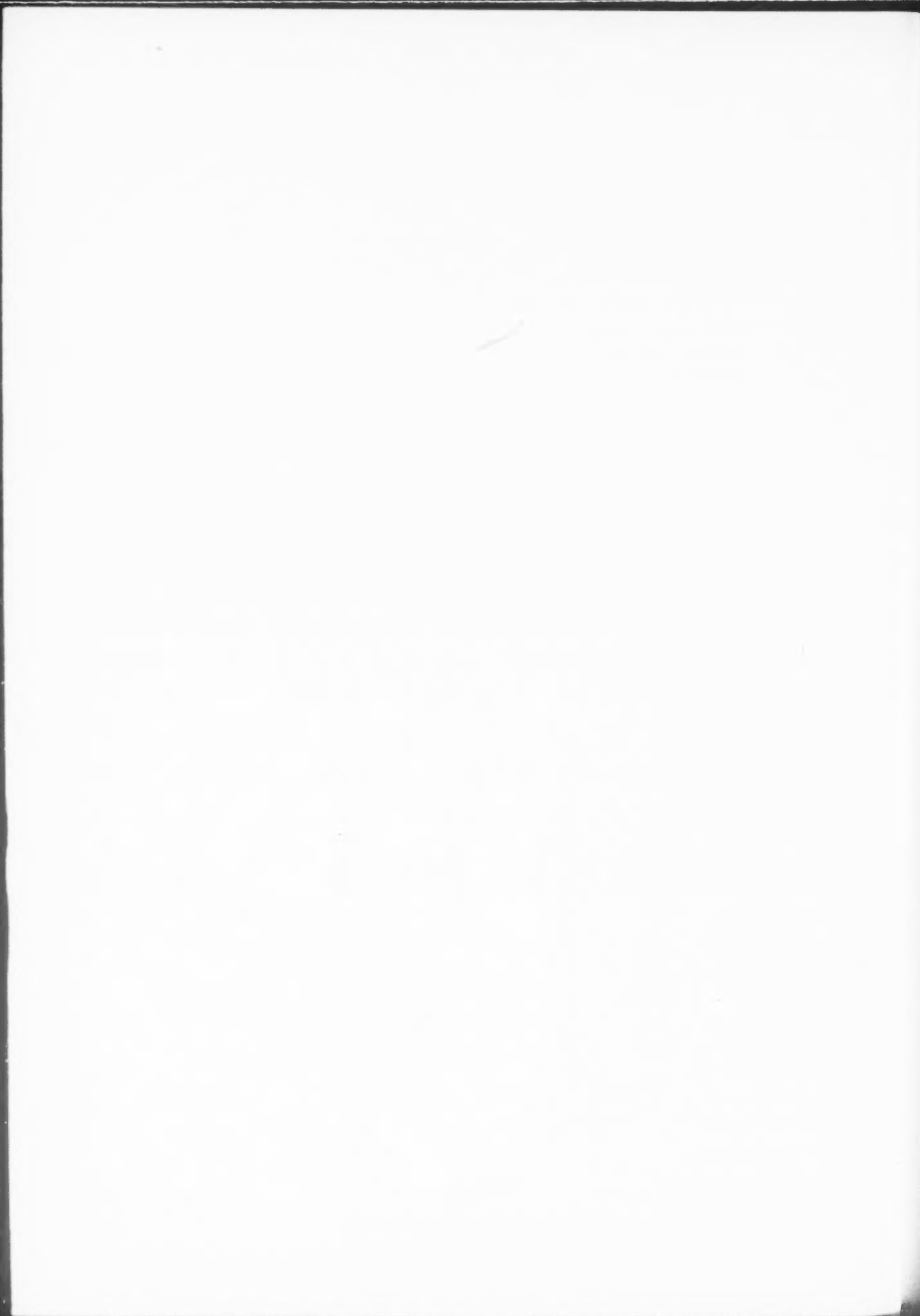
Party Cohesion

Democrats— 77%
Republicans— 85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 12 or 24%
Republicans— 39 or 76%

Against (48)
Democrats— 41 or 85%
Republicans— 7 or 15%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 19

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 23, 1988, 4:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1121

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

AMENDMENT NO.: 1405

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also Vote Nos. 20-22, 24, and 26-28.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (71)

Democrats
(50 or 100%)

Republicans
(21 or 54%)

Adams	Johnston	Armstrong
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato
Boren	Leahy	Danforth
Bradley	Levin	Domenici
Breaux	Matsunaga	Garn
Bumpers	Melcher	Hatch
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatfield
Byrd	Mikulski	Heinz
Chiles	Mitchell	Humphrey
Conrad	Moynihan	Kassebaum
Cranston	Nunn	McClure
Daschle	Pell	Packwood
DeConcini	Proxmire	Roth
Dixon	Pryor	Rudman
Dodd	Reid	Simpson
Evan	Riegle	Stefford
Ford	Rockefeller	Stevens
Fowler	Sanford	Thurmond
Glenn	Sarbanes	Warner
Graham	Sasser	
Harkin	Shelby	
Heflin	Stennis	
Inouye	Wirth	

NAYS (18)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(18 or 46%)

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Helms
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Specter
Symms
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (4)

Republicans (7)

Biden ⁻¹	Doie ⁻²
Gore ⁻²	Gramm ⁻¹
Hollings ⁻⁴	Hecht ⁻²
Simon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
	McConnell ⁻²
	Pressler ⁻²
	Trible ⁻²

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—54%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats—50 or 70%
Republicans—21 or 30%

Against (18)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—18 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 20

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 23, 1988, 8:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1144

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also Vote Nos. 19, 21, 22, 24, and 26-28.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)		NAYS (17)		NOT VOTING (26)	
Democrats (44 or 100%)	Republicans (13 or 43%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (17 or 57%)	Democrats (10)	Republicans (16)
Adams	Inouye	Danforth	Armstrong	Biden ⁻¹	Bond ⁻¹
Baucus	Johnston	Domenici	Cohen	Bingaman ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Grassley	Durenberger	Chiles ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Hatfield	Garn	Gore ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Heinz	Helms	Hollings ⁻⁴	D'Amato ⁻²
Breaux	Levin	Humphrey	Karnes	Kennedy ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Kassebaum	Kasten	Nunn ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Burdick	Melcher	McClure	McCain	Riegle ⁻²	Gramm ⁻¹
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Roth	Murkowski	Simon ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Conrad	Mikulski	Simpson	Nickles	Stennis ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Cranston	Mitchell	Stevens	Packwood		Lugar ⁻²
Daschle	Moynihan	Thurmond	Quayle		McConnell ⁻²
DeConcini	Pell	Warner	Specter		Pressler ⁻²
Dixon	Proxmire		Symms		Rudman ⁻²
Dodd	Pryor		Wallop		Stafford ⁻²
Exon	Reid		Weicker		Trible ⁻²
Ford	Rockefeller		Wilson		
Fowler	Sanford				
Glenn	Sarbanes				
Graham	Sasser				
Harkin	Shelby				
Heflin	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yeas
- AN—Announced Nays
- PY—Paired Yeas
- PN—Paired Nays

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—44 or 77%
Republicans—13 or 23%

Against (17)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—17 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 21

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 23, 1988, 9:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1149

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also Vote Nos. 19, 20, 22, 24, and 26-28.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)		NAYS (21)		NOT VOTING (22)	
Democrats (44 or 98%)	Republicans (13 or 39%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (20 or 61%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (13)
Adams	Johnston	DeConcini	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Bond ⁻³
Baucus	Kerry		Chafee	Chiles ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy		Cohen	Fowler ⁻²	D'Amato ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin		Domenici	Gore ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga		Durenberger	Hollings ⁻⁴	Evans ⁺²
Bradley	Melcher		Hatch	Kennedy ⁻²	Gramm ⁻¹
Breaux	Metzenbaum		Helms	Lautenberg ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bumpers	Mikulski		Karnes	Simon ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
Burdick	Mitchell		Kasten	Stennis ⁻²	McConnell ⁻²
Byrd	Moynihan		McCain		Pressler ⁻²
Conrad	Nunn		Murkowski		Rudman ⁻²
Cranston	Pell		Nickles		Stafford ⁻²
Daschle	Proxmire		Packwood		Trible ⁻²
Dixon	Pryor		Quayle		
Dodd	Reid		Specter		
Exon	Riegle		Symms		
Ford	Rockefeller		Wallop		
Glenn	Sanford		Warner		
Graham	Sarbanes		Weicker		
Harkin	Sasser		Wilson		
Heflin	Shelby				
Inouye	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—44 or 77%
Republicans—13 or 23%

Against (21)
Democrats—1 or 5%
Republicans—20 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 22

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 23, 1988, 10:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1152

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also Vote Nos. 19-21, 24, and 26-28.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (47)		NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (52)		
Democrats (47 or 98%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (46)	
Adams	Kerry	DeConcini		Biden ⁻³	Armstrong ⁻²	Kasten ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg			Chiles ⁻²	Bond ⁻³	Lugar ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy			Gore ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin			Hollings ⁻⁴	Chafee ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga			Kennedy ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²	McConnell ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher			Simon ⁻²	Cohen ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Breaux	Metzenbaum				D'Amato ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
Bumpers	Mikulski				Danforth ⁻²	Packwood ⁻²
Burdick	Mitchell				Dole ⁻²	Pressler ⁻²
Byrd	Moynihan				Domenici ⁻²	Quayle ⁻⁴
Conrad	Nunn				Durenberger ⁻²	Roth ⁻²
Cranston	Pell				Evans ⁻²	Rudman ⁻²
Daschle	Proxmire				Garn ⁻²	Simpson ⁻²
Dixon	Pryor				Gramm ⁻¹	Specter ⁻²
Dodd	Reid				Grassley ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Fvon	Riegle				Hatch ⁻²	Stevens ⁻²
Ford	Rockefeller				Hatfield ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Fowler	Sanford				Hecht ⁻²	Thurmond ⁻²
Glenn	Sarbanes				Hein ⁻²	Tinley ⁻²
Graham	Sasser				Helms ⁻²	Wallop ⁻²
Harkin	Shelby				Humphrey ⁻²	Warner ⁻²
Heflin	Stennis				Karnes ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
Inouye	Wirth				Kassebaum ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Johnston						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1--Official Business
2--Necessarily Absent
3--Illness
4--Other

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—0%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats—47 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (1)
Democrats—1 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 23

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 23, 1988, 11:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1152

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to arrest absent Senators and bring them to the Chamber.
(See also Vote No. 29 by which the Senate tabled a motion to reconsider the vote.)

NOTE: The last time a similar motion occurred was October 1, 1976 (Vote No. 699) during an attempt to confirm the nomination of Richard M. Bilby, of Arizona, to be a U.S. Circuit Judge, 9th Circuit. In this previous instance, Senators came to the floor and voted. In this present instance, however, the Republicans made a group decision to absent themselves from the floor and not vote as a means of further delaying substantive action on the bill without having to have their members on the floor speaking at length.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (45)

Democrats
(45 or 94%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

NAYS (3)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

DeConcini
Heflin
Shelby

NOT VOTING (52)

Democrats (6)

Republicans (46)

Biden-1
Gore-2
Harkin-2
Hollings-4
Kennedy-2
Simon-2
Armstrong-2
Bond-3
Boschwitz-2
Chafee-2
Cochran-2
Cohen-2
D'Amato-2
Danforth-2
Dole-2
Domenici-2
Durenberger-2
Evans-2
Garn-2
Gramm-1
Grassley-2
Hatch-2
Hatfield-2
Hecht-2
Heinz-2
Helms-2
Humphrey-2
Karnes-2
Kassebaum-2
Kasten-2
Lugar-2
McCain-2
McClure-2
McConnell-2
Murkowski-2
Nickles-2
Packwood-2
Pressler-2
Quayle-2
Roth-2
Rudman-2
Simpson-2
Specter-2
Stafford-2
Stevens-2
Symms-2
Thurmond-2
Trible-2
Wallop-2
Warner-2
Weicker-2
Wilson-2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—0%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (45)

Democrats—45 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (3)

Democrats—3 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 24

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 24, 1988, 2:11 a.m.
Session of February 23, 1988
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1156

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also
Vote Nos. 19-22 and 26-28.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)			NAYS (9)		NOT VOTING (40)		
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (2 or 18%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (9 or 82%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (35)	
Adams	Kerry	Hatfield		Domenici	Biden ⁻³	Armstrong ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Stevens		Garn	DeConcini ⁻²	Bond ⁻³	McCain ⁻³
Bentsen	Leahy			Grassley	Gore ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin			Hatch	Hollings ⁻⁴	Chafe ⁻²	McConnell ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga			Humphrey	Kennedy ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher			Packwood		Cohen ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
Breaux	Metzenbaum			Specter		D'Amato ⁻²	Pressler ⁻²
Bumpers	Mikulski			Warner		Danforth ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Burdick	Mitchell			Weicker		Dole ⁻²	Roth ⁻²
Byrd	Moynihan					Durenberger ⁻²	Rudman ⁻²
Chiles	Nunn					Evans ⁻²	Simpson ⁻²
Conrad	Pell					Gramm ⁻¹	Stafford ⁻²
Cranston	Proxmire					Hecht ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Daschle	Pryor					Heinz ⁻²	Thurmond ⁻²
Dixon	Reid					Helms ⁻²	Tinley ⁻²
Dodd	Riegle					Karnes ⁻²	Wallop ⁻²
Exon	Rockefeller					Kassebaum ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Ford	Sanford					Kasten ⁻²	
Fowler	Sarbanes						
Glenn	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—82%

For (51)

Democrats—49 or 96%
Republicans—2 or 4%

Against (9)

Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—9 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 25

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 24, 1988, 2:29 a.m.
Session of February 23, 1988
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1157

NOMINATION OF TOM C. KOROLOGOS TO THE COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

POSITION: Member of U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to executive session to consider the nomination of Tom C. Koroologos, of Virginia, to be a Member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.

NOTE: Following the motion to proceed, the Majority Leader obtained unanimous consent to withdraw the call for the yeas and nays on the nomination and, subsequently, the nomination was confirmed by voice vote.

Vote No. 25.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (64)			NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (36)		
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (15 or 100%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (31)	
Adams	Kerry	Domenici			Biden ³	Armstrong ²	Karnes ²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Garn			DeConcini ²	Bond ³	Kassebaum ²
Bentsen	Leahy	Grassley			Gore ²	Boschwitz ²	McCain ²
Bingaman	Levin	Hatch			Hollings ⁴	Chafee ²	McClure ²
Boren	Matsunaga	Hatfield			Kennedy ²	Cochran ²	McConnell ²
Bradley	Melcher	Kasten				Cohen ²	Nickles ²
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Lugar				D'Amato ²	Pressler ²
Bumpers	Mikulski	Murkowski				Danforth ²	Quayle ²
Burdick	Mitchell	Packwood				Dole ²	Roth ²
Byrd	Moynihan	Simpson				Durenberger ²	Rudman ²
Chiles	Nunn	Specter				Evans ²	Stafford ²
Conrad	Pell	Stevens				Gramm ¹	Thurmond ²
Cranston	Proxmire	Symms				Hecht ²	Trible ²
Daschle	Pryor	Warner				Heinz ²	Wallop ²
Dixon	Reid	Weicker				Helms ²	Wilson ²
Dodd	Riegle					Humphrey ²	
Exon	Rockefeller						
Ford	Sanford						
Fowler	Sarbanes						
Glenn	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 49 or 77%
Republicans— 15 or 23%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 26

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 24, 1988, 2:09 p.m.
Session of February 23, 1988
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1221

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also Vote Nos. 19-22, 24, 27, and 28.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (55)			NAYS (36)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (5 or 12%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (36 or 88%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz		Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Danforth ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Kassebaum		Bond	Gore ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	McClure		Chafee	Hollings ⁻⁴	Gramm ⁻¹
Bingaman	Leahy	Stafford		Cochran	Kennedy ⁻²	Thurmond ⁻²
Boren	Levin	Stevens		Cohen		Wilson ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga			D'Amato		
Breaux	Melcher			Domenici		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum			Durenberger		
Burdick	Mikulski			Evans		
Byrd	Mitchell			Garn		
Chiles	Moynihan			Grassley		
Conrad	Nunn			Hatch		
Cranston	Pell			Hatfield		
Daschle	Proxmire			Hecht		
DeConcini	Pryor			Heinz		
Dixon	Reid			Helfs		
Dodd	Riegle			Humphrey		
Exon	Rockefeller			Karnes		
Ford	Sanford					
Fowler	Sarbanes					
Glenn	Sasser					
Graham	Shelby					
Harkin	Simon					
Hefflin	Stennis					
Inouye	Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats— 50 or 91%
Republicans— 5 or 9%

Against (36)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 36 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 27

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 24, 1988, 3:02 p.m.
Session of February 23, 1988
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1223

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also
Vote Nos. 19-22, 24, 26, and 28.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)			NAYS (42)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (42 or 98%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Kassebaum		Armstrong	Lugar	
Baucus	Kerry			Bond	McCaig	
Bentsen	Lautenberg			Boschwitz	McClure	
Bingaman	Leahy			Chafee	McConnell	
Boren	Levin			Cochran	Murkowski	
Bradley	Matsunaga			Cohen	Nickles	
Breaux	Melcher			D'Amato	Packwood	
Bumpers	Metzenbaum			Danforth	Pressler	
Burdick	Mikulski			Domenici	Quayle	
Byrd	Mitchell			Durenberger	Roth	
Chiles	Moynihan			Evans	Rudman	
Conrad	Nunn			Garn	Simpson	
Cranston	Pell			Grassley	Specter	
Daschle	Proxmire			Hatch	Stafford	
DeConcini	Pryor			Hatfield	Stevens	
Dixon	Reid			Hecht	Symms	
Dodd	Riegle			Heintz	Trible	
Eaton	Rockefeller			Helms	Wallop	
Ford	Sanford			Humphrey	Warner	
Fowler	Sarbanes			Karnes	Weicker	
Glenn	Sasser			Kasten	Wilson	
Graham	Shelby					
Harkin	Simon					
Hellin	Stennis					
Inouye	Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—98%

For (51)

Democrats—50 or 98%
Republicans—1 or 2%

Against (42)

Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—42 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 28

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 24, 1988, 5:47 p.m.
Session of February 23, 1988
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1240

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. (See also
Vote Nos. 19-22, 24, 26, and 27.)

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)		NAYS (41)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (41 or 98%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye		Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston		Bond	Gore ⁻²	Gramm ⁻¹
Bentsen	Kerry		Boschwitz	Kennedy ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg		Chafee	Simon ⁻²	Thurmond ⁻²
Boren	Leahy		Cochran		
Bradley	Levin		Cohen		
Breaux	Matsunaga		D'Amato		
Bumpers	Melcher		Danforth		
Burdick	Metzenbaum		Domenici		
Byrd	Mikulski		Durenberger		
Chiles	Mitchell		Evans		
Conrad	Moynihan		Garn		
Cranston	Nunn		Grassley		
Daschle	Pell		Hatfield		
DeConcini	Proxmire		Hecht		
Dixon	Pryor		Heinz		
Dodd	Reid		Helms		
Exon	Riegle		Humphrey		
Ford	Rockefeller		Karnes		
Fowler	Sanford		Kassebaum		
Glenn	Sarbanes		Kasten		
Graham	Sasser				
Harkin	Shelby				
Heflin	Stennis				
Hollings	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—98%

For (51)

Democrats—50 or 98%
Republicans—1 or 2%

Against (41)

Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—41 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 29

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 25, 1988, 3:48 p.m.
Session of February 23, 1988
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1367

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to table the Specter motion to reconsider Vote No. 23 by which the Senate agreed to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to arrest absent Senators and bring them to the Chamber.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO

YEAS (47)		NAYS (45)			NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (47 or 96%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Heflin	Armstrong	McCain	Biden ⁻¹	Chafee ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Shelby	Bond	McClure	Gore ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry		Boschwitz	McConnell	Kennedy ⁻²	Gramm ⁻¹
Bingaman	Lautenberg		Cochran	Murkowski	Reid ⁻²	
Boren	Leahy		Cohen	Nickles	Simon ⁻²	
Bradley	Levin		D'Amato	Packwood		
Breaux	Matsunaga		Danforth	Pressler		
Bumpers	Melcher		Domenici	Quayle		
Burdick	Metzenbaum		Durenberger	Roth		
Byrd	Mikulski		Evans	Rudman		
Chiles	Mitchell		Garn	Simpson		
Conrad	Moynihan		Grassley	Specter		
Cranston	Nunn		Hatch	Stafford		
Daschle	Pell		Hatfield	Stevens		
DeConcini	Proxmire		Hecht	Symms		
Dixon	Pryor		Heinz	Thurmond		
Dodd	Riegle		Helms	Trible		
Exon	Rockefeller		Humphrey	Wallop		
Ford	Sanford		Karnes	Warner		
Fowler	Sarbanes		Kassebaum	Weicker		
Glenn	Sasser		Kasten	Wilson		
Graham	Stennis		Lugar			
Harkin	Wirth					
Hollings						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats—47 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (45)
Democrats—2 or 4%
Republicans—43 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 30

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 26, 1988, 10:19 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1534

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Adams, et al., eighth motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill. (See Vote Nos. 148, 150-153, 239, and 242, 100th-1st, for previous cloture motions.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on February 23, 1988, was signed by Senators Adams, Exon, Kennedy, Inouye, Boren, Reid, Metzenbaum, Ford, Sanford, Levin, Rockefeller, Bumpers, Daschle, Glenn, Mitchell, Bradley, Sarbanes, Gore, Baucus, and Byrd.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242 (100th-1st); 19-24, 26-30 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (53)			NAYS (41)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)		Republicans (39 or 93%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Heflin	Armstrong	McCain	Biden ⁻³	Cochran ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Kassebaum	Shelby	Bond	McClure	Gore ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Stafford		Boschwitz	McConnell		Gramm ⁻¹
Bingaman	Lautenberg			Cohen	Murkowski		Stevens ⁻²
Boren	Leahy			D'Amato	Nickles		
Bradley	Levin			Danforth	Packwood		
Breaux	Matsunaga			Domenici	Pressler		
Bumpers	Meicher			Durenberger	Quayle		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Evans	Roth		
Byrd	Mikulski			Garn	Rudman		
Chiles	Mitchell			Grassley	Simpson		
Conrad	Moynihan			Hatch	Specter		
Cranston	Nunn			Hatfield	Symms		
Daschle	Pell			Hecht	Thurmond		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Heinz	Trible		
Dixon	Pryor			Helms	Wallop		
Dodd	Reid			Humphrey	Warner		
Exon	Riegle			Karnes	Weicker		
Ford	Rockefeller			Kasten	Wilson		
Fowler	Sanford			Lugar			
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—50 or 94%
Republicans—3 or 6%

Against (41)
Democrats—2 or 5%
Republicans—39 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 31

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 26, 1988, 11:20 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1538

COMMITTEE FUNDING

BILL NO.: S. Res. 381

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which authorizes \$47.9 million for expenditures of all Standing Committees of the Senate, the Special Committee on Aging, and the Select Committees on Intelligence and Indian Affairs for the fiscal year ending February 28, 1989.

S. Res. 381: Vote No. 31.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (84)				NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (34 or 81%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (8 or 19%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Lugar		Hecht	Biden ⁻³	Armstrong ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain		Helms	Gore ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McClure		Humphrey	Kerry ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	McConnell		Quayle	Stennis ⁻²	Gramm ⁻¹
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski		Roth		
Bradley	Levin	Danforth	Nickles		Symms		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Domenici	Packwood		Trible		
Bumpers	Melcher	Durenberger	Pressler		Wallop		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Evans	Rudman				
Byrd	Mikulski	Garn	Simpson				
Chiles	Mitchell	Grassley	Specter				
Conrad	Moynihan	Hatch	Stafford				
Cranston	Nunn	Hatfield	Stevens				
Daschle	Pell	Heinz	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Karnes	Warner				
Dixon	Pryor	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Dodd	Reid	Kasten	Wilson				
Exon	Riegle						
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—81%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats—50 or 60%
Republicans—34 or 40%

Against (8)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—8 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 32

100th Congress
2nd Session

February 29, 1988, 4:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1607

AFGHANISTAN RESOLUTION

BILL NO.: S. Res. 386

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which expresses the belief of the Senate that: the only acceptable settlement of the Afghan situation is one which provides for the Afghan people's self-determination; the Pakistani government should not be pressured to agree to Soviet terms for a settlement; all Soviet bloc advisers should leave Afghanistan during the troop withdrawal; and the U.S. should not diminish aid to the Afghan resistance until it is certain that the Soviets have terminated their military occupation, are not positioned for a new invasion, and that the Afghan resistance is well enough equipped to maintain its integrity during the transition government leading up to new elections; expresses support for a U.N.-sponsored peacekeeping force while an interim government organizes the nation's future and for increased U.S. humanitarian aid to the Afghan people; and urges the President to address certain issues relating to Afghanistan during talks with the Soviets.

S. Res. 386: Vote No. 32.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (77)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (23)	
Democrats (39 or 100%)		Republicans (38 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (15)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Kerry	Bond	McClure			Baucus ²	Armstrong ²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McConnell			Biden ³	Cochran ²
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Murkowski			Breaux ²	Dole ²
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Packwood			Chiles ²	Durenberger ^{2AY}
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler			Cranston ²	Garn ²
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle			Daschle ²	Heinz ²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Roth			Fowler ²	Karnes ²
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans	Rudman			Gore ²	Nickles ²
Conrad	Mitchell	Gramm	Simpson			Graham ²	
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Specter			Inouye ²	
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Stafford			Moynihan ²	
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Stevens			Nunn ²	
Exon	Reid	Hecht	Symms			Simon ²	
Ford	Riegle	Helms	Thurmond			Stennis ²	
Glenn	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Trible			Wirth ²	
Harkin	Sanford	Kassebaum	Wallop				
Heflin	Sarbanes	Kasten	Warner				
Hollings	Sasser	Lugar	Weicker				
Johnston	Shelby	McCain	Wilson				
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yes
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yes
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats— 39 or 51%
Republicans— 38 or 49%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 33

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 1, 1988, 2:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1638

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)
TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"
SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill.
S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.
RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (74)		NAYS (19)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)	Republicans (24 or 56%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (19 or 44%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye		Bond	Biden- ¹	
Baucus	Johnston		Cochran	Gore- ²	Dole- ²
Bentsen	Kennedy		Garn	Matsunaga- ²	Packwood- ²
Bingaman	Kerry		Gramm	Simon- ²	Rudman- ²
Boren	Lautenberg		Hecht		
Bradley	Leahy		Helms		
Breaux	Levin		Karnes		
Bumpers	Melcher		McClure		
Burdick	Metzenbaum		McConnell		
Byrd	Mikulski		Murkowski		
Chiles	Mitchell		Nickles		
Conrad	Moynihan		Pressler		
Cranston	Nunn		Quayle		
Daschle	Pell		Stevens		
DeConcini	Proxmire		Symms		
Dixon	Pryor		Thurmond		
Dodd	Reid		Trible		
Exon	Riegle		Wallop		
Ford	Rockefeller		Warner		
Fowler	Sanford				
Glenn	Sarbanes				
Graham	Sasser				
Harkin	Shelby				
Heflin	Stennis				
Hollings	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 56%

For (74)

Democrats— 50 or 68%
Republicans— 24 or 32%

Against (19)

Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 19 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 34

100th Congress
2nd SessionMarch 2, 1988, 10:34 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1678POLYGRAPH PROTECTION
(ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (67)			NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)		Republicans (19 or 42%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (26 or 58%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz	Conrad	Armstrong	Biden- ³	Dole- ²
Baucus	Johnston	Danforth		Bond	Gore- ²	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Domenici		Chafee	Kerry- ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Durenberger		Cochran	Matsunaga- ²	
Boren	Leahy	Grassley		Cohen	Simon- ²	
Bradley	Levin	Hatfield		D'Amato		
Breaux	Melcher	Humphrey		Evans		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Karnes		Garn		
Burdick	Mikulski	Kassebaum		Gramm		
Byrd	Mitchell	McClure		Hatch		
Chiles	Moynihan	Pressler		Hecht		
Cranston	Nunn	Roth		Heinz		
Daschle	Pell	Rudman		Helms		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Simpson		Kasten		
Dixon	Pryor	Stafford		Lugar		
Dodd	Reid	Stevens		McCain		
Exon	Riegle	Thurmond		McConnell		
Ford	Rockefeller	Trible		Murkowski		
Fowler	Sanford	Warner		Nickles		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Packwood		
Graham	Sasser			Quayle		
Harkin	Shelby			Specter		
Heflin	Stennis			Symms		
Hollings	Wirth			Wallop		
				Weicker		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats—48 or 72%
Republicans—19 or 28%

Against (27)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—26 or 96%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 35

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 2, 1988, 3:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1701

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1606

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Quayle modified amendment which stipulates that nothing in this Act precludes an employer from administering a scientifically valid test, other than a lie detector test, to determine the extent to which a prospective employee may have used a controlled substance.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the restrictions which the bill places on the use of lie detector tests should not be extended to limit the use of other scientifically valid tests by employers. Testing for illegal drug use is an essential tool in the efforts to control the drug abuse problem in this country and is important to employers who want to maintain a drug-free workforce. Drug use in the work place is a growing problem and costs the Nation as much as \$100 million a year in lost productivity. Drug users have lower productivity, more health problems, higher rates of absences and on-the-job accidents, and may steal from their employers to support their drug habit. Some pointed out that the amendment basically restates current law, since the bill does not cover drug testing and specifically states that its definition of lie detectors should not be misconstrued "to include medical tests used to determine the presence or absence of controlled substances or alcohol in bodily fluids."

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Gore ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Simon ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby	Kasten					
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats—51 or 53%
Republicans—45 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 36

March 2, 1988, 4:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1712

100th Congress
2nd Session

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

AMENDMENT NO.: 1607

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Thurmond amendment which permits a private employer to use a lie detector on prospective employees if the employer's primary business is providing armored car personnel; personnel engaged in the design, installation, and maintenance of security alarm systems; or other security personnel whose function includes the protection of: electric or nuclear power facilities, public water supplies, the shipment or storage of toxic or nuclear waste, public transportation, or currency, negotiable securities, precious commodities, instruments or proprietary information. (Subsequently, the amendment, as amended by the Nickles second degree amendment No. 1608, was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that employers of private security personnel should be permitted to use lie detector tests, since the bill permits Federal agencies engaged in essentially the same security tasks to use them. The amendment includes the same protections as the bill, and protects an individual from being rejected solely on the basis of the polygraph test results. Just as the use of the polygraph is defended for security personnel protecting a Department of Energy munitions plant, it is equally important that security personnel protecting a nuclear power plant be subjected to the same level of preemployment testing, since the consequences of infiltration by a terrorist organization would be devastating in both cases. The amendment has been passed by the House.

Opponents countered that polygraph tests administered in the private sector are of little value as employment screening tools because of their inaccuracy. According to an OTA report, individuals who are significantly less socialized than the average person are more likely to escape detection, whereas a person with a strong sense of conscience is more likely to be considered lying. Moreover, there are a variety of techniques that can be used to cloud the results of a test. The bill allows preemployment polygraph tests in the public sector because, first, there are constitutional protections for State officials that do not exist for the private sector; and second, the polygraph tests administered by the CIA and DOD are much more comprehensive than those in the private sector, requiring four to eight hours to administer compared to 15 minutes, and costing \$800 each compared to \$15 to \$25. DOD performs

(OVER)

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (20)		NAYS (76)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (13 or 25%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (38 or 75%)		Republicans (38 or 84%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Bradley	Armstrong	Adams	Inouye	Bond	McClure	
Cranston	Danforth	Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	McConnell	
Dixon	Durenberger	Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	Murkowski	
Dodd	Evans	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Nickles	
Ford	Hatfield	Boren	Levin	Cohen	Packwood	
Harkin	Heinz	Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler	
Kennedy	Weicker	Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Quayle	
Leahy		Burdick	Mitchell	Garn	Roth	
Metzenbaum		Byrd	Moynihan	Gramm	Rudman	
Mikulski		Chiles	Nunn	Grassley	Simpson	
Proxmire		Conrad	Pell	Hatch	Specter	
Reid		Daschle	Pryor	Hecht	Stafford	
Stennis		DeConcini	Riegle	Helms	Stevens	
		Exon	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Symms	
		Fowler	Sanford	Karnes	Thurmond	
		Glenn	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Trible	
		Graham	Sasser	Kasten	Wallop	
		Heflin	Shelby	Lugar	Warner	
		Hollings	Wirth	McCain	Wilson	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—75%
Republicans—84%

For (20)
Democrats—13 or 65%
Republicans—7 or 35%

Against (76)
Democrats—38 or 50%
Republicans—38 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

only 3,300 tests a year because there are not enough qualified personnel to administer more, while two million were performed in the private sector. The areas of concern raised in the amendment are important, but the appropriate way to address them is to strengthen the wide range of investigative techniques available to law enforcement officers, rather than rely on one tool that is known to be inaccurate and too often creates a false sense of security.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 37

March 2, 1988, 6:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1719

100th Congress
2nd Session

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1610

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Boschwitz amendment which permits an employer to administer a lie detector test to an employee who requests to be tested.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that an employee should be permitted to take a polygraph test if he or she requests it. In a situation where a business is suffering because of employee theft, for example, an employee should be allowed to exonerate himself. To suggest that guilty individuals will volunteer to take a polygraph test in an effort to appear innocent and hopefully deceive the test is not "dealing with the real world," they argued. Nor would employers be tempted to pressure their employees into taking polygraph tests since this would destroy the trust between employer and employee. The sponsor offered to make the amendment subject to section 8 of the bill, which sets forth standards and protections for administering polygraph tests.

Opponents of the amendment countered that allowing employees to take voluntary polygraph tests leads to coercion in the work place, since the testing could take place without any evidence of wrongdoing by a specific individual. It could lead to the convoluted situation of a guilty person requesting the test in order to appear innocent, with the intention of deceiving the test, and an innocent person being pressured into taking the test to avoid the appearance of guilt. No innocent person would want to take a lie detector test voluntarily, they argued, because the tests are known to be inaccurate. The bill prevents coercion by requiring some evidence of wrongdoing before an employer can ask an employee to take a polygraph test, and by prohibiting an employee from being disciplined or discharged solely on the basis of the polygraph test results.

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (56)		NAYS (38)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (42 or 86%)	Republicans (14 or 31%)	Democrats (7 or 14%)	Republicans (31 or 69%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	Breaux	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Chafee	Bumpers	Gore ⁻²	
Bentsen	Leahy	Cohen	Byrd	Harkin ⁻²	
Bingaman	Levin	Durenberger	Dixon	Simon ⁻²	
Boren	Matsunaga	Evans	Fowler	Stennis ⁻²	
Bradley	Melcher	Grassley	Heflin		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatch	Pryor		
Chiles	Mikulski	Hatfield			
Conrad	Mitchell	Heinz			
Cranston	Moynihan	Kassebaum			
Daschle	Nunn	McCain			
DeConcini	Pell	Packwood			
Dodd	Proxmire	Stafford			
Exon	Reid	Weicker			
Ford	Riegle				
Glenn	Rockefeller				
Graham	Sanford				
Hollings	Sarbanes				
Inouye	Sasser				
Johnston	Shelby				
Kennedy	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 86%
Republicans— 69%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats— 42 or 75%
Republicans— 14 or 25%

Against (38)
Democrats— 7 or 18%
Republicans— 31 or 82%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 38

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 2, 1988, 7:17 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1722

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1615

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Gramm amendment which permits the use of lie detector tests on employees or prospective employees of any common carrier, including any air transportation or other common carrier engaged in the hauling of passengers or freight.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that ground, air, and water transportation companies in the private sector should be permitted to use polygraph tests, since employees such as airline pilots and mechanics, railroad engineers, and pilots of ships can potentially endanger a large number of human lives. While it is recognized that polygraph tests are not infallible, they can still be a useful tool in revealing, for example, whether an airline pilot has used cocaine or is likely to in the near future. Since the bill permits every Federal agency and every State government to use polygraph tests, there should be no controversy in extending their use to this group of workers.

Opponents of the amendment countered that because polygraph tests are not reliable, their use should not be extended in the private sector. Moreover, since the amendment provides a blanket exemption to the restrictions in the bill for a certain class of workers, there is nothing to protect those workers from being fired, demoted, or denied employment solely on the basis of those test results. The bill already allows common carriers the use of polygraph tests as one of the investigative tools that may be used to investigate a specific incident; but unlike the amendment, the bill prohibits action being taken against an employee solely on the basis of the test results. The Association of American Railroads opposes the use of the polygraph as a condition of employment and supports its use in connection with other investigatory techniques as provided for in the bill. Delta Air Lines does not use the polygraph test at all, having concluded that it creates a false sense of security.

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (55)		NAYS (37)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (40 or 85%)	Republicans (15 or 33%)	Democrats (7 or 15%)	Republicans (30 or 67%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Bentsen	Bond	Biden-3	Dole-2
Baucus	Kerry	Byrd	Cochran	Chiles-2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	DeConcini	D'Amato	Gore-2	
Boren	Leahy	Graham	Domenici	Harkin-2	
Bradley	Levin	Heflin	Garn	Mikulski-2AY	
Breaux	Matsunaga	Pryor	Gramm	Simon-2	
Bumpers	Melcher	Sarbanes	Hecht	Stennis-2	
Burdick	Metzenbaum		Helms		
Conrad	Mitchell		Karnes		
Cranston	Moynihan		Kassebaum		
Daschle	Nunn		Kasten		
Dixon	Pell		Lugar		
Dodd	Proxmire		McCain		
Exon	Reid		McClure		
Ford	Riegle		McConnell		
Fowler	Rockefeller		Murkowski		
Glenn	Sanford		Nickles		
Hollings	Sasser		Pressler		
Inouye	Shelby		Quayle		
Johnston	Wirth		Roth		
			Rudman		
			Simpson		
			Specter		
			Stevens		
			Symms		
			Thurmond		
			Trible		
			Wallop		
			Warner		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—85%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats—40 or 73%
Republicans—15 or 27%

Against (37)
Democrats—7 or 19%
Republicans—30 or 81%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

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SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 39

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 2, 1988, 7:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1726

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1616

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Cochran substitute amendment which permits States that currently allow the use of polygraph tests to continue that usage if they satisfy testing standards established by the Secretary of Labor.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Federal government should leave the regulation of polygraph use in the workplace to the States. The substitute does not change the effort to establish minimal standards for administering polygraph tests, but it does remove the Federal government from what is rightly a State issue. It puts the Federal government and the private sector on equal footing by allowing them both to use polygraph tests for preemployment testing. The States would be free to ban the use of polygraphs if they so choose.

Opponents of the amendment countered that polygraph tests should not be allowed for preemployment testing because such testing has lead to vastly increasing numbers of abuses that will continue to increase unless the Federal government addresses the problem. While the bill prohibits the use of polygraph tests for preemployment testing, it allows their usage as part of the range of tools that are available in the event that there is reasonable suspicion that there has been some transgression of the law. The substitute would gut that balance in the bill.

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (65)			NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (44 or 90%)		Republicans (21 or 47%)	Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (24 or 53%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Breaux	Bond	Biden—3	Dole—2
Baucus	Kerry	Boschwitz	Bumpers	Cochran	Gore—2	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee	Heflin	Garn	Harkin—2	
Bingaman	Leahy	Cohen	Hollings	Gramm	Simon—2	
Boren	Levin	D'Amato	Pryor	Hecht	Stennis—2	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Danforth		Helms		
Burdick	Melcher	Domenici		Karnes		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		McCain		
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans		McClure		
Conrad	Mitchell	Grassley		McConnell		
Cranston	Moynihan	Hatch		Murkowski		
Daschle	Nunn	Hatfield		Nickles		
DeConcini	Pell	Heinz		Pressler		
Dixon	Proxmire	Humphrey		Quayle		
Dodd	Reid	Kassebaum		Roth		
Exon	Riegle	Kasten		Rudman		
Ford	Rockefeller	Lugar		Simpson		
Fowler	Sanford	Packwood		Stevens		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Specter		Symms		
Graham	Sasser	Stafford		Thurmond		
Inouye	Shelby	Weicker		Trible		
Johnston	Wirth			Wallop		
				Warner		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats—44 or 68%
Republicans—21 or 32%

Against (29)
Democrats—5 or 17%
Republicans—24 or 83%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 40

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 2, 1988, 8:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1731

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1620

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Gramm amendment which permits any employer to administer a polygraph test to an employee or prospective employee if the test is administered in accordance with DOD procedures.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that employers in the private sector should be permitted to use polygraph tests if they follow the DOD directive and meet the same standards that are required of Federal agencies. This would remove the double standard in the bill which exempts the Federal government from polygraph restrictions and would eliminate the 15 minute "fly-by-night" polygraph tests that have been subject to so much criticism. In many situations the use of the polygraph test is the only way an employer can make a reasonable determination as to the reputation of a prospective employee, they argued.

Opponents of the amendment countered that requiring the private sector to administer tests in accordance with the DOD directive would represent a considerable intrusion of the Federal government into the private sector. Among other things, the directive requires DOD's Inspector General to authorize the use of polygraph examinations and the Secretary of the Army to establish a manager retraining program. Members of the military ought to be doing other things than dealing with polygraph tests in the private sector; moreover, the procedures used by the National Security Agency and DOD are established in terms that are important to national security questions, which are much more comprehensive than private sector objectives.

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)			NAYS (35)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (40 or 83%)	Republicans (17 or 39%)		Democrats (8 or 17%)	Republicans (27 or 61%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	Baucus	Bond	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Breaux	Cochran	Gore ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Chiles	Garn	Harkin ⁻²	
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Fowler	Gramm	Inouye ⁻²	
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Graham	Grassley	Simon ⁻²	
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Heflin	Hecht	Stennis ⁻²	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Nunn	Helms		
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Pryor	Karnes		
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans		Kassebaum		
Cranston	Moynihan	Hatch		Kasten		
Daschle	Pell	Hatfield		Lugar		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Heinz		McCain		
Dixon	Reid	Humphrey		McClure		
Dodd	Riegle	Packwood		McConnell		
Exon	Rockefeller	Specter		Murkowski		
Ford	Sanford	Stafford		Nickles		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Weicker		Pressler		
Hollings	Sasser			Quayle		
Johnston	Shelby			Roth		
Kennedy	Wirth			Rudman		
				Simpson		
				Stevens		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		
				Warner		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 83%
Republicans— 61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 40 or 70%
Republicans— 17 or 30%

Against (35)
Democrats— 8 or 23%
Republicans— 27 or 77%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 41

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 2, 1988, 9:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1737

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1621

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Dodd motion to table the Metzenbaum, et al., amendment which expresses the sense of the Senate that the proposed World Bank loan to Mexico for its steel industry is not in the best interests of the U.S. or of Mexico's own economic revitalization, and the World Bank should reject the loan. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the World Bank should not lend \$400 million to Mexico to develop its steel industry at a time when 200 million tons of excess steel capacity exists worldwide, and many American steel workers are out of work. Twenty percent of the loan would come from the U.S., and it is inappropriate, they argued, to use American tax dollars to finance a competitor's steel industry. They also were critical of the fact that the Senate did not receive timely notification of the loan.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the purpose of the loan is not to develop the Mexican steel industry but to improve the quality of the steel it produces. Rather than hurting the U.S., the loan would improve the plight of American steel workers. In return for the loan, Mexico has agreed to a number of concessions that the U.S. has wanted for years. Mexico has agreed to cut tariffs on steel imports, cease subsidizing its steel industry, and not make economically unsound expansion. If the U.S. is not supportive of Mexico's efforts to strengthen its economy, then Mexico is not likely to be supportive of this country's interests in the areas of drug interdiction, opening of Mexican markets for U.S. investment, and their payment of incurred debt. The amendment would have no effect on the World Bank. However, in the current Mexican presidential election, it could have a negative impact on a pro-American candidate.

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (45)		NAYS (48)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (28 or 58%)	Republicans (17 or 38%)	Democrats (20 or 42%)	Republicans (28 or 62%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Chafee	Benisen	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Cochran	Burdick	Bond	Gore ⁻²	
Bingaman	Cohen	Byrd	Boschwitz	Harkin ⁻²	
Boren	Evans	Conrad	D'Amato	Inouye ⁻²	
Bradley	Hatfield	DeConcini	Danforth	Simon ⁻²	
Breaux	Humphrey	Dixon	Domenici	Stennis ⁻²	
Bumpers	Kassebaum	Exon	Durenberger		
Chiles	McCain	Ford	Garn		
Cranston	Murkowski	Glenn	Gramm		
Daschle	Packwood	Heflin	Grassley		
Dodd	Simpson	Hollings	Hatch		
Fowler	Stafford	Levin	Hecht		
Graham	Stevens	Melcher	Heinz		
Johnston	Trible	Metzenbaum	Helms		
Kennedy	Warner	Mikulski	Karnes		
Kerry	Weicker	Riegle	Kasten		
Lautenberg	Wilson	Rockefeller	Lugar		
Leahy		Sarbanes	McClure		
Matsunaga		Sasser	McConnell		
Mitchell		Shelby	Nickles		
Moynihan			Pressler		
Nunn			Quayle		
Pell			Roth		
Proxmire			Rudman		
Pryor			Specter		
Reid			Symms		
Sanford			Thurmond		
Wirth			Wallop		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

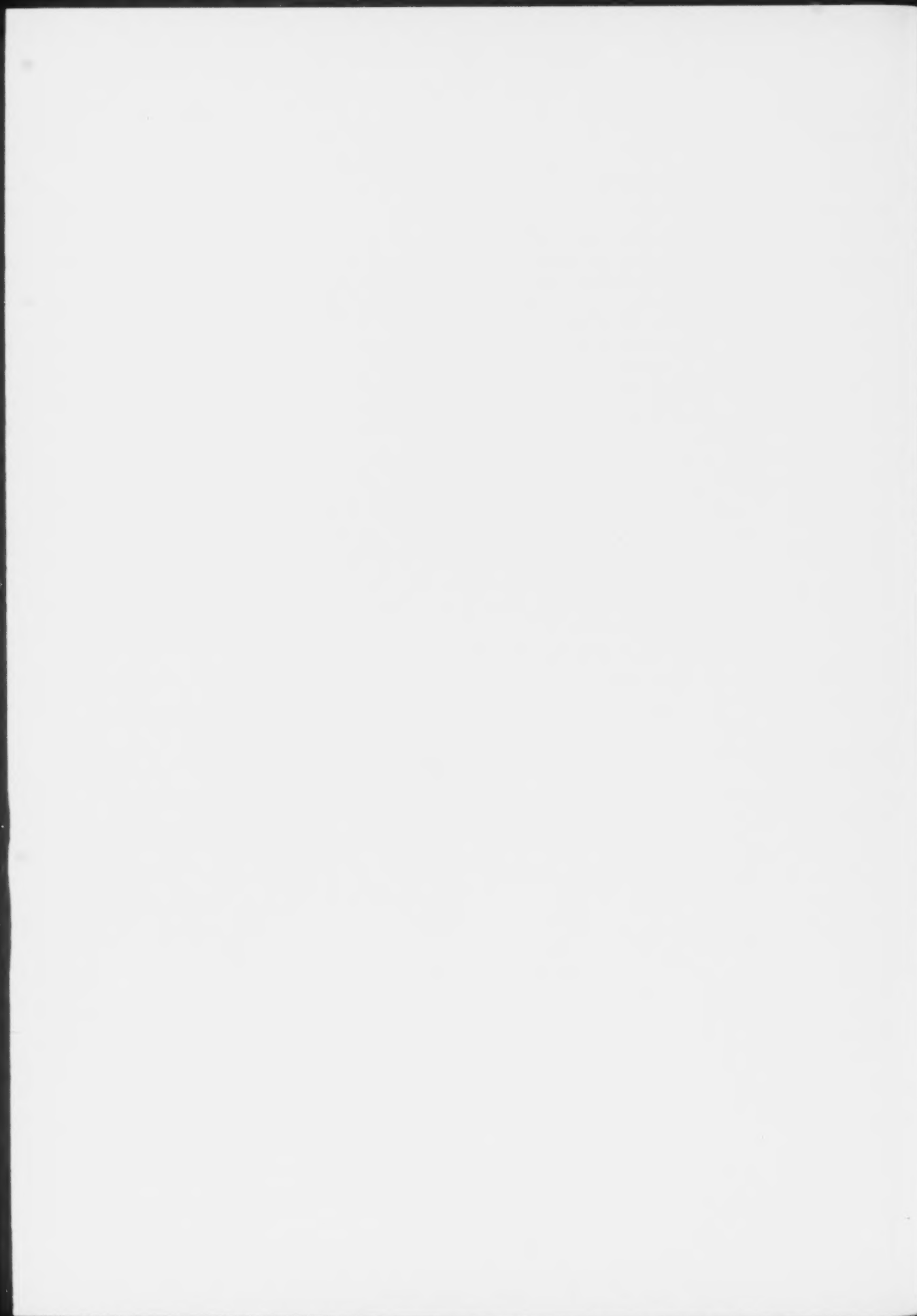
Party Cohesion

Democrats—58%
Republicans—62%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (45)
Democrats—28 or 62%
Republicans—17 or 38%

Against (48)
Democrats—20 or 42%
Republicans—28 or 58%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 42

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 3, 1988, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1794

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1904 (H.R. 1212)

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd, et al., motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill.

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 1, 1988, was signed by Senators Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Adams, Weicker, Leahy, Kerry, Harkin, Daschle, Hatch, Riegle, Dodd, Mikulski, Wirth, Exon, Bumpers, and Stafford.

S. 1904 (H.R. 1212): Vote Nos. 33-43 173.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (77)			NAYS (19)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (26 or 58%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (19 or 42%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong		Cochran	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond		Garn	Gore ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz		Gramm	Simon ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee		Hecht		
Boren	Leahy	Cohen		Helms		
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato		Karnes		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth		McCain		
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici		McClure		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		McConnell		
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans		Nickles		
Chiles	Mitchell	Grassley		Pressler		
Conrad	Moynihan	Hatch		Quayle		
Cranston	Nunn	Hatfield		Specter		
Daschle	Pell	Heinz		Stevens		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Humphrey		Symms		
Dixon	Pryor	Kassebaum		Thurmond		
Dodd	Reid	Kasten		Trible		
Exon	Riegle	Lugar		Wallop		
Ford	Rockefeller	Murkowski		Warner		
Fowler	Sanford	Packwood				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Roth				
Graham	Sasser	Rudman				
Harkin	Shelby	Simpson				
Heflin	Stennis	Stafford				
Hollings	Wirth	Weicker				
Inouye		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats—51 or 66%
Republicans—26 or 34%

Against (19)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—19 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 43

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 3, 1988, 10:54 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1802

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1212 (S. 1904)

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which prohibits polygraph examinations by the private sector, except under limited specified circumstances.

H.R. 1212 (S. 1904): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (69)			NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (19 or 42%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (26 or 58%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Graham	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee		Bond	Gore ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen		Cochran	Simon ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato		Garn		
Boren	Leahy	Danforth		Gramm		
Bradley	Levin	Domenici		Grassley		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Durenberger		Hecht		
Bumpers	Melcher	Evans		Helms		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatch		Karnes		
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatfield		Kassebaum		
Chiles	Mitchell	Heinz		McCain		
Conrad	Moynihan	Humphrey		McClure		
Cranston	Nunn	Kasten		McConnell		
Daschle	Pell	Lugar		Murkowski		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Packwood		Nickles		
Dixon	Pryor	Simpson		Pressler		
Dodd	Reid	Specter		Quayle		
Exon	Riegle	Stafford		Roth		
Ford	Rockefeller	Weicker		Rudman		
Fowler	Sanford			Stevens		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Symms		
Harkin	Sasser			Thurmond		
Heflin	Shelby			Trible		
Hollings	Stennis			Wallop		
Inouye	Wirth			Warner		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (69)
Democrats— 50 or 72%
Republicans— 19 or 28%

Against (27)
Democrats— 1 or 4%
Republicans— 26 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Lie Detector Use Prohibition: Prohibits, except as provided in this Act, employers from (1) requiring or requesting any employee or applicant to submit to a lie detector test, (2) referring to the results of lie detector tests, or (3) threatening or taking adverse employment action against any individual who refuses or fails a polygraph test, or exercises any right granted under this Act; requires the Secretary of Labor to issue regulations to carry out these provisions within 120 days of enactment, and to prepare and distribute a notice summarizing the Act's protections which must be posted by employers.

Enforcement: Establishes civil penalties for employer violations of up to \$10,000; allows the Secretary to bring an action in Federal district court to restrain violations; makes employers who violate the Act also liable to employees and applicants for appropriate legal and equitable relief.

Exemptions: Exempts Federal, State, and local governments; applicants, employees, and private contractors to the National Security Agency, CIA, and FBI who are subject to intelligence or counterintelligence investigations; individuals who require a security clearance to perform their jobs; nuclear power plant employees; and private contractors to DOD and DOE.

Permits a private employer to use a lie detector on prospective employees if the employer's primary business is providing armored car personnel, security systems, or security personnel whose function includes the protection of electric or nuclear power facilities, public water supplies, toxic or nuclear waste shipment or storage, public transportation, or currency, negotiable securities, precious commodities, instruments or proprietary information.

Permits an employer to request an employee to submit to a polygraph test as part of an ongoing investigation of an economic loss or injury if the employee had access to the property under investigation, there is reasonable suspicion that the employee was involved, and the employer files a police report, insurance claim, or regulatory agency report, or signs a statement detailing the specific loss, employee's access, and basis of the reasonable suspicion.

Private Sector Restrictions: Permits a polygraph test to be conducted in the private sector only if permitted by State and local law and any negotiated collective bargaining agreement; prohibits adverse employment action to be taken solely on an analysis of the test results or refusal to submit to a polygraph; allows the evidence required as a prerequisite to requesting a test to constitute the additional supporting evidence necessary for adverse employment action; requires that the employee be given reasonable notice of the examination date, time, and place, have the opportunity to consult with legal counsel or an employee representative before each phase of the test, not be subjected to harassing interrogation techniques, and be informed of the nature and characteristics of the test and any observation or recording being made during the test; gives the employer and the employee, with mutual knowledge, the right to record the test proceedings; requires that the employee be read and permitted to sign a statement informing him/her that the test is not required as a continuing employment condition and that any statements made during the examination may serve as the additional supporting evidence required for adverse employment action as well as the protections afforded him/her under the Act; requires that the employee be informed of his/her right to terminate the test at any time.

Prohibits certain questions from being asked during the test, including those concerning religion, racial matters, politics, and sexual behavior; prohibits any examiner from conducting a test of less than 90 minutes duration or more than five tests in one day; prohibits an employee from being subjected to a test when there is written evidence by a physician that he/she is suffering from a condition that might cause abnormal responses.

Requires an employer, before taking any adverse employment action, to further interview the employee on the basis of the test results and provide him/her with a written copy of the questions and results as well as any rendered opinion or conclusions; prohibits written examination reports from containing information other than admissions, case facts, and interpretation of and relevant charts, or any recommendation concerning the examinee's employment.

Specifies that nothing in this Act precludes an employer from administering a scientifically valid test, other than a polygraph, to determine the extent to which a prospective employee may have used controlled substances.

General Provisions: Limits disclosure of information obtained during the examination to the employee or his/her designee, the employer who lawfully requested the test, government agencies authorized to conduct the tests, or any person who obtains a warrant for the information; specifies that this Act does not preempt a more restrictive State or local law or collective bargaining agreement; makes the Act effective six months after enactment.

Mexican World Bank Loan: Expresses the sense of the Senate that the proposed World Bank loan to Mexico for its steel industry is not in the best interests of the U.S. or of Mexico's own economic revitalization, and the World Bank should reject the loan.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 44

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 4, 1988, 10:05 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1934

INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT (COVERT ACTIVITY)

BILL NO.: S. 1721

AMENDMENT NO.: 1623

TITLE: "Intelligence Oversight Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Cohen motion to table the McClure amendment which permits the President to withhold from Congress the details of a covert operation if the President determines that the risk of disclosure would pose an additional, direct threat to the life of a U.S. official or if informing Congress would jeopardize the cooperation of other intelligence services critical for the success of the operation; directs the President, if he so makes this determination, to inform the joint leadership of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees that a "special activity" is being conducted and requires disclosure of no further details; and requires the President on a weekly basis personally to reconsider his determination and inform those members of Congress if he is still withholding all details.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the President should be permitted flexibility in notifying Congress of the details of a covert operation in situations where human lives might be endangered, or where the risk of disclosure would deter other intelligence services from cooperating with the U.S. Giving the President this discretion would still allow Congress to fulfill its oversight function. The President would be required to notify the leadership of Congress and the Intelligence Committees that a covert operation was in progress, and to personally assess such a determination on a weekly basis. It is not likely that the President would unnecessarily conceal details of a covert policy. Under such a requirement, the Iran-Contra affair, they claimed, would not have occurred. The 48-hour notification provision in the bill creates distrust between the executive and legislative branches, deters other intelligence services from cooperating with the U.S., could endanger the lives of those carrying out covert activities, and unconstitutionally infringes on the President's ability to conduct foreign policy. While Congress has a coequal role with the executive branch in formulating foreign policy, the execution of policy is the responsibility of the executive branch, and Congress should be careful not to overstep its bounds.

(OVER)

S. 1721: Vote Nos. 44, 49, 51, 52.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (65)			NAYS (23)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (45 or 96%)	Republicans (20 or 49%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (21 or 51%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Dixon	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Chafee	Ford	Bond	Bumpers ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cohen		Cochran	Fowler ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Domenici		D'Amato	Gore ⁻²	Packwood ⁻⁴
Boren	Levin	Evans		Danforth	Sanford ⁻²	Thurmond ^{-2AN}
Bradley	Matsunaga	Grassley		Garn	Simon ⁻²	
Breaux	Melcher	Hatfield		Gramm	Stennis ⁻²	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Heinz		Hatch		
Byrd	Mikulski	Kassebaum		Hecht		
Chiles	Mitchell	Lugar		Helms		
Conrad	Moynihan	McConnell		Humphrey		
Cranston	Nunn	Murkowski		Kasten		
Daschle	Pell	Quayle		McCain		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Roth		McClure		
Dodd	Pryor	Rudman		Nickles		
Exon	Reid	Specter		Pressler		
Glenn	Riegle	Stafford		Simpson		
Graham	Rockefeller	Stevens		Symms		
Harkin	Sarbanes	Trible		Wallop		
Heflin	Sasser	Weicker		Warner		
Hollings	Shelby			Wilson		
Inouye	Wirth					
Johnston						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—51%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats—45 or 69%
Republicans—20 or 31%

Against (23)
Democrats—2 or 9%
Republicans—21 or 91%

Opponents of the amendment countered that Congress should be informed of a covert operation within a specific period of time so that it can exercise its constitutional responsibility to participate in formulating foreign policy. The amendment would reduce the voice that Congress currently has by allowing the President to conceal the details of an operation indefinitely and permit another country to dictate U.S. policy, since a country could refuse to cooperate in a covert action unless the President withholds the operation's details from Congress. The amendment could force Congress to curtail all covert activities (by withholding appropriations), rather than accept a policy to which it objects. Excluding Congress is unnecessary since Congress does not have the authority to veto a covert operation. The solution to security leaks is to discipline those responsible rather than remove Congress from the process. The existing requirement to notify Congress of covert operations has worked well, they noted, pointing out that President Reagan has successfully carried out covert activities for eight years and kept Congress informed the whole time—with the exception of the Iran-Contra affair, which was concealed because the Administration knew it was violating its own public policy, not because Congress could not be trusted.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 45

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 4, 1988, 3:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1966

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM F. BURNS TO BE DIRECTOR OF ACDA

POSITION: Director of Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of William F. Burns, of Pennsylvania, to be director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

NOTE: The Foreign Relations Committee reported the nomination favorably by voice vote. Major General Burns currently is Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State, where he has dealt with arms control issues. Earlier he represented the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Intermediate Nuclear Force negotiations in Geneva. He assured the Committee that he would retire from active duty before assuming the position of Director of ACDA which cannot be filled by an active duty military officer. While only months remain before the end of the current Administration, there is still much to be accomplished: a START Agreement, a nuclear testing verification agreement, ratification of the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty, and a ban on chemical weapons.

Vote No. 45.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

YEAS (83)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (43 or 100%)		Republicans (40 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (11)	Republicans (6)
Baucus	Kerry	Armstrong	Lugar			Adams ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Bond	McCain			Biden ⁻³	Durenberger ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Leahy	Boschwitz	McClure			Chiles ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Boren	Levin	Chafee	McConnell			Cranston ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cochran	Murkowski			DeConcini ⁻²	Packwood ⁻⁴
Breaux	Melcher	Cohen	Nickles			Fowler ⁻²	Thurmond ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Pressler			Gore ⁻²	
Burdick	Mikulski	Danforth	Quayle			Inouye ⁻²	
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth			Pell ⁻²	
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman			Sanford ⁻²	
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Simpson			Simon ⁻²	
Dixon	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter				
Dodd	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Exon	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Ford	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Hecht	Trible				
Graham	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Harkin	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Heflin	Shelby	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Hollings	Stennis	Kasten	Wilson				
Johnston	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats—43 or 52%
Republicans—40 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 46

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 14, 1988, 1:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2109

OZONE DEPLETING SUBSTANCES PROTOCOL

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-10, "The Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, Done at Montreal, on September 16, 1987, to the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to executive session to consider the Treaty.

Treaty Doc. 100-10: Vote Nos. 46, 47.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (82)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (43 or 100%)		Republicans (39 or 98%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1 or 3%)	Democrats (11)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	McClure		Helms	Biden ⁻¹	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond	McConnell			Boren ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Boschwitz	Murkowski			Breaux ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	Nickles			Chiles ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher	Cochran	Packwood			Dixon ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Cohen	Pressler			Exon ⁻²	Rudman ⁻²
Burdick	Mikulski	D'Amato	Quayle			Gore ⁻²	
Byrd	Mitchell	Danforth	Roth			Johnston ⁻²	
Conrad	Moynihan	Domenici	Simpson			Matsunaga ⁻²	
Cranston	Nunn	Durenberger	Specter			Sarbanes ⁻²	
Daschle	Pell	Evans	Stafford			Simon ⁻²	
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Grassley	Symms				
Ford	Reid	Hatch	Thurmond				
Fowler	Riegle	Hatfield	Trible				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Hecht	Wallop				
Graham	Sanford	Heinz	Warner				
Harkin	Sasser	Kasten	Weicker				
Heflin	Shelby	Lugar	Wilson				
Hollings	Stennis	McCain					
Inouye	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—98%

For (82)
Democrats—43 or 52%
Republicans—39 or 48%

Against (1)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 47

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 14, 1988, 1:23 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2115

OZONE DEPLETING SUBSTANCES PROTOCOL

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-10, "The Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, Done at Montreal, on September 16, 1987, to the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the Protocol which provides for internationally coordinated control of ozone-depleting substances in order to protect public health and the environment from potential adverse effects of depletion of stratospheric ozone. The principal features of the Protocol are an obligation to limit (1) consumption by (a) freezing at the 1986 levels annual consumption of certain chlorofluorocarbons within seven months after the Protocol has entered into force and of certain halons within three years after entry into force, (b) long-term scheduled reductions of 20 percent by 1994 and 50 percent by 1999 of chlorofluorocarbon annual consumption, and (c) periodic assessments of the control provisions based upon scientific, environmental, technical, and economic information; and (2) production of ozone-depleting substances and restriction of trade in controlled substances with non-party States.

NOTE: The Protocol will enter into force on January 1, 1989, if eleven countries representing at least two-thirds of global consumption have ratified the agreement, or if this condition has not been met, ninety days after these conditions have been met.

Treaty Doc. 100-10: Vote Nos. 46, 47.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO, 2/3RDS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (83)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (42 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (12)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	McCain			Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McClure			Boren ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McConnell			Breaux ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Murkowski			Chiles ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Cochran	Nickles			Dixon ^{-2AY}	Rudman ⁻²
Bumpers	Melcher	Cohen	Packwood			Exon ⁻²	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Pressler			Gore ^{-2AY}	
Byrd	Mikulski	Danforth	Quayle			Johnston ⁻²	
Conrad	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth			Matsunaga ⁻²	
Cranston	Moynihan	Durenberger	Simpson			Sanford ⁻²	
Daschle	Nunn	Evans	Specter			Sarbanes ⁻²	
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford			Simon ⁻²	
Dodd	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Ford	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Fowler	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Glenn	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Graham	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Harkin	Sasser	Helms	Warner				
Heflin	Shelby	Humphrey	Weicker				
Hollings	Stennis	Kasten	Wilson				
Inouye	Wirth	Lugar					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats—42 or 51%
Republicans—41 or 49%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 48

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 14, 1988, 4:14 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2132

IMMIGRATION PREFERENCE REFORM

BILL NO.: S. 2104

AMENDMENT NO.: 1645

TITLE: "Immigration Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Simpson motion to table the Bumpers amendment to strike the section that awards an immigration preference status for up to four percent of the total immigration level or 5,000 persons, whichever is greater, who agree to invest a minimum of \$2 million which will create full-time employment for at least 10 U.S. citizens or lawfully-admitted permanent residents. (Subsequently, a Gramm amendment that changed the \$2 million minimum investment to \$1 million was adopted by voice vote. See also Vote No. 89, 98th-1st.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that it violates the moral values of this Nation to allow the rich to buy their way into this country. No study from GAO or OTA has been made to indicate the impact of this provision. Nor is there any indication available resulting from the current provision giving such an entry preference for those with \$40,000, since no one has entered under that regulation. No requirement is made of this wealthy investor to manage his investments, and such an arrangement would lend itself to entry for nefarious reasons. It is much more likely that a preference granted to an individual because of educational achievement would result in an important contribution to American life.

Opponents of the amendment noted that a select committee had voted 15 to 1 in favor of this preference. It would create up to 50,000 jobs for U.S. workers and infuse new capital into the economy. For years, the U.S. has given preference to immigrants who are professionals, and many present requirements of U.S. immigration law are solely economic. This job-creating preference is less than one percent of the entire national level of immigration, and 50,000 jobs should not be arbitrarily knocked out.

S. 2104: Vote Nos. 48, 50.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)			NAYS (33)			NOT VOTING (16)	
Democrats (15 or 34%)	Republicans (36 or 90%)		Democrats (29 or 66%)	Republicans (4 or 10%)		Democrats (10)	Republicans (6)
Baucus	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Levin	Humphrey	Biden ⁻³	Boschwitz ⁻²
Bentsen	Bond	McClure	Bingaman	Matsunaga	Rudman	Boren ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Byrd	Chafee	McConnell	Bradley	Melcher	Specter	Breaux ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
DeConcini	Cochran	Murkowski	Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Weicker	Chiles ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Dixon	Cohen	Nickles	Burdick	Mikulski		Exon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Dodd	D'Amato	Packwood	Conrad	Mitchell		Gore ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Fowler	Danforth	Pressler	Cranston	Moynihan		Johnston ⁻²	
Graham	Domenici	Quayle	Daschle	Nunn		Pryor ⁻²	
Heflin	Evans	Roth	Ford	Proxmire		Sanford ⁻²	
Hollings	Gramm	Simpson	Glenn	Reid		Simon ⁻²	
Kennedy	Grassley	Stafford	Harkin	Riegle			
Pell	Hatch	Stevens	Inouye	Rockefeller			
Shelby	Hatfield	Symms	Kerry	Sarbanes			
Stennis	Hecht	Thurmond	Lautenberg	Sasser			
Wirth	Heinz	Trible	Leahy				
	Helms	Wallop					
	Kasten	Warner					
	Lugar	Wilson					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 66%
Republicans— 90%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 15 or 29%
Republicans— 36 or 71%

Against (33)
Democrats— 29 or 88%
Republicans— 4 or 12%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 49

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 15, 1988, 11:38 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2209

INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1721

AMENDMENT NO.: 1623

TITLE.: "Intelligence Oversight Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Boren, et al., motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill.

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 4, 1988, was signed by Senators Boren, Pryor, Kennedy, Adams, Stennis, Cohen, Byrd, Conrad, Exon, Daschle, Mikulski, Cranston, Moynihan, Leahy, Reid, Bumpers, Matsunaga, Burdick, Sanford, and Levin.

S. 1721: Vote Nos. 44, 49, 51, 52.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (73)			NAYS (18)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (47 or 98%)		Republicans (26 or 60%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (17 or 40%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Dixon	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Bond ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee		Cochran	Gore ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen		Danforth	Heflin ⁻²	Kasten ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato		Garn	Matsunaga ⁻³	
Boren	Leahy	Domenici		Gramm	Simon ⁻²	
Bradley	Levin	Durenberger		Hatch	Stennis ⁻²	
Breaux	Melcher	Evans		Hecht		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Grassley		Helms		
Burdick	Mikulski	Hatfield		Humphrey		
Byrd	Mitchell	Heinz		McCain		
Chiles	Moynihan	Karnes		McClure		
Conrad	Nunn	Kassebaum		Nickles		
Cranston	Pell	Lugar		Specter		
Daschle	Proxmire	McConnell		Symms		
DeConcini	Pryor	Murkowski		Thurmond		
Dodd	Reid	Packwood		Wallop		
Exon	Riegle	Pressler		Wilson		
Ford	Rockefeller	Quayle				
Fowler	Sanford	Roth				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Rudman				
Graham	Sasser	Simpson				
Harkin	Shelby	Stafford				
Hollings	Wirth	Stevens				
Inouye		Trible				
		Warner				
		Weicker				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats—47 or 64%
Republicans—26 or 36%

Against (18)
Democrats—1 or 6%
Republicans—17 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 50

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 15, 1988, 2:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2215

IMMIGRATION PREFERENCE REFORM

BILL NO.: S. 2104

TITLE: "Immigration Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends the Immigration and Nationality Act by modifying the level and preference systems for admission of immigrants to the U.S. and providing for administrative naturalization in order to address the existing backlog in applications.

S. 2104: Vote Nos. 48, 50.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (88)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (47 or 98%)		Republicans (41 or 93%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	McCain	DeConcini	Hatfield	Biden ⁻³	Bond ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McClure		Helms	Gore ^{-2AY}	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell		Wilson	Heflin ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski			Matsunaga ⁻³	
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles			Simon ⁻²	
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood			Stennis ⁻²	
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle				
Burdick	Mikulski	Durenberger	Roth				
Byrd	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman				
Chiles	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
Conrad	Nunn	Gramm	Specter				
Cranston	Pell	Grassley	Stafford				
Daschle	Proxmire	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Humphrey	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Karnes	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Kassebaum	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kasten	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Lugar					
Harkin	Shelby						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 47 or 53%
Republicans— 41 or 47%

Against (4)
Democrats— 1 or 25%
Republicans— 3 or 75%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act to create two separate immigrant-visa "preference systems": one for close family members and one for "independent" immigrants, as recommended by the Select Committee on Immigration and Refugee Policy.

National Immigration Level: Establishes a three-year national level of immigration for all immigration categories of 590,000 which reflects current flow, plus at least an additional 100,000 visas; reserves 470,000 visas in the first three years (440,000 thereafter) for family immigration and 120,000 visas (150,000 after three years) for the new "independent" category; creates a point system for 55,000 new visas, under which individuals with no family connections in the United States who received a rating above a certain level based on a system which assigns points to specified characteristics (such as age, education, and job skills) would be eligible for visas awarded in a random drawing conducted by the State Department; gives higher priority to the closest family members of citizens and permanent residents; includes a modified "sunset" provision to assure congressional review after three years.

Family Preference: Maintains the current number of family preference visas (216,000 a year) and, for three years, adds 30,000 for backlogs in the brother and sister fifth preference category; allocates a higher percentage of family preference visas to spouses and children of legal permanent residents (65 percent compared to 26 percent under current law); limits the preference for adult sons and daughters of legal permanent residents to unmarried children under age 26; retains the preference for brothers and sisters of adult U.S. citizens but limits it to never-married brothers and sisters; grandfathered in pending claims under the current system and makes 30,000 visas available to reduce this backlog.

Independent Immigrants: Combines the existing preferences for professionals, persons of exceptional merit and those with needed skills, with the new 55,000 non-preference numbers to create an "independent" system of 120,000 visas annually for three years; makes the additional 55,000 visas available for applicants who qualify on the basis of the new point system; establishes an employment generating investor visa requiring at least \$1 million in new capital that will generate employment for at least ten Americans or legal residents and makes up to 4,800 conditional entry visas available annually; requires the investor to return to INS in two years to adjust his/her status to permanent resident alien, which would be accomplished only if the investment continues to create employment for the requisite number of American workers.

Administrative Fees: Directs the Secretary of State to establish a schedule of fees to be charged for the filing of a petition for all immigrant categories that is sufficient to cover administrative and other expenses connected with processing the application.

Administrative Naturalization: Permits administrative naturalizations and appropriate judicial review of administrative denials.

Filipino War Veterans: Enables Filipino war veterans who served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II to be naturalized.

Cuban Immigration: Requires the Attorney General and the Secretary of State to submit a report to Congress projecting the number of Cubans expected to enter the U.S. as a result of the resumption of the Mariel agreement.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 51

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 15, 1988, 3:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2232

INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT

BILL NO.: S. 1721
TITLE: "Intelligence Oversight Act of 1988"
SUBJECT: Cohen motion to table the Chafee amendment which changes, from 48 hours to ten days, the deadline by which the President must notify Congress that a covert activity is under way.

AMENDMENT NO.: 1642

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment cited the danger that could ensue to Americans involved in a foreign rescue operation, for example, and the reluctance of foreign powers to assist knowing that members of the U.S. Congress would be told of the dangerous operation. Forty-eight hours is just too short a time, and no Director of Intelligence has ever supported the provision. A 10-day period would encourage greater cooperation from other countries. Some felt that any time certain should be eliminated. By notifying four or eight leaders, the opportunity for leaks that could endanger lives increases.

Opponents of the amendment emphasized that a proper balance must be maintained between the need for total secrecy and the need for accountability. It is not only a matter of notification, but of consultation—which leads to unity and bipartisanship in foreign policy. Ten days is too long to have actual meaningful consultation. With the exception of the Iran-Contra affair, the Administration has consistently notified the Intelligence Committees prior to initiating a covert activity, and the system has worked—and without leaks. This provision was prompted by an Assistant Attorney General who interpreted "timely fashion" in current law to mean as long as the President in his unfettered discretion deems necessary to withhold that information. He has to give prior notice to only four persons. After 10 days, the covert action would probably be over.

S. 1721: Vote Nos. 44, 49, 51, 52.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)		NAYS (32)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (44 or 92%)	Republicans (16 or 36%)	Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (28 or 64%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Dixon	Armstrong	Biden— ³	Bond— ²
Baucus	Johnston	Ford	Chafee	Gore— ²	Dole— ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Shelby	Cochran	Heflin— ²	
Bingaman	Kerry	Wirth	Danforth	Matsunaga— ³	
Boren	Lautenberg		Durenberger	Simon— ²	
Bradley	Leahy		Garn	Stennis— ²	
Breaux	Levin		Gramm		
Bumpers	Melcher		Grassley		
Burdick	Metzenbaum		Hatch		
Byrd	Mikulski		Hecht		
Chiles	Mitchell		Helms		
Conrad	Moynihan		Humphrey		
Cranston	Nunn		Karnes		
Daschle	Pell		Kassebaum		
DeConcini	Proxmire		Kasten		
Dodd	Pryor		Lugar		
Exon	Reid		McCain		
Fowler	Riegle		McClure		
Glenn	Rockefeller		Nickles		
Graham	Sanford		Packwood		
Harkin	Sarbanes		Pressler		
Hollings	Sasser		Quayle		
			Simpson		
			Stevens		
			Symms		
			Thurmond		
			Wallop		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats—44 or 73%
Republicans—16 or 27%

Against (32)
Democrats—4 or 12.5%
Republicans—28 or 87.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 52

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 15, 1988, 6:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2248

INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT

BILL NO.: S. 1721

TITLE: "Intelligence Oversight Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which clarifies the legal requirements for congressional oversight of intelligence activities, including special activities, and specifies the procedures for the authorization of special activities within the executive branch which is based on the procedures pertaining to covert operations contained in the presidential directive (NSDD 286) and certain recommendations of the Iran-Contra Committees as contained in their conclusion in the "Covert Action in a Democratic Society" chapter of their final report.

S. 1721: Vote Nos. 44, 49, 51, 52.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (71)			NAYS (19)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (45 or 96%)	Republicans (26 or 60%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (17 or 40%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz	Dixon	Armstrong	Biden—3	Bond—2
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee	Proxmire	Cochran	Gore—2AY	Dole—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen		Danforth	Heflin—2	Humphrey—2
Bingaman	Kerry	D'Amato		Garn	Matsunaga—3	
Boren	Lautenberg	Domenici		Gramm	Nunn—3	
Bradley	Leahy	Durenberger		Hatch	Simon—2	
Breaux	Levin	Evans		Hecht	Stennis—2	
Bumpers	Melcher	Grassley		Helms		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatfield		Kasten		
Byrd	Mikulski	Heinz		McCain		
Chiles	Mitchell	Karnes		McClure		
Conrad	Moynihan	Kassebaum		Nickles		
Cranston	Pell	Lugar		Pressler		
Daschle	Pryor	McConnell		Quayle		
DeConcini	Reid	Murkowski		Simpson		
Dodd	Riegle	Packwood		Symms		
Exon	Rockefeller	Roth		Wallop		
Ford	Sanford	Rudman				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Specter				
Glenn	Sasser	Stafford				
Graham	Shelby	Stevens				
Harkin	Wirth	Thurmond				
Hollings		Trible				
		Warner				
		Weicker				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats—45 or 63%
Republicans—26 or 37%

Against (19)
Democrats—2 or 11%
Republicans—17 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Repeals the Hughes-Ryan Amendment of 1974 in order to consolidate intelligence oversight provisions, and expands the requirement for Presidential approval of covert action to all entities of the U.S. government rather than only the CIA (parallels Executive Order 12333).

Places a statutory obligation upon the President to ensure that the congressional Intelligence Committees are kept fully and currently informed of all intelligence activities undertaken by the U.S. government as required by Title V of the National Security Act of 1947; places with the President, rather than the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) and agency heads, the responsibility for reporting any illegal intelligence activity to the Intelligence Committees together with any related corrective action taken or planned; retains existing law authorizing the President and the Intelligence Committees to establish procedures to carry out their oversight obligations and requiring the House and Senate to establish procedures to protect the secrecy of information and ensure that each House and its appropriate committees are advised promptly of relevant information.

Maintains the statutory requirement that the DCI and the heads of all Federal entities involved in U.S. intelligence activities keep the Intelligence Committees "fully and currently informed" of all intelligence activities, other than "special activities" (defined as any CIA operation in foreign countries, other than activities intended solely for obtaining necessary intelligence, and any activity conducted by a U.S. government department, agency, or entity in support of national foreign policy objectives abroad that is planned and executed so that the U.S. government's role is not apparent or acknowledged publicly, and functions in support of such activities); deletes the special procedures for prior notice of intelligence activities, other than special activities, to eight congressional leaders; retains the requirement that the DCI and other government officials furnish the committees, upon request, with any information or material concerning intelligence activities within their custody or control.

Provides statutory authority for the President to authorize the conduct of special activities by U.S. agencies, departments, or entities, including the Executive Office of the President, only when he/she determines they are necessary to support U.S. foreign policy objectives and are important to national security; requires that the determination be set forth in a "Finding" and prohibits expenditure of funds to initiate or implement a special activity unless and until a Finding has been signed or otherwise provided in accordance with U.S. law.

Requires that each Finding be in writing unless immediate U.S. action is required and time does not permit, in which case a record of the President's decision must be contemporaneously made and reduced to writing within 48 hours of the decision; restates the existing ban on retroactive Findings; requires that each Finding specify the U.S. government department, agency, or entity authorized to fund or participate in any significant way in the special activities authorized, and that subsequent amending documents be submitted detailing additional participating entities; subjects any employee, contractor, or contract agent of the U.S. government who is directed to participate in any way in a special activity to the policies and regulations of the CIA or the parent agency with whom he/she is affiliated; requires that each Finding specify whether it is contemplated that any third party, not subject to government policies or regulations, will be used to fund or otherwise participate in any significant way in the special activity, or will be used to undertake the special activity on behalf of the U.S.; maintains current Executive order restrictions that preclude a Finding from authorizing any action intended to influence domestic political processes, public opinion, policies, or media; prohibits a Finding from authorizing an action that would violate the U.S. Constitution or any U.S. statute.

Imposes reporting requirements on the DCI and the head of any U.S. government entity involved in a special activity similar to those for other intelligence activities; sets forth additional detailed requirements for reporting special activities to Congress, including a requirement that the Intelligence Committees ordinarily be advised of all Findings or determinations before they are initiated; allows the President, when he/she determines it essential to meet extraordinary circumstances affecting vital interests of the U.S., to provide the required notice of the special activity to the Chairman and ranking Minority members of the Intelligence Committees, the Speaker and Minority Leader of the House and the Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate "gang of eight" and together with an explanatory statement for doing so; permits the President to provide notification only to the Speaker and Minority Leader of the House and the Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate "gang of four" when it is essential to meet extraordinary circumstances affecting the most vital security interests of the U.S. and the risk of disclosure constitutes a grave risk to those interests, and requires the President to submit an explanatory statement for withholding notice to the Intelligence Committees, reconsider monthly the reasons for continuing to withhold notice from the Intelligence Committees, and notify the four congressional leaders of the decision.

Requires that Congress be advised, in accordance with the provisions governing the original Finding, of significant changes in special activities which have been previously authorized and reported; prohibits expenditure of non-appropriated funds available to U.S. government entities from any source over which they exercise control, including funds provided by or in the possession of third parties over which the U.S. has authority to direct disbursements, or which were generated as a result of intelligence activities.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 53

March 16, 1988, 10:20 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2301

100th Congress
2nd Session

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414
TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"
SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.
RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (71)			NAYS (24)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)	Republicans (23 or 50%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (23 or 50%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Conrad	Armstrong	Biden ⁻¹	
Baucus	Kennedy	Cochran		Bond	Bradley ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Danforth		Chafee	Gore ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Dole		Cohen	Matsunaga ⁻³	
Boren	Leahy	Domenici		D'Amato	Simon ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Durenberger		Evans		
Bumpers	Melcher	Garn		Gramm		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Grassley		Hatch		
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatfield		Hecht		
Chiles	Mitchell	Heinz		Helms		
Cranston	Moynihan	Karnes		Humphrey		
Daschle	Nunn	Kassebaum		Kasten		
DeConcini	Pell	Lugar		McCain		
Dixon	Proxmire	McClure		McConnell		
Dodd	Pryor	Pressier		Murkowski		
Exon	Reid	Roth		Nickles		
Ford	Riegle	Rudman		Packwood		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Simpson		Quayle		
Glenn	Sanford	Stafford		Specter		
Graham	Sarbanes	Stevens		Symms		
Harkin	Sasser	Thurmond		Wallop		
Heflin	Shelby	Trible		Weicker		
Hollings	Stennis	Warner		Wilson		
Inouye	Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—50%

For (71)
Democrats—48 or 68%
Republicans—23 or 32%

Against (24)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—23 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 54

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 16, 1988, 10:58 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2310

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1664

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Johnston-Metzenbaum modified amendment which establishes a civil penalty of up to \$100,000 per day for violations by nuclear contractors of any DOE rule, regulation, or order and a criminal penalty of up to \$25,000 and/or two years in prison for knowing and willful violations of any nuclear safety-related rule by any director, officer, or employee.

NOTE: Proponents contended that DOE contractors should be compelled to observe DOE regulations and exercise the highest degree of care in operating DOE facilities. The amendment would give DOE leverage to force compliance with its safety rules by establishing discretionary civil monetary penalties for violations. The language, which is identical to that adopted by the Energy Committee in the Senate version of the bill, strikes a balance between a penalty severe enough to act as an incentive to comply with DOE rules, while not being so severe that the best and most responsible contractors would be driven out of business—leaving sensitive national defense facilities under the management of less capable contractors. Some claimed that there should be even greater accountability expected from contractors and indicated that an amendment would be offered to create contractor liability for accidents at DOE facilities (Vote No. 55).

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (94)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	Hatch ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Bradley ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Gore ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell			Matsunaga ⁻³	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski			Simon ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Wallop				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Karnes	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Heflin	Stennis	Kasten					
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats—49 or 52%
Republicans—45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 55

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 16, 1988, 3:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2335

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1665

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Metzenbaum, et al., amendment (as amended by the Bumpers perfecting amendment No. 1667) which requires the Attorney General to sue on behalf of the U.S. government to recover the contract award fee (profit) paid to any DOE nuclear contractor indemnified by this Act, if the nuclear incident resulted from the contractor's gross negligence or willful misconduct. (Universities are exempted from this provision.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that DOE contractors should be held liable for accidents that result from gross negligence or willful misconduct. The Federal government does not give any other contractors immunity from gross negligence. Exempting DOE contractors explains why DOE has such a poor safety record. Holding contractors liable would reduce the likelihood of a nuclear accident, create a financial incentive to observe DOE safety standards, and protect taxpayers from the cost of an accident. The amendment would not deter the industry from contracting with DOE, they argued, noting that contractors have continued to sign agreements even though Price-Anderson expired last summer. Nor would it delay compensation in the event of a catastrophe, since subrogation would not take place until after claims were paid. If contractors continue to receive blanket protection from liability, it could result in shielding criminals or terrorists. Universities are exempted and contractor liability is limited to the profit on the contract (as provided for in the Bumpers perfecting amendment), which would protect the contractor from risking its corporate assets.

Opponents of the amendment countered that there is no record of gross negligence among DOE contractors, so it is unnecessary to create a complicated procedure that would only delay compensation in the event of an accident. The amendment would make DOE contractors an uninsurable risk, impede the production of defense materials, and drive the best contractors away from doing business with DOE. Since no one would willingly assume liability for DOE's aging nuclear facilities, parts of which are being operated beyond their design life, DOE's sensitive installations would end up under the operation of less reputable contractors. DOE nuclear facilities are government-owned, and the responsibility for any problems lies with the government, not with the contractor. Price-Anderson is one of the most successful acts that Congress has ever passed, and in 30 years only \$1.5 million in claims have been paid. No evidence was presented in the hearings on the bill to suggest that exposing contractors to

(OVER)

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63,

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)			NAYS (41)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (18 or 37%)	Republicans (35 or 78%)		Democrats (31 or 63%)	Republicans (10 or 22%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Bentsen	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Biden—3	Stafford—2
Bingaman	Bond	McClure	Baucus	Leahy	Chafee	Gore—2	
Boren	Cochran	McConnell	Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Matsunaga—3	
Breaux	D'Amato	Murkowski	Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Simon—2	
Burdick	Dole	Nickles	Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Stennis—2	
DeConcini	Domenici	Pressler	Chiles	Mikulski	Hatfield		
Dixon	Evans	Quayle	Conrad	Mitchell	Humphrey		
Eaton	Garn	Roth	Cranston	Proxmire	Packwood		
Ford	Gramm	Rudman	Daschle	Pryor	Weicker		
Fowler	Grassley	Simpson	Dodd	Reid	Wilson		
Heflin	Hatch	Specter	Glenn	Riegle			
Hollings	Hecht	Stevens	Graham	Rockefeller			
Johnston	Heinz	Symms	Harkin	Sanford			
Moynihan	Helms	Thurmond	Inouye	Sarbanes			
Nunn	Karnes	Trible	Kennedy	Wirth			
Pell	Kassebaum	Wallop	Kerry				
Sasser	Kasten	Warner					
Shelby	Lugar						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—63%
Republicans—78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—18 or 34%
Republicans—35 or 66%

Against (41)
Democrats—31 or 76%
Republicans—10 or 24%

liability would enhance safety or deter irresponsibility. Since Price-Anderson deals with the financial questions of liability, it is improper to address safety and environmental issues on this legislation. The amendment is opposed by the Energy, Defense, and Justice Departments, and could lead to a presidential veto of the bill.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 56

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 16, 1988, 4:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2348

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1670

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Breaux-Burdick-Stafford amendment which provides up to \$7 billion in Federal indemnification in the event of a commercial nuclear power plant accident (the same coverage that applies to DOE facilities) to be paid only after the commercial utility has paid \$7 billion in damages from its own insurance fund.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that Congress should provide the same level of indemnity for victims of accidents at commercial nuclear power plants that it provides for DOE facilities in order to assure that victims are fully compensated. The bill provides damages of up to \$7 billion to be paid through the nuclear industry's private insurance. However, since GAO estimates that the cost of a major accident could be \$15 billion, the victims would have to bear all costs in excess of \$7 billion. The amendment would increase the amount of financial protection to \$15 billion by providing the same level of Federal indemnity that is available for DOE contractor accidents. While this would make the total amount of protection for commercial accidents twice what it is for DOE, it would be unfair to place a limit on protection simply because both public and private facilities cannot be covered at the same level. (The language in the bill committing Congress to provide additional assistance is nonbinding and would make compensation contingent on congressional action.)

Opponents countered that the Federal government should not be reinvolved in the indemnification of commercial nuclear plants, since such government responsibility was phased out by the Price-Anderson Amendments of 1975. The amendment ignores the GAO recommendation that DOE contractors and commercial nuclear utilities receive comparable levels of indemnity, and instead compensates the public

(OVER)

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (21)		NAYS (72)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (20 or 41%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (29 or 59%)	Republicans (43 or 98%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Chafee	Baucus	Bond	Biden—3	Armstrong—2
Breaux		Bentsen	Boschwitz	Gore—2	Stafford—2
Bumpers		Bingaman	Cochran	Matsunaga—3	
Burdick		Boren	Cohen	Simon—2	
Cranston		Bradley	D'Amato	Stennis—2	
Graham		Byrd	Danforth		
Inouye		Chiles	Dole		
Kennedy		Conrad	Domenici		
Lautenberg		Daschle	Durenberger		
Leahy		DeConcini	Evans		
Metzenbaum		Dixon	Garn		
Mikulski		Dodd	Gramm		
Moynihan		Exon	Grassley		
Pell		Ford	Hatch		
Reid		Fowler	Hatfield		
Riegle		Glenn	Hecht		
Rockefeller		Harkin	Heinz		
Sarbanes		Heflin	Helms		
Shelby		Hollings	Humphrey		
Wirth		Johnston	Karnes		
		Kerry	Kassebaum		
		Levin	Kasten		
		Melcher			
		Mitchell			
		Nunn			
		Proxmire			
		Pryor			
		Sanford			
		Sasser			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 59%
Republicans— 98%

For (21)

Democrats— 20 or 95%
Republicans— 1 or 5%

Against (72)

Democrats— 29 or 40%
Republicans— 43 or 60%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

at twice the level for a commercial accident than is provided for a DOE accident. In addition, it effectively eliminates the congressional review procedures in the bill, and reduces the flexibility Congress would have in the event of a major accident. According to GAO, \$7 billion is adequate to cover 95 percent of the worst-case accident scenarios. In the event of a more severe accident, Congress is expected to make needed assistance available, as it has in the past when confronted with similar catastrophies. The amendment could lead to the retrospective premiums being raised in conference to reach \$14 billion, which would force an individual commercial licensee or its ratepayers to shoulder the whole cost of a major accident, rather than allowing the costs to be spread more broadly. The amendment is opposed by the Justice Department and OMB.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 57

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 17, 1988, 7:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2475

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1679

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Breaux substitute amendment (for the McClure amendment No. 1678) which extends the indemnification authority under the Price-Anderson Act for 20 years and requires the Secretary of Energy to report to Congress by August 1, 1993, and August 1, 2003, on the need for modifications to the Act. (The McClure amendment would extend the Act for 30 years whereas the bill as reported would extend it for 10 years.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that a 20-year extension of the indemnification authority would guarantee the availability of adequate benefits in the event of a nuclear accident, lend stability to the industry, and assure that benefits would be available when the high-level nuclear waste site goes into operation around 2003. A 30-year extension is too long because, with fewer nuclear plants operating in the out years, the amount available to cover claims would fall to \$3.75 billion. A 10-year extension is unnecessarily short because the bill would meet the industry's needs for 20 years. Price-Anderson is an insurance program and should not be used to address safety issues, they argued. It has proven effective for compensating victims of nuclear accidents, as has been demonstrated on a number of occasions, including the Three Mile Island accident. Congress would not be excluded from monitoring the industry because an annual report is required from the NRC and a review of the program is required every 10 years from DOE.

Opponents countered that a shorter authorization period would help Congress hold the nuclear industry accountable. In light of GAO reports documenting unresolved safety and environmental problems, drug and alcohol abuse reported among plant operators, and the remaining work life of many facilities indeterminate, Congress would be abdicating its responsibility if it did not review Price-Anderson

(OVER)

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (50)		NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (16)	
Democrats (23 or 53%)	Republicans (27 or 66%)	Democrats (20 or 47%)	Republicans (14 or 34%)	Democrats (11)	Republicans (5)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Baucus	Bond	Adams ²	Garn ²
Bingaman	Chafee	Bradley	Boschwitz	Biden ³	Hecht ²
Boren	Cochran	Conrad	Cohen	Chiles ²	Helms ²
Breaux	D'Amato	Cranston	Durenberger	Gore ²	Stafford ²
Bumpers	Danforth	Daschle	Grassley	Harkin ²	Thurmond ^{2AY}
Burdick	Dole	Dodd	Hatfield	Hollings ²	
Byrd	Domenici	Glenn	Humphrey	Inouye ²	
DeConcini	Evans	Kennedy	Kassebaum	Matsunaga ³	
Dixon	Gramm	Kerry	Kasten	Pryor ²	
Faxon	Hatch	Lautenberg	Packwood	Simon ²	
Ford	Heinz	Leahy	Roth	Stennis ²	
Fowler	Karnes	Levin	Rudman		
Graham	Lugar	Metzenbaum	Weicker		
Heflin	McCain	Mikulski	Wilson		
Johnston	McClure	Mitchell			
Melcher	McConnell	Pell			
Moynihan	Murkowski	Proxmire			
Nunn	Nickles	Riegle			
Reid	Pressler	Rockefeller			
Sanford	Quayle	Sarbanes			
Sasser	Simpson				
Shelby	Specter				
Wirth	Stevens				
	Symms				
	Trible				
	Wallop				
	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 53%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 23 or 46%
Republicans— 27 or 54%

Against (34)
Democrats— 20 or 59%
Republicans— 14 or 41%

at least every 10 years. While Price-Anderson is an insurance program, it is structured in a way that helps to police the industry and create accountability. In this bill alone, the Senate has increased the statute of limitations, made a significant increase in the limit on liability, and created accountability. Moreover, the Federal government is about to begin construction on the country's first high level nuclear waste repository, and Congress should have an opportunity to review Price-Anderson in the context of a repository program before it goes into operation.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 58

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 17, 1988, 7:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2475

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1678

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: McClure amendment, (as amended by the Breaux substitute—Vote No. 57), which extends the Price-Anderson Act for 20 years and requires the Secretary of Energy to report to Congress by August 1, 1993, and August 1, 2003, on the need for modifications to the Act. (The underlying bill would extend the Act for 10 years.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that a 20-year extension of the indemnification authority would guarantee the availability of adequate benefits in the event of a nuclear accident, lend stability to the industry, and assure that benefits would be available when the high-level nuclear waste site goes into operation around 2003. A 30-year extension is too long because, with fewer nuclear plants operating in the out years, the amount available to cover claims would fall to \$3.75 billion. A 10-year extension is unnecessarily short because the bill would meet the industry's needs for 20 years. Price-Anderson is an insurance program and should not be used to address safety issues, they argued. It has proven effective for compensating victims of nuclear accidents, as has been demonstrated on a number of occasions, including the Three Mile Island accident. Congress would not be excluded from monitoring the industry because an annual report is required from the NRC and a review of the program is required every 10 years from DOE.

Opponents countered that a shorter authorization period would help Congress hold the nuclear industry accountable. In light of GAO reports documenting unresolved safety and environmental problems, drug and alcohol abuse reported among plant operators, and the remaining work life of many facilities indeterminate, Congress would be abdication its responsibility if it did not review Price-Anderson at least every 10 years. While Price-Anderson is an insurance program, it is structured in a way that helps to police the industry and create accountability. In this bill alone, the Senate has increased the statute of limitations, made a significant increase in the limit on liability, and created accountability. Moreover, the Federal government is about to begin construction on the country's first high level nuclear waste repository, and Congress should have an opportunity to review Price-Anderson in the context of a repository program before it goes into operation.

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (45)			NAYS (36)		NOT VOTING (19)	
Democrats (20 or 49%)	Republicans (25 or 63%)		Democrats (21 or 51%)	Republicans (15 or 38%)	Democrats (13)	Republicans (6)
Baucus	Armstrong	Murkowski	Bradley	Bond	Adams ²	Garn ²
Bentsen	Cochran	Nickles	Byrd	Boschwitz	Biden ³	Hecht ²
Bingaman	D'Amato	Pressler	Conrad	Chafee	Chiles ²	Helms ²
Boren	Danforth	Simpson	Cranston	Cohen	Gore ²	Quayle ²
Breaux	Dole	Specter	Daschle	Durenberger	Harkin ²	Stafford ²
Bumpers	Domenici	Stevens	Dodd	Hatfield	Hollings ²	Thurmond ^{2AY}
Burdick	Evans	Symms	Glenn	Humphrey	Inouye ²	
DeConcini	Gramm	Trible	Kennedy	Kassebaum	Matsunaga ³	
Dixon	Grassley	Wallop	Kerry	Kasten	Nunn ²	
Exon	Hatch	Warner	Lautenberg	Lugar	Pryor ²	
Ford	Heinz		Leahy	Packwood	Simon ²	
Fowler	Karnes		Levin	Roth	Stennis ²	
Graham	McCain		Metzenbaum	Rudman	Wirth ²	
Hefflin	McClure		Mikulski	Weicker		
Johnston	McConnell		Mitchell	Wilson		
Melcher			Moynihan			
Reid			Pell			
Sanford			Proxmire			
Sasser			Riegle			
Shelby			Rockefeller			
			Sarbanes			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

2—Necessarily Absent
3—illness

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 51%
Republicans— 63%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (45)
Democrats— 20 or 44%
Republicans— 25 or 56%

Against (36)
Democrats— 21 or 58%
Republicans— 15 or 42%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 59

March 18, 1988, 12:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2554

100th Congress
2nd Session

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

AMENDMENT NO.: 1677

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Glenn-Roth amendment which creates an independent Defense Safety Review Board to oversee DOE health and safety practices; places DOE under OSHA coverage to regulate and inspect DOE worker conditions; and establishes a Radiation Study Advisory Board to advise and assist DOE in researching the health effects of ionizing radiation.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should promote worker safety and environmental protection at DOE nuclear defense facilities, in light of the Department's poor safety record and instances of environmental damage. Currently, DOE is responsible both for producing the Nation's nuclear weapons materials and protecting against the dangers of this production. The amendment would alleviate this conflict by creating an independent nuclear safety board to oversee DOE health and safety practices, removing DOE's exemption from OSHA, and establishing a radiation study advisory board. The amendment includes Titles I, II, and IV of S. 1085, the Nuclear Protections and Safety Act of 1987, which was reported favorably by the Governmental Affairs Committee. Title I of the bill has been subjected to extensive hearings by the Armed Services Committee, which reported it favorably. It is appropriate to offer the amendment to the Price-Anderson Act because the Senate has a responsibility not only to make compensation available in the event of a nuclear catastrophe, but to prevent such a catastrophe from occurring. There is no jurisdictional conflict between the Governmental Affairs and the Armed Services Committees in connection with Title I, they argued, because the Parliamentarian referred the measure to the Governmental Affairs Committee when it was introduced. The Armed Services Committee held hearings on Title I only because the Chairman of Governmental Affairs agreed to honor its request for sequential referral—a decision that did not constitute an official

(OVER)

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (44)		NAYS (47)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (17 or 35%)	Republicans (27 or 64%)	Democrats (32 or 65%)	Republicans (15 or 36%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Baucus	Bond	Adams	Leahy	Biden— ¹	Garn— ²
Bentsen	Boschwitz	Bradley	Levin	Gore— ²	Hecht— ²
Bingaman	Cochran	Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Matsunaga— ³	Karnes— ²
Boren	Danforth	Byrd	Mikulski	Simon— ²	Stafford— ²
Breaux	Dole	Chiles	Mitchell	Stennis— ²	
Burdick	Domenici	Conrad	Moynihan		
Dixon	Evans	Cranston	Pell		
Dodd	Gramm	Daschle	Proxmire		
Exon	Grassley	DeConcini	Pryor		
Ford	Hatch	Glenn	Reid		
Fowler	Helms	Graham	Riegle		
Heflin	Kassebaum	Harkin	Rockefeller		
Hollings	Kasten	Johnston	Sanford		
Inouye	McClure	Kennedy	Sarbanes		
Melcher	McConnell	Kerry	Sasser		
Nunn	Murkowski	Lautenberg	Wirth		
Shelby	Nickles				
	Presser				
	Quayle				
	Simpson				
	Specter				
	Simms				
	Thurmond				
	Trible				
	Wallop				
	Warner				
	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
1—Official Business	
2—Necessarily Absent	
3—Illness	
4—Other	
SYMBOLS:	
AY—Announced Yea	
AN—Announced Nay	
PY—Paired Yea	
PN—Paired Nay	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—65%
Republicans—64%

For (44)
Democrats—17 or 39%
Republicans—27 or 61%

Against (47)
Democrats—32 or 68%
Republicans—15 or 32%

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Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

action of the Senate. While the Armed Services Committee indicated that it would include Title I in the FY 1989 DOD Authorization, no similar promise has been forthcoming for the rest of the amendment. Opponents of the amendment agreed with the desirability of creating independent oversight of DOE nuclear activities, but countered that the Price-Anderson Act is an inappropriate vehicle because the amendment has nothing to do with the liability mechanism for accidents at DOE facilities. Moreover, Title I of the bill falls under the jurisdiction of the Armed Services Committee, which has primary jurisdiction over nuclear weapons production. Passage of the amendment would "shred responsibilities between several different committees." The Armed Services Committee has agreed to include Title I in the DOD Authorization; it cannot agree to include the rest of the amendment because those titles do not relate to defense authorization. Some criticism was expressed for characterizing DOE as willing to sacrifice health, safety, and the environment to achieve production levels, noting that DOE has implemented most of the recommendations that have been made by GAO. The amendment is opposed by the Departments of Energy, Justice, and Labor, and risks a presidential veto of the bill.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 60

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 18, 1988, 12:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2554

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1677

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Glenn motion to table the Johnston motion to reconsider Vote No. 59.

NOTE: See Vote No. 59 for a summary of the arguments for and against the Glenn-Roth amendment.

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECONSIDER FAILED

YEAS (43)		NAYS (48)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (30 or 61%)	Republicans (13 or 31%)	Democrats (19 or 39%)	Republicans (29 or 69%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Armstrong	Baucus	Bond	Biden ⁻³	Garn ⁻²
Bradley	Chafee	Bentsen	Boschwitz	Gore ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bumpers	Cohen	Bingaman	Cochran	Matsunaga ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Byrd	D'Amato	Boren	Danforth	Simon ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Chiles	Durenberger	Breaux	Dole	Stennis ⁻²	
Cranston	Heinz	Burdick	Domenici		
Daschle	Humphrey	Conrad	Evans		
DeConcini	McCain	Dixon	Gramm		
Glenn	Packwood	Dodd	Grassley		
Graham	Roth	Exon	Hatch		
Harkin	Rudman	Ford	Hatfield		
Kennedy	Stevens	Fowler	Helms		
Kerry	Weicker	Heflin	Kassebaum		
Lautenberg		Hollings	Kasten		
Leahy		Inouye	Lugar		
Levin		Johnston	McClure		
Metzenbaum		Melcher	McConnell		
Mikulski		Nunn	Murkowski		
Mitchell		Shelby	Nickles		
Moynihan			Pressler		
Pell			Quayle		
Proxmire			Simpson		
Pryor			Specter		
Reid			Symms		
Riegle			Thurmond		
Rockefeller			Trible		
Sanford			Wallop		
Sarbanes			Warner		
Sasser			Wilson		
Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—61%
Republicans—69%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (43)
Democrats—30 or 70%
Republicans—13 or 30%

Against (48)
Democrats—19 or 40%
Republicans—29 or 60%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 61

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 18, 1988, 12:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2555

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1677

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to reconsider Vote No. 59 by which the Senate failed to table the Glenn-Roth amendment.

NOTE: See Vote No. 59 for a summary of the arguments for and against the Glenn-Roth amendment.

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO

YEAS (46)		NAYS (44)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (19 or 39%)	Republicans (27 or 66%)	Democrats (30 or 61%)	Republicans (14 or 34%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (5)
Baucus	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Biden— ³	Domenici— ²
Bentsen	Boschwitz	Bradley	Chafee	Gore— ²	Garn— ²
Bingaman	Cochran	Bumpers	Cohen	Matsunaga— ³	Hecht— ²
Boren	Danforth	Byrd	D'Amato	Simon— ²	Karnes— ²
Breaux	Dole	Chiles	Durenberger	Stennis— ²	Stafford— ²
Burdick	Evans	Cranston	Hatfield		
Conrad	Gramm	Daschle	Heinz		
Dixon	Grassley	DeConcini	Humphrey		
Dodd	Hatch	Glenn	McCain	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Eaton	Helms	Graham	Packwood		
Ford	Kassebaum	Harkin	Roth		
Fowler	Kasten	Kennedy	Rudman		
Jeffords	Lugar	Kerry	Stevens	SYMBOLS:	
Hollings	McClure	Lautenberg	Weicker		
Inouye	McConnell	Leahy			
Johnston	Murkowski	Levin			
Melcher	Nickles	Metzenbaum		AY—Announced Yea	
Nunn	Pressler	Mikulski		AN—Announced Nay	
Shelby	Quayle	Mitchell		PY—Paired Yea	
	Simpson	Moynihan		PN—Paired Nay	
	Specter	Pell			
	Symms	Proxmire			
	Thurmond	Pryor			
	Trible	Reid			
	Wallop	Riegle			
	Warner	Rockefeller			
	Wilson	Sanford			
		Sarbanes			
		Sasser			
		Wirth			

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—61%
Republicans—66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (46)
Democrats—19 or 41%
Republicans—27 or 59%

Against (44)
Democrats—30 or 68%
Republicans—14 or 32%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 62

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 18, 1988, 12:57 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2555

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1677

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Reconsideration of the Johnston motion to table the Glenn-Roth amendment (Vote No. 59) which creates an independent Defense Safety Review Board to oversee DOE health and safety practices; places DOE under OSHA coverage to regulate and inspect DOE worker conditions; and establishes a Radiation Study Advisory Board to advise and assist DOE in researching the health effects of ionizing radiation.

NOTE: See Vote No. 59 for a summary of the arguments for and against the Glenn-Roth amendment.

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (48)		NAYS (43)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (20 or 41%)	Republicans (28 or 67%)	Democrats (29 or 59%)	Republicans (14 or 33%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Baucus	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Boschwitz	Bradley	Chafee	Gore ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Cochran	Bumpers	Cohen	Matsunaga ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Boren	D'Amato	Byrd	Durenberger	Simon ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Breaux	Danforth	Chiles	Hatfield	Stennis ⁻²	
Burdick	Dole	Cranston	Heinz		
Conrad	Domenici	Daschle	Humphrey		
Dixon	Evans	DeConcini	Lugar		
Dodd	Gramm	Graham	McCain		
Egon	Grassley	Harkin	Packwood		
Ford	Hatch	Kennedy	Roth		
Fowler	Helms	Kerry	Rudman		
Glenn	Kassebaum	Lautenberg	Stevens		
Hefflin	Kasten	Leahy	Weicker		
Hollings	McClure	Levin			
Inouye	McConnell	Metzenbaum			
Johnston	Murkowski	Mikulski			
Melcher	Nickles	Mitchell			
Nunn	Pressler	Moynihan			
Shelby	Quayle	Pell			
	Simpson	Proxmire			
	Specter	Pryor			
	Symms	Reid			
	Thurmond	Riegle			
	Trible	Rockefeller			
	Wallop	Sanford			
	Warner	Sarbanes			
	Wilson	Sasser			
		Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 59%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats— 20 or 42%
Republicans— 28 or 58%

Against (43)
Democrats— 29 or 67%
Republicans— 14 or 33%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 63

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 18, 1988, 1:14 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2555

PRICE-ANDERSON NUCLEAR INDEMNIFICATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1414

AMENDMENT NO.: 1677

TITLE: "Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Glenn motion to reconsider Vote No. 62 by which the Senate, upon reconsideration, tabled the Glenn-Roth amendment.

NOTE: See Vote No. 59 for a summary of the arguments for and against the Glenn-Roth amendment.

H.R. 1414: Vote Nos. 53-63.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO

YEAS (49)		NAYS (42)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (20 or 41%)	Republicans (29 or 69%)	Democrats (29 or 59%)	Republicans (13 or 31%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Baucus	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Boschwitz	Bradley	Chafee	Gore ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Cochran	Byrd	Cohen	Matsunaga ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Boren	D'Amato	Chiles	Durenberger	Simon ⁻⁴	Stafford ⁻²
Breaux	Danforth	Cranston	Hatfield	Stennis ⁻²	
Bumpers	Dole	Daschle	Heinz		
Burdick	Domenici	DeConcini	Humphrey		
Conrad	Evans	Glenn	McCain		
Dixon	Gramm	Graham	Packwood		
Dodd	Grassley	Harkin	Roth		
Egon	Hatch	Kennedy	Rudman		
Ford	Helms	Kerry	Stevens		
Fowler	Kassebaum	Lautenberg	Weicker		
Hefflin	Kasten	Leahy			
Hollings	Lugar	Levin			
Inouye	McClure	Metzenbaum			
Johnston	McConnell	Mikulski			
Melcher	Murkowski	Mitchell			
Nunn	Nickles	Moynihan			
Shelby	Pressler	Pell			
	Quayle	Proxmire			
	Simpson	Pryor			
	Specter	Reid			
	Symms	Riegle			
	Thurmond	Rockefeller			
	Trible	Sanford			
	Wallop	Sarbanes			
	Warner	Sasser			
	Wilson	Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 59%
Republicans— 69%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 20 or 41%
Republicans— 29 or 59%

Against (42)
Democrats— 29 or 69%
Republicans— 13 or 31%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 64

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 21, 1988, 12:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2621

BERING SEA FISHING

BILL NO.: S. Res. 396

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of State should initiate negotiations with the Soviet Union to achieve a bilateral agreement which establishes a moratorium on all fishing in the international waters of the Bering Sea and sets forth measures that the two nations will take against other nations that do not abide by the moratorium, and, following establishment of the moratorium, should initiate negotiations to achieve a multilateral agreement establishing a fishery management regime for these international waters; and specifies that both agreements should include language that clearly recognizes that they were executed for the sole purpose of fishery conservation and in no way impose any unlawful restrictions on the internationally recognized rights and freedom of vessel transit.

S. Res. 396: Vote No. 64.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (78)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (22)	
Democrats (42 or 100%)		Republicans (36 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (12)	Republicans (10)
Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	McClure			Biden ⁻³	Bond ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McConnell			Breaux ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Chafee	Murkowski			Bumpers ⁻²	Durenberger ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Levin	Cochran	Nickles			Dodd ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga	Cohen	Packwood			Gore ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher	D'Amato	Pressler			Inouye ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Quayle			Johnston ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth			Kerry ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman			Lautenberg ⁻²	Trible ⁻²
Conrad	Moynihan	Gramm	Simpson			Riegle ⁻²	Wilson ^{-2AY}
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Specter			Sanford ⁻²	
Daschle	Pell	Hatch	Stafford			Stennis ⁻²	
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatfield	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Symms				
Exon	Reid	Heinz	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Warner				
Glenn	Sasser	Kasten	Weicker				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (78)
Democrats— 42 or 54%
Republicans— 36 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 65

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 21, 1988, 1:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2625

JAPAN-U.S. AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR ENERGY USES

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 241

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution disapproving the proposed Agreement for Cooperation Between Japan and the U.S. Concerning Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy which would permit Japan to transfer U.S.-controlled spent fuel through U.S. airspace and reprocess the fuel and use the recovered plutonium for the next 30 years without requiring further U.S. approval.

S.J. Res. 241: Vote Nos. 65, 66.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (41)			NAYS (40)			NOT VOTING (19)	
Democrats (38 or 90%)		Republicans (3 or 8%)	Democrats (4 or 10%)		Republicans (36 or 92%)	Democrats (12)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Hollings	Hatfield	Ford	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden ⁻³	Bond ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Warner	Glenn	Boschwitz	McCain	Breaux ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Weicker	Melcher	Chafee	McClure	Bumpers ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin		Shelby	Cochran	McConnell	Dodd ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga			Cohen	Murkowski	Gore ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
Bradley	Metzenbaum			D'Amato	Nickles	Inouye ⁻²	Trible ⁻²
Burdick	Moynihan			Danforth	Packwood	Johnston ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Byrd	Nunn			Domenici	Pressler	Kerry ⁻²	
Chiles	Pell			Evans	Quayle	Lautenberg ⁻²	
Conrad	Proxmire			Garn	Roth	Mikulski ⁻² AY	
Cranston	Pryor			Gramm	Rudman	Mitchell ⁻²	
Daschle	Reid			Grassley	Simpson	Stennis ⁻²	
DeConcini	Riegle			Hatch	Specter		
Dixon	Rockefeller			Hecht	Stafford		
Exon	Sanford			Heinz	Stevens		
Fowler	Sarbanes			Helms	Symms		
Graham	Sasser			Humphrey	Thurmond		
Harkin	Simon			Kassebaum	Wallop		
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—92%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (41)
Democrats—38 or 93%
Republicans—3 or 7%

Against (40)
Democrats—4 or 10%
Republicans—36 or 90%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 66

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 21, 1988, 7:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2677

JAPAN-U.S. AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR ENERGY USES

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 241

SUBJECT: Passage (rejected) of the joint resolution disapproving the proposed Agreement for Cooperation Between Japan and the U.S. Concerning Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy which would permit Japan to transfer U.S.-controlled spent fuel through U.S. airspace and reprocess the fuel and use the recovered plutonium for the next 30 years without requiring further U.S. approval.

NOTE: This agreement, which was signed on November 4, 1987, and submitted to Congress on November 9, 1987, would replace a more restrictive agreement with Japan due to expire in 2003. Pursuant to the nuclear nonproliferation and export-control statutes (Public Laws 94-242 and 99-64), the agreement would become effective within 90 legislative days of its submission unless a disapproval resolution, which is passed by both Houses of Congress, is enacted. Prior to this action, on December 17, 1987, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by a vote of 15 to 3, agreed to return the Treaty to the Administration and in January 1988 filed a report expressing its opposition to the Agreement in its present draft.

Proponents of the disapproval resolution contended that the Agreement (1) is a radical departure from U.S. policy dating to the Ford administration who stated that the "accumulation of plutonium under national control, especially in separated form, is a primary proliferation risk"; (2) does not meet the nonproliferation requirements of section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended; (3) would provide for a 30-year programmatic approval, rather than on a case-by-case basis, for the shipment to and use by Japan of tons of plutonium for various projects, including plants not yet built or designed; and (4) does not guarantee the physical security and safety of the plutonium shipments.

Opponents of the disapproval resolution countered that the Atomic Energy Act expressly contemplates advance, long-term approval of nuclear activity and that such approvals may be contained in nuclear cooperation agreements. Opponents maintained that current law only requires that U.S. approval satisfy

(OVER)

S.J. Res. 241: Vote Nos. 65, 66.

RESULT: JOINT DISAPPROVAL RESOLUTION DEFEATED

YEAS (30)		NAYS (53)			NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (22 or 52%)	Republicans (8 or 20%)	Democrats (20 or 48%)	Republicans (33 or 80%)		Democrats (12)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Boschwitz	Baucus	Armstrong	McCain	Biden ⁻³	Dole ⁻²
Bradley	Cohen	Bentsen	Bond	McClure	Bumpers ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Byrd	Durenberger	Bingaman	Chafee	McConnell	Chiles ⁻²	Thurmond ^{-2AN}
Cranston	Hatfield	Boren	Cochran	Murkowski	Dodd ⁻²	Finkle ⁻²
Glenn	Helms	Breaux	D'Amato	Nickles	Gore ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
Harkin	Humphrey	Burdick	Danforth	Packwood	Inouye ⁻²	
Hollings	Quayle	Conrad	Domenici	Pressler	Kerry ^{-2AY}	
Kennedy	Rudman	Daschle	Evans	Roth	Lautenberg ⁻²	
Leahy		DeConcini	Garn	Simpson	Metzenbaum ⁻²	
Levin		Dixon	Gramm	Specter	Riegle ⁻²	
Matsunaga		Exon	Grassley	Stafford	Sanford ⁻²	
Mikulski		Ford	Hatch	Stevens	Stennis ⁻²	
Mitchell		Fowler	Hecht	Symms		
Moynihan		Graham	Heinz	Wallop		
Pell		Heflin	Kassebaum	Warner		
Proxmire		Johnston	Kasten	Wilson		
Pryor		Melcher	Lugar			
Reid		Nunn				
Sarbanes		Rockefeller				
Sasser		Shelby				
Simon						
Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
2—Necessarily Absent	
3—Illness	
SYMBOLS:	
AY—Announced Yea	
AN—Announced Nay	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—52%
Republicans—80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (30)
Democrats—22 or 73%
Republicans—8 or 27%

Against (53)
Democrats—20 or 38%
Republicans—33 or 62%

specific, substantive nonproliferation and national security standards in any agreement or subsequent arrangement with a foreign country; it does not require case-by-case consideration of plutonium shipments. Further, the agreement establishes an overall framework within which the U.S. and Japan are obligated to cooperate on determining the proper safeguards and physical protection and security for the use of the recovered plutonium in Japan. The agreement satisfied all applicable procedural and substantive requirements and the timely warning factor was fully and properly considered by the Administration in arriving at its judgment that it will not create a significant increase in the risk of proliferation.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 67

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 22, 1988, 12:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2765

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION—GROVE CITY (VETO OVERRIDE)

BILL NO.: S. 557

TITLE: "Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Reconsideration of the vetoed bill which reaffirms pre-Grove City College judicial and executive branch interpretations and enforcement practices of the four major civil rights statutes—Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975—by restoring all four statutes to the broad institution-wide application which characterized coverage and enforcement until the Supreme Court's 1984 decision in *Grove City College v. Bell* which severely narrowed the application of coverage of these statutes. (See Vote No. 12 for the major provisions of the legislation.)

NOTE: President Reagan vetoed the bill on March 16, 1988. In his veto message, the President stated that this legislation would vastly and unjustifiably expand Federal power over the decisions and affairs of private organizations, such as churches and synagogues, farms, businesses, and State and local governments and would place at risk such cherished values as religious liberty. He also objected to the cost and burdens of compliance which he stated would be substantial.

The House overrode the veto the same day. S. 557 became Public Law 100-259, without approval, on March 22, 1988.

S. 557: Vote Nos. 3-12, 67.

RESULT: VETO OVERRIDDEN, 2/3RDS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (73)			NAYS (24)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)	Republicans (21 or 47%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (24 or 53%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz		Armstrong	Biden—3	Dole—2
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee		Bond	Stennis—3	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen		Cochran		
Bingaman	Kerry	D'Amato		Danforth		
Boren	Lautenberg	Domenici		Garn		
Bradley	Leahy	Durenberger		Gramm		
Breaux	Levin	Evans		Grassley		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Hatfield		Hatch		
Burdick	Melcher	Heinz		Hecht		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Kassebaum		Helms		
Chiles	Mikulski	Kasten		Humphrey		
Conrad	Mitchell	McCain		Karnes		
Cranston	Moynihan	Murkowski		Lugar		
Daschle	Nunn	Packwood		McClure		
DeConcini	Pell	Roth		McConnell		
Dixon	Proxmire	Rudman		Nickles		
Dodd	Pryor	Specter		Pressler		
Eaton	Reid	Stafford		Quayle		
Ford	Riegle	Stevens		Simpson		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Weicker		Symms		
Glenn	Sanford	Wilson		Thurmond		
Gore	Sarbanes			Trible		
Graham	Sasser			Wallop		
Harkin	Shelby			Warner		
Heflin	Simon					
Hollings	Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats—52 or 71%
Republicans—21 or 29%

Against (24)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—24 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 68

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 23, 1988, 11:54 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p S-2817

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 79

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Graham, et al., motion to close further debate on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill. (See Vote Nos. 69, 77, and 79 on subsequent unsuccessful cloture motions.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 21, 1988, was signed by Senators Graham, Pell, Kennedy, Mikulski, Cranston, Sarbanes, Reid, Harkin, Matsunaga, Glenn, Daschle, Ford, Leahy, Simon, Metzenbaum, and Wirth.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.

YEAS (33)			NAYS (59)			NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (31 or 66%)		Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (16 or 34%)		Republicans (43 or 96%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Leahy	Stafford	Bentsen	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden ⁻¹	Dole ⁻²
Baucus	Levin	Weicker	Bingaman	Bond	Lugar	Bradley ⁻²	
Burdick	Matsunaga		Boren	Boschwitz	McCain	Gore ^{-2AY}	
Byrd	Melcher		Breaux	Chafee	McClure	Shelby ⁻²	
Cranston	Metzenbaum		Bumpers	Cochran	McConnell	Simon ⁻²	
Daschle	Mikulski		Chiles	Cohen	Murkowski	Stennis ⁻³	
DeConcini	Mitchell		Conrad	D'Amato	Nickles	Wirth ⁻²	
Dodd	Moynihan		Dixon	Danforth	Packwood		
Ford	Pell		Exon	Domenici	Pressler		
Glenn	Proxmire		Fowler	Durenberger	Quayle		
Graham	Reid		Heflin	Evans	Roth		
Harkin	Riegle		Hollings	Garn	Rudman		
Inouye	Rockefeller		Johnston	Gramm	Simpson		
Kennedy	Sanford		Nunn	Grassley	Specter		
Kerry	Sarbanes		Pryor	Hatch	Stevens		
Lautenberg			Sasser	Hatfield	Symms		
				Hecht	Thurmond		
				Heinz	Trible		
				Helms	Wallop		
				Humphrey	Warner		
				Karnes	Wilson		
				Kassebaum			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—66%
Republicans—96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (33)
Democrats—31 or 94%
Republicans—2 or 6%

Against (59)
Democrats—16 or 27%
Republicans—43 or 73%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 69

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 24, 1988, 11:19 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2969

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 79

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Graham, et al., second motion to close further debate on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill. (See Vote No. 68 on the first cloture motion, and Nos. 77 and 79 on subsequent unsuccessful cloture motions.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 22, 1988, was signed by Senators Graham, Pell, Kennedy, Mikulski, Cranston, Sarbanes, Reid, Harkin, Matsunaga, Glenn, Daschle, Ford, Leahy, Simon, Metzenbaum, and Wirth.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (2)		NAYS (93)				NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (47 or 96%)		Republicans (46 or 100%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
DeConcini		Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden ⁻¹	
Pell		Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar	Boren ⁻²	
		Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain	Gore ⁻²	
		Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure	Simon ⁻²	
		Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell	Stennis ⁻¹	
		Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski		
		Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles		
		Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood		
		Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler		
		Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle		
		Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth		
		Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman		
		Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Simpson		
		Dixon	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter		
		Dodd	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford		
		Egon	Reid	Hatch	Stevens		
		Ford	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms		
		Fowler	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond		
		Glenn	Sanford	Heinz	Trible		
		Graham	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop		
		Harkin	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner		
		Heflin	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker		
		Hollings	Wirth	Kassebaum	Wilson		
		Inouye					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (2)
Democrats—2 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (93)
Democrats—47 or 51%
Republicans—46 or 49%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 70

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 24, 1988, 1:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2999

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (TORT LIABILITY)

BILL NO.: S. 79

AMENDMENT NO.: 1811

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Danforth-McConnell modified amendment (taking with it the McConnell-Danforth amendment No. 1812) which together establish a broad, new standard of Federal tort liability that supersedes all State law on the subject; alter existing standards for joint and several liability; and impose a new standard for punitive damages.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that there has been a liability explosion in terms of cases filed and amounts awarded. An insurance crisis exists as illustrated by the fact that tort reform was named the number one priority by the White House Conference on Small Business. This amendment gives the Senate an opportunity to go on record on this urgent matter. While some lauded the purpose of the bill, they worried that it would create new rights and tort liabilities.

Opponents of the amendment noted that the provisions of the amendment were pending before the Judiciary Committee and contended that it represented an attempt to prevent action on the underlying bill. Hundreds of hours were spent working on the bill to make it liability neutral. This amendment only confuses the liability issue and will not resolve it.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)			NAYS (39)			NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (46 or 96%)		Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)		Republicans (43 or 84%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Cohen	Ford	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden- ³	Karnes- ²
Baucus	Kennedy	D'Amato	Proxmire	Bond	Lugar	Boren- ²	Weicker- ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Heinz		Boschwitz	McCain	Daschle- ²	
Brigman	Lautenberg	Packwood		Chafee	McClure	Gore- ²	
Bradley	Leahy	Simpson		Cochran	McConnell	Simon- ²	
Breaux	Levin	Stafford		Danforth	Murkowski	Stennis- ³	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Thurmond		Dole	Nickles		
Burdick	Melcher			Domenici	Pressler		
Byrd	Metzenbaum			Durenberger	Quayle		
Chiles	Mikulski			Evans	Roth		
Chirad	Mitchell			Garn	Rudman		
Cranston	Moynihan			Gramm	Specter		
DeConcini	Nunn			Grassley	Stevens		
Dixon	Pell			Hatch	Symms		
Dodd	Pryor			Hatfield	Trible		
Evans	Reid			Hecht	Wallop		
Fowler	Riegle			Helms	Warner		
Glenn	Rockefeller			Humphrey	Wilson		
Graham	Sanford			Kassebaum			
Harkin	Sarbanes						
Heflin	Sasser						
Hollings	Shelby						
Imhofe	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—46 or 87%
Republicans—7 or 13%

Against (39)
Democrats—2 or 5%
Republicans—37 or 95%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 71

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 24, 1988. 2:54 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3010

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (ACID RAIN)

BILL NO.: S. 79

AMENDMENT NO.: 1813

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Mitchell motion to table the Nickles amendment (taking with it the Rudman perfecting amendment No. 1814) which together add to the bill the provisions of Title II of S. 1894, which requires reductions in the annual emissions of sulfur dioxide and oxides of nitrogen in order to control acid rain.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that the language in this amendment is the same as that crafted and reported overwhelmingly by the Environment Committee. This amendment involves the health of American citizens just as the underlying bill relates to health in the work place.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that it was designed to bring about the defeat of this bill. While many supported substantive action on acid rain, they were compelled to vote against the amendment since it would not advance the cause of acid rain legislation, but kill a deserving proposal. Some called the amendment very expensive and contended that the Senate should not go on record for a \$100 billion proposal when the scientific picture is not clear regarding acid rain.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (70)

Democrats (49 or 100%)
Republicans (21 or 49%)

Adams	Johnston	Armstrong
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond
Benjamin	Kerry	Cochran
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth
Bradley	Leahy	Grassley
Breaux	Levin	Hecht
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Heinz
Burdick	Melcher	Lugar
Burd	Metzenbaum	McCain
Chiles	Mikulski	McConnell
Conrad	Mitchell	Nickles
Cranston	Moynihan	Pressler
Daschle	Nunn	Quayle
DeConcini	Pell	Roth
Dixon	Proxmire	Specter
Dodd	Pryor	Stafford
Evan	Reid	Stevens
Ford	Riegle	Symms
Fowler	Rockefeller	Thurmond
Glenn	Sanford	Tinley
Graham	Sarbanes	Warner
Harkin	Sasser	
Heflin	Shelby	
Hollings	Wirth	
Inouye		

NAYS (22)

Democrats (0 or 0%)
Republicans (22 or 51%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
Murkowski
Packwood
Rudman
Simpson
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (5)
Republicans (3)

Biden-3
Boren-2
Gore-2
Simon-2
Stennis-1
Dole-2
Karnes-2
Weicker-2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—51%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats—49 or 70%
Republicans—21 or 30%

Against (22)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—22 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 72

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 24, 1988, 4:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3018

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 79

AMENDMENT NO.: 1815

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (58)			NAYS (33)			NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)	Republicans (10 or 24%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (32 or 76%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	D'Amato	Proxmire	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden ⁻³	Cochran ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Hatch		Bond	Lugar	Boren ⁻²	Dole ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Hatfield		Boschwitz	McCain	Gore ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Kassebaum		Chafee	McClure	Simon ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
Bradley	Lautenberg	Pressler		Cohen	McConnell	Stennis ⁻³	
Breaux	Leahy	Roth		Danforth	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Levin	Rudman		Domenici	Nickles		
Burdick	Matsunaga	Simpson		Durenberger	Packwood		
Byrd	Melcher	Stafford		Evans	Quayle		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Thurmond		Garn	Specter		
Conrad	Mikulski			Gramm	Stevens		
Cranston	Mitchell			Grassley	Symms		
Daschle	Moynihan			Hecht	Trible		
DeConcini	Nunn			Heinz	Wallop		
Dixon	Pell			Helms	Warner		
Dodd	Pryor			Humphrey	Wilson		
Exon	Reid						
Ford	Riegle						
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Grain	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats— 48 or 83%
Republicans— 10 or 17%

Against (33)
Democrats— 1 or 3%
Republicans— 32 or 97%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 73

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 24, 1988, 5:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3022

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (IMPACT STATEMENT)

BILL NO.: S. 79

AMENDMENT NO.: 1818

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Murkowski perfecting amendment (to the Nickles amendment No. 1817) requiring GAO to prepare a financial impact statement to accompany the conference report on this bill, before it can become effective, which would estimate any increased savings and costs to the private sector, and the Federal, State, and local governments, and the annual effect on consumers and business, national employment, the U.S.' ability to compete internationally, and State and local governments.

NOTE: Proponents contended that a study by GAO would be necessary to show what the financial impact of this bill will be on employers, the Federal government, and State and local governments. One private study puts the estimated cost to employers at \$5.8 to \$6.4 billion per year. A study would show just how expensive this proposal would be and how detrimental it would be to business, employment, and U.S. competitiveness.

Opponents countered that the opponents of the bill have ignored the vast savings to employers which would result from protecting the health of workers. They claimed that the study cited was riddled with factual errors, baseless assumptions, and distortions of the legislation. They stated they were willing to accept the amendment, however, and would vote for it if a roll call were necessary.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (92)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden-3	Dole-2
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Boren-2	Karnes-2
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Gore-2	Weicker-2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell			Simon-2	
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski			Stennis-3	
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Symms				
East	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Gleason	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Sasser	Kasten					
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats—49 or 53%
Republicans—43 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 74

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 25, 1988, 11:04 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3083

PANAMANIAN DEMOCRACY

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 108

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which states the sense of the Congress that the situation in Panama constitutes an unusual and extraordinary threat to U.S. national security, foreign policy, and economic interests; the U.S. should act immediately to impose additional diplomatic, political, and economic pressure on General Noriega and obtain his extradition from Panama; based on the unanimous and unequivocal statement of support for President Delvalle issued by the political leaders of Panama on March 6, 1988, the U.S. should take immediate steps to provide additional diplomatic, political, and economic support to President Delvalle's government; and the U.S. should consider a comprehensive package of emergency financial and other economic assistance to be made available to President Delvalle's transitional government after General Noriega has left Panama in order to assist in rebuilding Panama's economy.

S. Con. Res. 108: Vote No. 74.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (92)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	Hecht ⁻²
Bakus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Boren ⁻⁴	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Gore ⁻²	Wilson ⁻³
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell			Simon ⁻²	
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski			Stennis ⁻³	
Braun	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Byrd	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Chis	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Crutcher	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dun	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
East	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Gale	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Harkin	Sasser	Kasten					
Heller	Shelby						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inoué							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 43 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 75

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 25, 1988, 2:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3098

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (AIDS)

BILL NO.: S. 79

AMENDMENT NO.: 1815

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Helms amendment (taking with it the Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment No. 1816 to require the Secretary of Health and Human Services, within 90 days of enactment, to implement a program to disseminate information to all U.S. health, public safety, and emergency service workers concerning methods to reduce the risk of becoming infected with AIDS) which requires the Risk Assessment Board to designate as a population at risk those health and emergency care workers who risk occupational exposure to the AIDS disease or virus and to develop notification and medical monitoring or health counseling for these workers in accordance with the Act. (See also Vote No. 78.)

NOTE: Proponents of the original amendment noted that it is virtually identical to an amendment passed by the House by a substantial margin. It would ensure that health care workers and emergency personnel are provided the same consideration as others determined to be at risk of occupational disease, and that they receive personal notification of risk of exposure to AIDS or HIV infection.

Opponents of the original amendment asserted it demonstrates a lack of understanding of the bill. Dissemination of information as proposed by the second degree amendment would ensure that health care workers receive useful information about exposure control procedures. While not all health care workers are at risk, all can benefit from prevention techniques. Indiscriminate and unwarranted notification of three to four million employees of their designation as a population at risk would foster unnecessary fear and result in extensive human and financial costs. A comprehensive bipartisan AIDS bill has been reported by the Labor Committee, and these matters should not be debated piecemeal on an unrelated bill.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (45)			NAYS (33)			NOT VOTING (22)	
Democrats (32 or 82%)	Republicans (13 or 33%)		Democrats (7 or 18%)	Republicans (26 or 67%)		Democrats (15)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	DeConcini	Armstrong	McCain	Bentsen ⁻²	Hecht ⁻¹
Baucus	Kennedy	Cohen	Dixon	Bond	McClure	Biden ⁻³	Humphrey ⁻²
Breaux	Kerry	Danforth	Fox	Boschwitz	McConnell	Bingaman ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Burdick	Levin	Durenberger	Heflin	Cochran	Murkowski	Boren ⁻⁴	Rudman ⁻²
Byrd	Matsunaga	Evans	Pryor	D'Amato	Nickles	Bradley ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Conrad	Melcher	Hatfield	Reid	Dole	Pressler	Bumpers ⁻²	Wallops ^{-2AN}
Cranston	Metzenbaum	Heinz	Shelby	Domenici	Quayle	Chiles ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Daschle	Mikulski	Kassebaum		Garn	Roth	Gore ⁻²	
Dodd	Mitchell	Lugar		Gramm	Simpson	Iautenberg ⁻¹	
Ford	Moynihan	Packwood		Grassle	Stevens	Leahy ⁻²	
Fowler	Proxmire	Specter		Hatch	Thurmond	Nunn ⁻²	
Glenn	Riegle	Stafford		Hole	Trible	Pell ^{-2AY}	
Graham	Rockefeller	Weicker		Kasten	Warner	Sanford ⁻²	
Harkin	Sarbanes					Simon ^{-2AY}	
Hollings	Sasser					Stennis ⁻³	
Imhofe	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yes
- AN—Announced Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—82%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (45)
Democrats—32 or 71%
Republicans—13 or 29%

Against (33)
Democrats—7 or 21%
Republicans—26 or 79%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 76

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 28, 1988, 12:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3154

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 79

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (68)			NAYS (15)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (47 or 100%)		Republicans (21 or 58%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (15 or 42%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (10)
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz		Armstrong	Biden ⁻¹	Chafee ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Cochran		Bond	Chiles ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	D'Amato		Cohen	Gore ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Danforth		Evans	Matsunaga ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Dole		Gramm	Moynihan ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Domenici		Hecht	Simon ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Breaux	Levin	Durenberger		Helms	Stennis ⁻³	Stevens ⁻²
Bumpers	Melcher	Grassley		Kasten		Trible ⁻²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatch		McConnell		Warner ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatfield		Murkowski		Wilson ^{-2AN}
Conrad	Mitchell	Kassebaum		Nickles	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Cranston	Nunn	Lugar		Quayle		
Daschle	Pell	McClure		Symms		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Packwood		Wallop		
Dixon	Pryor	Pressler		Weicker	SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Dodd	Reid	Roth				
Eaton	Riegle	Rudman				
Ford	Rockefeller	Simpson				
Fowler	Sanford	Specter				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Stafford				
Graham	Sasser	Thurmond				
Harkin	Shelby					
Heflin	Wirth					
Hollings						

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats— 47 or 69%
Republicans— 21 or 31%

Against (15)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 15 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 77

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 28, 1988, 12:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3154

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 79

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Graham, et al., third motion to close further debate on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill. (See Vote Nos. 68 and 69 on prior cloture motions and Vote No. 79 on a final unsuccessful cloture motion.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 24, 1988, was signed by Senators Graham, Pell, Kennedy, Mikulski, Cranston, Sarbanes, Reid, Harkin, Matsunaga, Glenn, Daschle, Ford, Leahy, Simon, Metzenbaum, and Wirth.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (41)		NAYS (44)		NOT VOTING (15)	
Democrats (35 or 73%)	Republicans (6 or 16%)	Democrats (13 or 27%)	Republicans (31 or 84%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Kerry	Chafee	Bugaman	Biden ⁻³	Garn ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Boren	Chiles ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Hatfield	Bumpers	Gore ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Packwood	Dixon	Moynihan ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Stafford	Exon	Simon ⁻²	McCain ^{-2AN}
Burdick	Melcher	Weicker	Fowler	Stennis ⁻³	Stevens ⁻²
Byrd	Metzenbaum		Heflin		Trible ⁻²
Conrad	Mikulski		Hollings		Warner ^{-2AN}
Cranston	Mitchell		Johnston		Wilson ^{-2AN}
Daschle	Pell		Nunn		
DeConcini	Proxmire		Pryor		
Dodd	Reid		Sasser		
Ford	Riegle		Shelby		
Glenn	Rockefeller				
Graham	Sanford				
Harkin	Sarbanes				
Inouye	Wirth				
Kennedy					
			Armstrong		
			Bond		
			Boschwitz		
			Cochran		
			Cohen		
			D'Amato		
			Danforth		
			Dole		
			Domenici		
			Evans		
			Gramm		
			Grassley		
			Hatch		
			Hecht		
			Helms		
			Kassebaum		
			Kasten		
			Lugar		
			McClure		
			McConnell		
			Murkowski		
			Nickles		
			Pressler		
			Quayle		
			Roth		
			Rudman		
			Simpson		
			Specter		
			Symms		
			Thurmond		
			Wallop		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—73%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (41)
Democrats—35 or 85%
Republicans—6 or 15%

Against (44)
Democrats—13 or 30%
Republicans—31 or 70%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 78

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 28, 1988, 4:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3181

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (AIDS)

BILL NO.: S. 79

AMENDMENT NO.: 1900

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Metzenbaum amendment (taking with it the Cranston, et al., second degree amendment No. 1901 which was virtually identical to the Metzenbaum amendment) which requires the Secretary of Health and Human Services, within 120 days of enactment, to implement a program to disseminate information to all U.S. health, public safety, and emergency service workers concerning methods to reduce the risk of becoming infected with AIDS. (See also Vote No. 75.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment spoke of the need to educate all health care personnel about reducing the risk of exposure to the AIDS virus. They noted, however, that the American Medical Association, among other health-related groups, has indicated that there are far greater health risks facing health care workers than occupational exposure to HIV. For this reason, the bill sets up a process for designating such risks after careful analysis and study by a Risk Assessment Board. Although no one voted to table the amendment, several Senators argued that such a process of designation and notification of at-risk groups was too costly and burdensome to farmers and small businessmen.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (0)		NAYS (86)		NOT VOTING (14)	
Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (45 or 100%)	Republicans (41 or 100%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (5)
		Adams	Johnston	Biden ⁻³	Heinz ⁻²
		Baucus	Kennedy	Boren ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
		Bentsen	Kerry	Daschle ⁻²	Erble ⁻²
		Bingaman	Leahy	Gore ⁻²	Warner ⁻²
		Bradley	Levin	Inouye ⁻²	Wilson ^{-2AN}
		Breaux	Matsunaga	Lautenberg ⁻²	
		Bumpers	Melcher	Moynihan ⁻²	
		Burdick	Metzenbaum	Simon ⁻²	
		Byrd	Mikulski	Stennis ⁻³	
		Chiles	Mitchell		
		Conrad	Nunn		
		Cranston	Pell		
		DeConcini	Proxmire		
		Dixon	Pryor		
		Dodd	Reid		
		Exon	Riegle		
		Ford	Rockefeller		
		Fowler	Sanford		
		Glenn	Sarbanes		
		Graham	Sasser		
		Harkin	Shelby		
		Heflin	Wirth		
		Hollings			
			Armstrong		
			Bond		
			Boschwitz		
			Chafee		
			Cochran		
			Cohen		
			D'Amato		
			Danforth		
			Dole		
			Domenici		
			Durenberger		
			Evans		
			Garn		
			Gramm		
			Grassley		
			Hatch		
			Hatfield		
			Hecht		
			Helms		
			Humphrey		
			Kassebaum		
			Kasten		
			Lugar		
			McCain		
			McClure		
			McConnell		
			Murkowski		
			Nickles		
			Packwood		
			Pressler		
			Quayle		
			Roth		
			Rudman		
			Simpson		
			Specter		
			Stafford		
			Stevens		
			Symms		
			Thurmond		
			Wallop		
			Weicker		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (86)
Democrats—45 or 52%
Republicans—41 or 48%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 79

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 29, 1988, 2:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3232

HIGH RISK OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE NOTIFICATION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 79

TITLE: "High Risk Occupational Disease Notification and Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Graham, et al., fourth motion to close further debate on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill. (See also Vote Nos. 68, 69, and 77 on prior cloture motions.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 25, 1988, was signed by Senators Graham, Kerry, Pell, Dodd, Kennedy, Cranston, Inouye, Leahy, Daschle, Wirth, Moynihan, Mikulski, Proxmire, Mitchell, Reid, Ford, and Metzenbaum. After this vote, the principal author of the bill asked that the bill be withdrawn from consideration, stating that the filibuster on the measure had impeded all attempts to have a serious debate on its substance.

S. 79: Vote Nos. 68-73, 75-79.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (42)			NAYS (52)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (34 or 69%)		Republicans (8 or 18%)	Democrats (15 or 31%)		Republicans (37 or 82%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kerry	Chafee	Bingaman	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Boren	Bond	McCain	Bradley ⁻²	
Bentsen	Leahy	Hatfield	Bumpers	Boschwitz	McClure	Gore ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Heinz	Dixon	Cochran	McConnell	Kennedy ⁻²	
Burdick	Matsunaga	Packwood	Exon	Cohen	Murkowski	Simon ⁻²	
Byrd	Melcher	Specter	Fowler	D'Amato	Nickles		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Stafford	Heflin	Danforth	Pressler		
Conrad	Mikulski	Weicker	Hollings	Dole	Quayle		
Cranston	Mitchell		Johnston	Domenici	Roth		
Daschle	Moynihan		Nunn	Evans	Rudman		
DeConcini	Pell		Pryor	Garn	Simpson		
Dodd	Proxmire		Sanford	Gramm	Stevens		
Ford	Reid		Sasser	Grassley	Symms		
Glenn	Riegle		Shelby	Hatch	Thurmond		
Graham	Rockefeller		Stennis	Hecht	Trible		
Harkin	Sarbanes			Helms	Wallop		
Inouye	Wirth			Humphrey	Warner		
				Kassebaum	Wilson		
				Kasten			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

Party Cohesion

Democrats—69%
Republicans—82%

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (42)
Democrats—34 or 81%
Republicans—8 or 19%

Against (52)
Democrats—15 or 29%
Republicans—37 or 71%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 80

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 30, 1988, 12:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3344

URANIUM REVITALIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 2097

AMENDMENT NO.: 1914

TITLE: "Uranium Revitalization, Tailings Reclamation and Enrichment Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Evans-Bradley-Packwood perfecting amendment (to the Johnston, et al., modified amendment No. 1465) which deletes the charges imposed for using foreign uranium in U.S. civilian nuclear power plants and states the sense of the Congress calling for an investigation of the impact of uranium imports on national security and economic security interests. (Subsequently, the Johnston, et al., modified amendment adding fees on foreign uranium—which had been stripped from the reported bill to avoid referral to the Finance Committee—was adopted by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the perfecting amendment contended that the underlying fee amendment is an attempt to bail out the domestic uranium industry. Import charges would threaten the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, violate GATT, and undermine efforts to contain nuclear weapons proliferation. A crushing import barrier would allow some producers to make clandestine sales of uranium to nations or groups with no legitimate use for the materials. Others called the underlying amendment a backdoor tariff and contended that any benefit gained from increased employment in the industry or trade opportunities would be outweighed by the damage it would do to relations with Canada. Illegal fees on the import of uranium would invite retaliatory action by other nations on U.S. agricultural and high technology exports. The uranium industry has never brought a countervailing duty action alleging foreign subsidization, which is where action should begin. This surcharge, which is essentially a tariff, will cost consumers about \$1 billion a year. The present stockpile of uranium would cover the Nation's national security needs for nuclear weapons parts to the year 2000, while the civilian reactors have a four- or five-year stockpile. It is unlikely that the primary suppliers of the U.S.—Canada and Australia—would blackmail the U.S. in supplying uranium. The industry suffers more from reduced demand, low-grade domestic ore, and excessive inventories than unfair competition. The industry.

(OVER)

S. 2097: Vote Nos. 80, 81.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (47)		NAYS (45)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (25 or 51%)	Republicans (22 or 51%)	Democrats (24 or 49%)	Republicans (21 or 49%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (3)
Bagley Bingaman Boren Broun Burdick Byrd Conrad Dachle DeLoach Dixon Eaton Ford Fowler Harkin Hollings Inouye Johnston Levin Matsunaga Melcher Reid Sasser Shelby Stennis Wirth	Armstrong Cochran D'Amato Doie Domenici Garn Hatch Hecht Heinz Helms Kassebaum McClure McConnell Murkowski Nickles Pressler Simpson Stevens Symms Trible Wallop Warner	Adams Bentsen Bradley Bumpers Chiles Cranston Dodd Giann Graham Harkin Kerry Lautenberg Leahy Mikulski Mitchell Moynihan Nunn Pell Proxmire Pryor Riegle Rockefeller Sanford Sarbanes	Bond Boschwitz Chafee Cohen Danforth Durenberger Evans Gramm Grassley Hatfield Humphrey Kasten Lugar Packwood Quayle Roth Rudman Specter Stafford Weicker Wilson	Biden-1 Gore-1 Kennedy-2 Metzenbaum-1AN Simon-2 EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	Karnes-2 McCain-2AY Thurmond-2

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—51%
Republicans—51%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats—25 or 53%
Republicans—22 or 47%

Against (45)
Democrats—24 or 53%
Republicans—21 or 47%

however, will still process eight to ten million tons per year before the next decade. The Administration has threatened to veto the bill if it contains this tariff.

Opponents of the perfecting amendment who favored the charges on foreign uranium pointed out that the issue has already been studied and the industry found nonviable partially because of foreign subsidized competition. The Canada Free Trade Agreement is a proposal and Senate actions should be guided by the law, not proposals that do not take into account the U.S. uranium industry and Canadian subsidies to their industry. Title I is the appropriate response to creating a freely traded market in uranium, they maintained. GATT, they claimed, does not apply to fissionable materials that are essential to security interests under any fair interpretation. In ten years, the U.S. uranium industry employment has dropped from 21,000 to 2,000 and has gone from exporting 3.2 million pounds of uranium in 1979 to importing almost 12 million pounds. National security requirements necessitate the continuance of a viable domestic uranium industry which the underlying amendment would promote.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 81

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 30, 1988, 12:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3348

URANIUM REVITALIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 2097

TITLE: "Uranium Revitalization, Tailings Reclamation and Enrichment Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which directs the U.S. government to purchase domestic uranium exclusively, but exempts uranium acquired under contracts entered into before enactment of this Act; makes these provisions inapplicable to the Tennessee Valley Authority; restricts the use and reduction of the amount of natural and enriched uranium contained in U.S. government stockpiles or inventories; establishes a Uranium Mill Tailings Fund to partially reimburse owners or licensees of active uranium mills for the cost of reclamation, decommissioning, and remedial action associated with existing mill tailings at those sites; and establishes the U.S. Enrichment Corporation and transfers to it most of the existing enrichment assets and liabilities of DOE including production facilities and stocks of feed material and enriched uranium.

S. 2097: Vote Nos. 80, 81.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (62)				NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (31 or 66%)		Republicans (31 or 72%)		Democrats (16 or 34%)	Republicans (12 or 28%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Heflin	Armstrong	Murkowski	Adams	Boschwitz	Biden-3	Grassley-2AY
Bentsen	Hollings	Bond	Nickles	Bradley	Chafee	Burdick-2AY	Heinz-2AY
Bingaman	Inouye	Cochran	Pressler	Byrd	Cohen	Dixon-2	Karnes-2
Boren	Johnston	D'Amato	Quayle	Dodd	Danforth	Gore-2	
Breaux	Levin	Dole	Rudman	Graham	Durenberger	Kennedy-2	
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Simpson	Kerry	Evans	Metzenbaum-2AY	
Chiles	Mikulski	Garn	Specter	Lautenberg	Gramm	Simon-2	
Conrad	Nunn	Hatch	Stevens	Leahy	Hatfield		
Cranston	Pryor	Hecht	Symms	Matsunaga	Humphrey		
Daschle	Sanford	Helms	Thurmond	Mitchell	Packwood		
DeConcini	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Trible	Moynihan	Roth		
Exon	Sasser	Kasten	Wallop	Pell	Stafford		
Ford	Shelby	Lugar	Warner	Proxmire			
Fowler	Stennis	McCain	Weicker	Reid			
Glenn	Wirth	McClure	Wilson	Riegle			
Harkin		McConnell		Rockefeller			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—66%
Republicans—72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats—31 or 50%
Republicans—31 or 50%

Against (28)
Democrats—16 or 57%
Republicans—12 or 43%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Uranium Revitalization: Directs the U.S. government to purchase domestic uranium exclusively (uranium acquired under contracts entered into before enactment is exempt); makes these provisions inapplicable to the Tennessee Valley Authority; restricts the use and reduction of the amount of natural and enriched uranium contained in U.S. government stockpiles or inventories.

Amends section 170B of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to direct the Secretary of Energy to report annually on the viability of the domestic uranium mining industry between 2000 and 2011 and to require the Secretary to request a Section 232 Trade Act investigation if uranium imports exceed 37.5 percent of domestic requirements for any two-year period or threaten to impair national security.

Requires any licensee of a civilian nuclear power reactor having fuel assemblies that include foreign uranium loaded after December 31, 1987, and before January 1, 2001, to pay certain charges imposed by the Secretary of Energy based on a sliding scale and calculated upon the percentage of foreign uranium included in the aggregate of new fuel assemblies loaded into all civilian nuclear power reactors during any calendar year; provides until December 31, 1994, that charges would be assessed when the percentage of foreign uranium in new fuel assemblies exceeds 37.5 percent, after which no charge would be assessed on the first 50 percent of the total weight of uranium in new fuel assemblies loaded in that year; applies special rules to a corporation owning more than one license or to a reactor having more than one owner; excludes from the charge foreign uranium obtained under the terms of a contract entered into before September 30, 1986; sets forth the methodology for calculating the percentage of foreign uranium contained in fuel assemblies loaded by a licensee and the terms and conditions for determining the nationality of uranium involved in the commercial practice of flag swapping.

Requires the owner or operator of a civilian nuclear power reactor to certify certain information, including the origin of uranium loaded in new fuel assemblies, by March 1 of each year for the previous calendar year.

Tailings Reclamation: Establishes a Uranium Mill Tailings Fund to provide partial reimbursement (up to \$4.50 per ton of tailings) to owners or licensees of active uranium mills for the cost for reclamation, decommissioning, and remedial action associated with existing mill tailings; lists the active sites which qualify for reimbursement; directs the Secretary to determine the amount of tailings at each site and those attributed to uranium processed for sales to the U.S. government; limits reimbursement and cleanup costs to amounts provided in appropriations acts; provides that the Fund would receive contributions from mill and nuclear power licensees (as determined by a specified formula) and the Federal government (fixed at \$300 million derived from Federal uranium enrichment receipts); permits reimbursement for reclamation work done before enactment; authorizes Federal payments for cleanup of thorium mill tailings resulting from Federal procurement.

U.S. Enrichment Corporation: Establishes an independent, self-sustaining U.S. Enrichment Corporation and transfers to it all of DOE's existing enrichment assets and liabilities, except for the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, gaseous diffusion plant and the Gas Centrifuge Enrichment Plant in Portsmouth, Ohio; gives the Corporation all rights and access to the AVLIS technology, but does not transfer title of facilities used in AVLIS research.

Authorizes the President, subject to Senate confirmation, to appoint an Administrator as the chief executive officer of the Corporation who shall serve for a six-year term; specifies that the Secretary of Energy would exercise general supervision of the Administrator with respect to activities involving (1) the common defense and the national security, (2) health, safety, and the environment, and (3) the need for indemnification with respect to hazardous nuclear activities; creates a five-member Advisory Board to review Corporate policy and performance and advise the Secretary and the Administrator.

Establishes the capital structure of the Corporation, including an initial debt of \$364 million; directs the Corporation to issue nonvoting, nonsaleable capital stock (representing an equity investment equal to the book value of the assets transferred to the Corporation) to the Secretary of Treasury who would hold the stock on behalf of the U.S.; requires the Corporation to pay a dividend on the stock out of earnings and requires an explanation in financial reports when dividends are not paid; specifies that the stock and the \$364 million debt would be the sole recovery by the U.S. of previously unrecoverable enrichment costs; authorizes the Corporation to borrow \$2.5 billion in private markets by issuing revenue bonds backed by its own corporate revenues; requires the Corporation to set up a reserve fund to pay for the cost of decontaminating and closing down the Portsmouth, Ohio and the Paducah, Kentucky, nuclear enrichment plants; directs the Corporation to price its services competitively and without regard to provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act, as amended; provides for audits of the Corporation; directs the Corporation to prepare an annual report; contains provisions governing restricted data; and establishes a patent policy for the Corporation.

Continues the current exemption for existing facilities using gaseous diffusion from licensing by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC); makes the Corporation subject to the regulatory jurisdiction of the NRC and DOT with respect to packaging and transporting nuclear material; authorizes payments in lieu of taxes to State and local governments; exempts the Corporation from sequestration under Gramm-Rudman-Hollings; specifies that Corporation expenditures may not exceed receipts in FY 1989; requires indemnification of corporate contractors under the Price-Anderson Act; and eliminates the treatment of enrichment facilities as production facilities under the Atomic Energy Act for the purpose of importing enrichment facilities into the U.S.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 82

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 30, 1988, 7:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3437

BANKING—GLASS-STEAGALL

BILL NO.: S. 1886

TITLE: "Proxmire Financial Modernization Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which provides for the phased repeal of provisions of the Glass-Steagall Act that prohibit affiliations between commercial banks and investment banking companies; establishes a framework to permit banking activities and securities activities to be combined in one organization using the holding company structure; establishes a 30-day procedure in place of the present application procedure for the formation of bank holding companies; subjects certain bank broker dealer activities to the same type of SEC regulations as nonbank broker dealer activities; applies functional regulation to bank investment company activities in much the same way as it is applied to broker dealer activities; contains provisions designed to enable consumers to compare different savings and investment products; sets forth disclosure provisions with respect to home equity loans; and establishes ground rules for bank insurance activities under the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 and the National Bank Act.

S. 1886: Vote No. 82.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (94)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 96%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar		D'Amato	Biden—3	
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain		Gramm	Gore—2AY	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Kennedy—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell			Simon—2	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Hatch	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatfield	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Thurmond				
Eaton	Riegle	Helms	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Karnes	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kasten	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats—50 or 53%
Republicans—44 or 47%

Against (2)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—2 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Securities Affiliations of Banks: Repeals the two provisions of the Glass-Steagall Act that prohibit affiliations between banks and securities firms in order to permit bank holding companies upon enactment to offer most securities underwriting services through separately organized affiliates; permits the securities affiliates, within six months, to underwrite mutual funds and corporate bonds, and to underwrite corporate equity securities if approved by Congress in an expedited procedure vote that must occur in 1991; and provides that if Congress approves, securities firms engaged in corporate equity underwriting could then purchase and operate a commercial bank through the holding company format.

Contains a series of safeguards (known as firewall provisions), in addition to those provided in current law, on securities affiliates and affiliated banks, including prohibitions against banks from extending any credit to its securities affiliate or making a loan to enhance the marketability of securities underwritten by its affiliate.

Prohibits Federal Reserve Board (Fed) approval of new affiliations between a bank holding company with more than \$30 billion in assets and a securities firm with more than \$15 billion in assets (effectively barring mergers between any of the 15 largest U.S. banking and securities firms); makes other antitrust laws applicable to these transactions.

Expedited Procedures: Sets up an expedited procedure under which qualified banks can establish bank holding companies; changes the procedure for allowing bank holding companies to engage in eligible nonbanking activities from an application procedure to a 30-day notice requirement if three specified conditions are met; requires the FED in acting on such notices, to consider technological or other innovations in the provision of banking or banking-related services; permits smaller banks to join to form a bankers' bank holding company for the purpose of operating a securities affiliate.

Broker-Dealer Regulation: Defines the authority of the various bank regulatory agencies and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in policing securities activities of banking organizations; requires brokers, who make securities transactions for clients, and dealers, who trade for the firm's account, to conduct their activities outside of banks in affiliates or subsidiaries subject to SEC regulation; permits banks to offer brokerage services subject to regulation by the banking agencies if they do not publicly solicit this business or pay brokerage employees volume incentives; applies special rules for securities transactions in trust departments and other traditional banking areas; permits banks themselves to act as dealers if they trade as fiduciaries, or when they trade commercial paper and other specific securities.

Investment Companies: Requires SEC oversight of bank affiliated investment companies and restricts their transactions with affiliated banks; requires SEC registration and oversight of investment advisers; directs the SEC, before examining or taking action against a bank, to notify the bank's primary regulator; prohibits an investment company from purchasing securities during an underwriting if the proceeds help the seller pay off any obligations to an affiliated bank or from suggesting in any way that their products enjoy any kind of Federal deposit insurance.

Enforcement Powers: Strengthens and clarifies the enforcement authority of the financial institution regulatory agencies and the authority for these agencies to order affirmative actions including reimbursement or restitution; prohibits individuals removed from one Federally-insured institution from participating in the affairs of all others without prior approval; makes civil money penalties applicable for violations of cease-and-desist orders also applicable to violations of statutes or regulations; increases certain fines from \$100 to \$1,000 per day; clarifies various other enforcement areas in which the agencies' powers are now in doubt.

Truth-in-Savings: Reforms savings account advertising; requires any advertisement or other notice to list prominently the annual percentage yield, any minimum balance and initial deposit, a statement of how any fees would reduce the yield, and any penalties; requires that interest be paid based on the average daily balance; bars misleading advertising and permits agencies to impose fines of up to \$1,000 for each individual harmed by a violation; requires the SEC to consult with the FED to ensure that its regulations for mutual funds follow similar guidelines.

Home Equity Loans: Prohibits lenders from unilaterally changing the terms of, or terminating, a home equity loan; requires lenders to disclose the monthly payments along with any tax implications, and emphasize that the house serves as collateral; requires disclosure of the index and formula for variable rate plans, along with an example of how index changes in the past have altered interest payments.

Insurance: Limits the ability of bank holding companies to engage in insurance activities across State lines through the acquisition of State-chartered banks by prohibiting a bank from providing insurance as authorized by State law, except in its parent holding company's home State; grandfathers current interstate insurance activities that do not conform to this requirement; permits national banks to continue to engage in insurance agency activities in towns of 5,000 or less if sales are confined to the town and its environs and limits other national bank insurance activities to credit-related insurance.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 83

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 31, 1988, 2:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3505

CONTRA AID

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 523

SUBJECT: Passage of the joint resolution which makes available through FY 1988 \$47.9 million, by transfer from DOD accounts, in aid to reinforce the peace process in Nicaragua consistent with the Sapoa Ceasefire Agreement concluded March 23, 1988, between the Nicaraguan government and the Nicaraguan resistance (Contras); includes \$17.7 million in humanitarian aid (food, clothing, medicine, and shelter) to the Contras, of which \$1.5 million may be used to provide communications equipment if found consistent with the ceasefire agreement; \$2.2 million to aid the Yatama Miskito Indians; \$17.7 million for the medical treatment of children injured in the Nicaraguan war; \$10 million to assist the activities of the cease-fire verification commission; and \$2.5 million to the Agency for International Development for delivery of the humanitarian aid.

NOTE: H.J. Res. 523 became Public Law 100-276, approved April 1, 1988.

H.J. Res. 523: Vote No. 83.

RESULT: JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED

YEAS (87)				NAYS (7)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (44 or 90%)		Republicans (43 or 96%)		Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Baucus	Hollings	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams	Hatfield	Biden— ³	Rudman— ^{2AY}
Bentsen	Inouye	Bond	Lugar	Cranston	Stafford	Gore— ^{2AY}	
Bingaman	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain	Matsunaga		Kennedy— ²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure	Melcher		Kerry— ²	
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell	Proxmire		Simon— ²	
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Mikulski	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Moynihan	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Nunn	Durenberger	Roth				
Daschle	Pell	Evans	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pryor	Garn	Specter				
Dixon	Reid	Gramm	Stevens				
Dodd	Riegle	Grassley	Symms				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hatch	Thurmond				
Ford	Sanford	Hecht	Trible				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Heinz	Wallop				
Glenn	Sasser	Helms	Warner				
Graham	Shelby	Humphrey	Weicker				
Harkin	Stennis	Karnes	Wilson				
Heilin	Wirth	Kassebaum					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats—44 or 51%
Republicans—43 or 49%

Against (7)
Democrats—5 or 71%
Republicans—2 or 29%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 84

100th Congress
2nd Session

March 31, 1988, 2:54 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3507

PANAMA—ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 403

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which expresses the sense of the Senate that the President should invoke his available emergency economic powers to prevent future transfers of cash and credit subject to U.S. jurisdiction to the Noriega regime in Panama, and instead place any amounts which would otherwise be transferred to Panama into an escrow account.

S. Res. 403: Vote No. 84.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (92)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 98%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Adamis	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten		Hatfield	Biden ³	Rudman ²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar			Gore ^{2AY}	Stafford ²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McCain			Kennedy ²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McClure			Kerry ²	
Boren	Levin	Cochran	McConnell			Simon ²	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Pell	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Proxmire	Gramm	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Symms				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dodd	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Exon	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Ford	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Glenn	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats—49 or 53%
Republicans—43 or 47%

Against (1)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—1 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 85

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 11, 1988, 1:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3700

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of the bill.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote No. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (83)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (44 or 100%)		Republicans (39 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (10)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	McCain			Biden ⁻³	Armstrong ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	McClure			Breaux ⁻²	Cohen ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell			Bumpers ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Nickles			Exon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Boren	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood			Gore ^{-2AY}	Kasten ^{-2AY}
Bradley	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler			Kennedy ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Quayle			Leahy ⁻²	Thurmond ^{-2AY}
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth			Metzenbaum ⁻²	
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman			Mikulski ⁻²	
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Simpson			Simon ⁻²	
Cranston	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby	Lugar					
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

For (83)
Democrats— 44 or 53%
Republicans— 39 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 86

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 12, 1988, 6:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3781

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (OFF BUDGET ITEMS)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1929

SUBJECT: Symms, et al., perfecting amendment (to the Chiles, et al., amendment No. 1928) which states the sense of the Congress that legislation should be enacted (1) excluding the surplus (or deficit) of the Social Security, Highway, and Aviation Trust Funds from the calculation of the budget deficit, and (2) eliminating, within five years, the budget deficit when calculated excluding the surpluses (or deficits) from the Trust Funds.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the highway and aviation programs are being funded at levels below those authorized by Congress so that the Trust Fund surplus will offset the apparent size of the deficit. Consequently, highway repairs and aviation projects are being delayed needlessly. At the end of the current fiscal year, the Aviation Trust Fund will have a \$11.2 billion surplus, and the Highway Trust Fund will have a \$10.1 billion surplus. The perfecting amendment would express the sense of the Senate that these Trust Funds should be removed from the deficit calculations. Removing them is more critical than removing Social Security, they argued, because neither the Highway nor the Aviation Trust Fund was designed to accumulate a surplus.

Opponents countered that taking the Highway and Aviation Trust Funds off budget only would create the impression that the Federal government is using "funny figures" in the budget process. There would be a one-year increase in the deficit following the removal of the Trust Funds from the budget, and thereafter the level of Federal spending would appear less than it actually is. The surplus does serve a purpose, they pointed out, noting that in the case of the Highway Trust Fund a one-year reserve is maintained as protection against some unknown contingency and to lend a degree of predictability to highway construction projects.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (85)				NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (45 or 92%)		Republicans (40 or 91%)		Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Hollings	Bond	Lugar	Bradley	Armstrong	Biden ³	Humphrey ²
Baucus	Inouye	Boschwitz	McCain	Kennedy	Chafee	Gore ²	Stafford ²
Bentsen	Johnston	Cochran	McClure	Moynihan	Hatfield	Simon ²	
Bingaman	Kerry	Cohen	McConnell	Pell	Rudman	Stennis ²	
Boren	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Murkowski			Wirth ²	
Breaux	Leahy	Danforth	Nickles				
Bumpers	Levin	Dole	Packwood				
Burdick	Matsunaga	Domenici	Pressler				
Byrd	Melcher	Durenberger	Quayle				
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Evans	Roth				
Conrad	Mikulski	Garn	Simpson				
Cranston	Mitchell	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Symms				
Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Thurmond				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Exon	Riegle	Helms	Wallop				
Ford	Rockefeller	Karnes	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kasten	Wilson				
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats—45 or 53%
Republicans—40 or 47%

Against (8)
Democrats—4 or 50%
Republicans—4 or 50%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 87

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 13, 1988, 11:00 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3858

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (OFF BUDGET ITEMS)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1931

SUBJECT: Stevens-McClure perfecting amendment (to the Chiles, et al., amendment No. 1928, as amended) which states the sense of the Congress that the receipts and disbursements of the U.S. Postal Service should not be counted for purposes of determining the Federal deficit.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Postal Service should be taken off budget to allow it to function unimpeded as the semi-independent Federal agency Congress intended it to be when it passed the Postal Service Reorganization Act in 1974. The 1987 reconciliation tried to balance the budget at the expense of the Postal Service, despite the fact that it has operated with a balanced budget for the past ten years and Congress has not appropriated funds for it since 1982. The reconciliation legislation required that the Postal Service delay 75 percent of all capital investment for one year, and absorb the cost of health benefits for retired postal workers, which, under the Reorganization Act, was paid by the Federal government. Not only did the act disrupt a modernization program that was in progress, but the inefficiencies it created led to the recent increase in postal rates.

Opponents agreed that the savings expected in the 1987 reconciliation bill from the Postal Service were unrealistic, but pointed out that taking the Postal Service off budget would do nothing to reduce Federal spending. The matter should be referred to the Governmental Affairs Committee, which can determine whether the Postal Service should be taken off budget. The perfecting amendment has nothing to do with the underlying amendment, which addresses the use of the Social Security Trust Fund surplus to conceal the true size of the Federal deficit.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (85)				NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (41 or 87%)		Republicans (44 or 96%)		Democrats (6 or 13%)	Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Lautenberg	Armstrong	Kasten	Bentsen	Hatfield	Biden-3	
Baucus	Leahy	Bond	Lugar	Bradley	Rudman	Breaux-2	
Bingaman	Levin	Boschwitz	McCain	Chiles		DeConcini-2AY	
Boren	Matsunaga	Chafee	McClure	Graham		Gore-2AY	
Bumpers	Melcher	Cochran	McConnell	Kennedy		Harkin-2	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Cohen	Murkowski	Nunn		Simon-2	
Byrd	Mikulski	D'Amato	Nickles			Stennis-2	
Conrad	Mitchell	Danforth	Packwood				
Cranston	Moynihan	Dole	Pressler				
Daschle	Pell	Domenici	Quayle				
Dixon	Proxmire	Durenberger	Roth				
Dodd	Pryor	Evans	Simpson				
Exon	Reid	Garn	Specter				
Ford	Riegle	Gramm	Stafford				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Grassley	Stevens				
Glenn	Sanford	Hatch	Symms				
Heflin	Sarbanes	Hecht	Thurmond				
Hollings	Sasser	Heinz	Trible				
Inouye	Shelby	Helms	Wallop				
Johnston	Wirth	Humphrey	Warner				
Kerry		Karnes	Weicker				
		Kassebaum	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 87%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 41 or 48%
Republicans— 44 or 52%

Against (8)
Democrats— 6 or 75%
Republicans— 2 or 25%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 88

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 13, 1988, 12:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3868

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (OFF BUDGET ITEMS)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1934

SUBJECT: Chiles motion to table the Gramm modified perfecting amendment (to the Chiles, et al., amendment No. 1928, as amended) which states the sense of the Congress that legislation should be enacted that (1) excludes the surpluses (or deficits) from the Military Retirement, Civil Service Retirement, and Unemployment Trust Funds (as well as those already excluded) from the calculation of the budget deficit, and (2) would eliminate the budget deficit when calculated excluding the surplus (or deficit) from all the Trust Funds within five years. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment expressed doubts concerning taking trust funds off budget but asserted that if the Senate takes Social Security off budget it ought to be consistent and remove all trust funds. The Social Security Trust Fund will have a surplus of \$456 billion by 1993. If there is concern that this surplus distorts the deficit, then the \$482 billion that will accumulate by 1993 in the Military Retirement, Civil Service Retirement, and Unemployment Trust Funds will distort it as well. The Senate should not proceed with these changes in Federal bookkeeping until appropriate economic studies have been carried out. It was pointed out that if the Senate does remove these items, it should not expect to meet the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets within five years.

Opponents of the amendment countered that unlike Social Security, the Military Retirement, Civil Service Retirement, and Unemployment Trust Funds are drawn from general revenue funds and therefore do not mask the Federal deficit. Social Security comes from a separate payroll tax, and using this Trust Fund to offset the deficit would force the Federal government to borrow money in the future when it is needed. The perfecting amendment is being offered only to kill the underlying amendment, they argued, since doing so would justify referring the whole issue to the National Economic Commission for study and allow the Senate to evade having to vote on the underlying amendment.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (45)			NAYS (49)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (41 or 85%)		Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (7 or 15%)		Republicans (42 or 91%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Lautenberg	Armstrong	Byrd	Bond	Lugar	Adams ⁻²	
Bentsen	Leahy	Hatfield	DeConcini	Boschwitz	McCain	Biden ⁻³	
Bingaman	Levin	Humphrey	Dixon	Chafee	McClure	Burdick ^{-2AY}	
Boren	Matsunaga	Rudman	Exon	Cochran	McConnell	Gore ⁻²	
Bradley	Melcher		Heflin	Cohen	Murkowski	Simon ⁻²	
Breaux	Metzenbaum		Hollings	D'Amato	Nickles	Stennis ⁻²	
Bumpers	Mikulski		Shelby	Danforth	Packwood		
Chiles	Mitchell			Dole	Pressler		
Conrad	Moynihan			Domenici	Quayle		
Cranston	Nunn			Durenberger	Roth		
Daschle	Pell			Evans	Simpson		
Dodd	Proxmire			Garn	Specter		
Ford	Pryor			Gramm	Stafford		
Fowler	Reid			Grassley	Stevens		
Glenn	Riegle			Hatch	Symms		
Graham	Rockefeller			Hecht	Thurmond		
Harkin	Sanford			Heinz	Trible		
Inouye	Sarbanes			Helms	Wallop		
Johnston	Sasser			Karnes	Warner		
Kennedy	Wirth			Kassebaum	Weicker		
Kerry				Kasten	Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—85%
Republicans—91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (45)
Democrats—41 or 91%
Republicans—4 or 9%

Against (49)
Democrats—7 or 14%
Republicans—42 or 86%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 89

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 13, 1988, 2:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3870

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (OFF BUDGET ITEMS)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1935

SUBJECT: Chiles motion to table the Gramm perfecting amendment (to the Chiles, et al., amendment No. 1928, as amended) which states the sense of the Congress that legislation should be enacted to require that the definition of the Federal deficit include the current value of the unfunded liabilities of the Federal government (estimated to be either \$5.6 trillion or \$0.4 trillion depending on which definition is selected for the Social Security Trust Fund).

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that if the Senate expects to get a more accurate picture of the Federal deficit by taking accounts off budget that have a positive balance, then to be consistent it ought to put on budget those accounts that show a negative balance—the unfunded liabilities of the Federal government. Unlike other institutions, the Federal government uses an accounting system that does not take into account the unfunded liabilities which it has accepted and to which it is committed. The IRS requires other institutions to include unfunded liabilities in their accounting procedures, so making the same requirement of the Federal government is fair and, they argued, would yield a better understanding of the Nation's deficit.

Opponents of the amendment countered that lumping all unfunded liabilities into the budget is inconsistent with any method that has ever been used to measure the Federal deficit, and would move the Federal government from a current and annual method of accounting to an accrual method. As much as \$5.6 trillion could be added to the debt without making the deficit picture any clearer, since the unfunded liability concept ignores some of the revenues that pay for those future liabilities. The underlying amendment is consistent with the government's accounting method and continues to emphasize an annual accounting period. The perfecting amendment is an attempt to kill the underlying amendment, they argued, and to avoid having to deal with the issue of whether the Senate should use the Social Security Trust Fund to offset the deficit.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)			NAYS (43)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (49 or 98%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (42 or 91%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Inouye	Durenberger	Shelby	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden—3	
Baucus	Johnston	Hatfield		Bond	McCain	Gore—2	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Heinz		Boschwitz	McClure	Simon—2	
Bingaman	Kerry	Weicker		Chafee	McConnell	Stennis—2	
Boren	Lautenberg			Cochran	Murkowski		
Bradley	Leahy			Cohen	Nickles		
Breaux	Levin			D'Amato	Packwood		
Bumpers	Matsunaga			Danforth	Pressler		
Burdick	Melcher			Dole	Quayle		
Byrd	Metzenbaum			Domenici	Roth		
Chiles	Mikulski			Evans	Rudman		
Conrad	Mitchell			Garn	Simpson		
Cranston	Moynihan			Gramm	Specter		
Daschle	Nunn			Grassley	Stafford		
DeConcini	Pell			Hatch	Stevens		
Dixon	Proxmire			Hecht	Symms		
Dodd	Pryor			Helms	Thurmond		
Eaton	Reid			Humphrey	Trible		
Ford	Riegle			Karnes	Wallop		
Fowler	Rockefeller			Kassebaum	Warner		
Glenn	Sanford			Kasten	Wilson		
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Hefflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—49 or 92%
Republicans—4 or 8%

Against (43)
Democrats—1 or 2%
Republicans—42 or 98%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 90

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 13, 1988, 4:18 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3877

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (OFF BUDGET ITEMS)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1936

SUBJECT: Domenici motion to table the Chiles substitute amendment (to the Chiles, et al., amendment No. 1928, as amended) which states the sense of the Congress that legislation should be enacted that (1) excludes the surplus (or deficit) from the Social Security Trust Fund from the calculation of the budget deficit, and (2) would eliminate the budget deficit when calculated excluding the surplus in that trust fund within five years

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should vote up or down on whether the Social Security Trust Fund ought to be removed from the Federal deficit calculation, instead of being permitted to distort the issue by amending other trust funds to the underlying amendment. By leaving this surplus in the deficit calculation, the Senate is effectively spending the surplus. When workers retire and the account begins to decline around 2015, the Federal government will be forced to borrow money to meet its responsibility. While acknowledging that the Economic Commission should study the proposal, proponents asserted that the Senate still should vote on the issue.

Opponents of the amendment countered that taking Social Security off budget changes the Federal budget process by suggesting that the budget could be balanced in five years without including a trust fund that has been part of the unified budget since the Johnson Administration, and which has been counted on throughout the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings process. Since current law states that the funds in the Social Security Trust Fund are protected, there is no reason to suggest that this protection has been compromised by including Social Security in the deficit calculation. Furthermore, the amendment negates the action of the Senate by stripping away those trust funds the Senate added to the Chiles proposal.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (70)			NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (24 or 48%)	Republicans (46 or 100%)		Democrats (26 or 52%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Armstrong	Kasten	Baucus		Biden ⁻³	
Bradley	Bond	Lugar	Bentsen		Gore ⁻²	
Byrd	Boschwitz	McCain	Bingaman		Simon ⁻²	
Conrad	Chafee	McClure	Boren		Stennis ⁻²	
Cranston	Cochran	McConnell	Breaux			
Daschle	Cohen	Murkowski	Bumpers			
DeConcini	D'Amato	Nickles	Burdick			
Dixon	Danforth	Packwood	Chiles			
Evon	Dole	Pressler	Dodd			
Ford	Domenici	Quayle	Fowler			
Gleason	Durenberger	Roth	Graham			
Heflin	Evans	Rudman	Harkin			
Hollings	Garn	Simpson	Johnston			
Inouye	Gramm	Specter	Kennedy			
Kerry	Grassley	Stafford	Leahy			
Lautenberg	Hatch	Stevens	Mikulski			
Levin	Hatfield	Symms	Mitchell			
Matsunaga	Hecht	Thurmond	Moynihan			
Melcher	Heinz	Trible	Nunn			
Morvenbaum	Helms	Wallop	Peli			
Rockefeller	Humphrey	Warner	Proxmire			
Sarbanes	Karres	Weicker	Pryor			
Schely	Kassebaum	Wilson	Reid			
Wirth			Riegle			
			Sanford			
			Sasser			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yes
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yes
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 52%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats— 24 or 34%
Republicans— 46 or 66%

Against (26)
Democrats— 26 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 91

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 13, 1988, 6:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3892

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (PRISON CONSTRUCTION/DRUG ENFORCEMENT)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1938

SUBJECT: Specter, et al., amendment which increases in FY 1989 the Administration of Justice Function 750 by \$100 million each in budget authority and outlays for the assumed purpose of increased prison construction and the General Government Function 800 by \$25 million each in budget authority and outlays for the assumed purpose of increasing funding for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF), offset by decreasing the Travel Allowances Function 920 by \$125 million each in budget authority and outlays. (No funding is specifically allocated in the bill for Function 920).

NOTE: Proponents asserted that in order to maintain a successful drug enforcement effort, additional funds should be made available for enforcement of the armed career criminal bill, and for construction of prisons to relieve the severe cell shortage in the country. The armed career criminal bill has proven effective in drug enforcement, and according to statistics released by the BATF, an additional \$25 million would prevent more than 100,000 serious crimes and at least 20,000 drug sales. While the final allocation of these funds is the responsibility of the Appropriations Committee, the amendment proposes transferring the funds for these two areas from the travel allowances allocation, which, according to CBO, has a substantial excess. This account (excluding the Postal Service) stands at \$1.8 billion a year, a 62 percent increase over the 1982 level, even though prices have increased only 27 percent in that period of time. (The sponsor had suggested raising the funds by cutting the foreign aid allocations to countries that have failed to stop the growth and transit of drugs, but conceded that it was agreed in the budget summit not to make modifications to the foreign aid allocations.)

Opponents agreed that additional funding for prison construction is needed, but criticized the source of funding suggested. The travel allowance account has no new budget authority, and only two major agencies have received additional money for travel (excluding the Postal Service): the IRS and the DEA, which are both fighting crime and drug trade. Taking funds from this account would not help drug enforcement efforts. Further, the resolution already includes an additional \$100 million for prison construction and a drug enforcement amendment is anticipated that would provide an additional \$300 million.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (76)				NAYS (18)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (33 or 67%)		Republicans (43 or 96%)		Democrats (16 or 33%)	Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Bentsen	Kennedy	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Chafee	Biden ⁻³	Lugar ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Bond	McClure	Baucus	Hatfield	Gore ⁻²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McConnell	Bradley		Sanford ⁻²	
Breaux	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski	Chiles		Simon ⁻²	
Bumpers	Levin	Cohen	Nickles	Conrad		Stennis ⁻²	
Burdick	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood	Dodd			
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler	Exon			
Cranston	Mikulski	Dole	Quayle	Ford			
Daschle	Moynihan	Domenici	Roth	Harkin			
DeConcini	Pryor	Durenberger	Rudman	Inouye			
Dixon	Reid	Evans	Simpson	Melcher			
Fowler	Riegle	Garn	Specter	Mitchell			
Glenn	Rockefeller	Gramm	Stafford	Nunn			
Graham	Sarbanes	Grassley	Stevens	Pell			
Hellin	Shelby	Hatch	Symms	Proxmire			
Hollings	Wirth	Hecht	Thurmond	Sasser			
Johnston		Heinz	Trible				
		Helms	Wallop				
		Humphrey	Warner				
		Karnes	Weicker				
		Kassebaum	Wilson				
		Kasten					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—67%
Republicans—96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (76)
Democrats—33 or 43%
Republicans—43 or 57%

Against (18)
Democrats—16 or 89%
Republicans—2 or 11%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 92

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 13, 1988, 7:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3904

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (DRUG ENFORCEMENT)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1943

SUBJECT: DeConcini, et al., amendment to provide for a reserve fund for an anti-drug initiative of \$2.6 billion in budget authority and \$1.4 billion in outlays, which shall not become effective until deficit-neutral legislation has been reported by the appropriate congressional committees and the President and bipartisan leadership in Congress agree that the drug threat poses a dire emergency.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that in order for the Senate to propose a new anti-drug bill this year, it must first provide the necessary budget authority and outlays. The mechanism in this amendment would mandate budget authority and outlays for an antidrug bill if: (1) funding legislation reported out of the Appropriations Committee does not exceed the deficit targets; (2) the President and the House-Senate leadership summit members concur that the drug threat warrants raising the discretionary spending caps in the original bipartisan summit agreement; and (3) authority and outlays do not exceed the levels in this amendment. The amendment puts pressure on the President to back up his anti-drug rhetoric, brings OMB into the process to ensure that money is made available for the anti-drug initiative, and recognizes the funding levels contained in S. 2205, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, thus bringing this legislation into the center of the budget process. Some members pointed out that a more substantive source of funding will have to be found for an anti-drug bill than relying on the suggestion that the necessary funds could be raised though increased tax collection efforts by the IRS.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (93)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum			Biden ⁻³	Lugar ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Kasten			Gore ⁻²	Roth ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain			Sanford ⁻²	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure			Simon ⁻²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell			Stennis ⁻²	
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Faxon	Reid	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 44 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 93

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 14, 1988, 11:03 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3948

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (HEALTH/SUPER COLLIDER)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1944

SUBJECT: Chiles motion to table the Weicker, et al., modified amendment which increases funding for the health function 550 for 1989 by \$145 million in budget authority and \$50 million in outlays for the assumed purpose of increases for childhood immunization, geriatric training, and community health centers, and makes reductions in the same amounts to the 1989 science, space, and technology funding function 250, such cuts assumed to be taken from the super collider program.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that it would be wasteful to allocate funds to build a super collider when a site has not been selected. Whereas construction funds are not necessary at this point, an increase in health funding would ensure a more adequate number of physicians, nurses, and other health care personnel; the continuation of the childhood immunization program; and the availability of health care in medically underserved areas. Despite the fact that Americans in general are healthier now than a generation ago, many poor and middle-class Americans are suffering because health care is not available or affordable. The U.S. cannot afford to be divided by wealth, health, race, or age. Not a single cent of the transferred funds need be taken from the space station, veterans, or housing, and a sufficient amount would remain in the bill to fund further basic super collider research and site selection.

Opponents of the amendment argued that super collider research and construction has already been decreased to \$200 million from the \$360 million requested by the Administration. This amendment could effectively kill the program. A site will be chosen in November and confirmed in January, which is still early enough in the fiscal year to justify construction funds. Super collider research will lead to important breakthroughs in high energy physics which in turn may lead to discoveries in other fields. Research in high energy physics has already yielded great advances in cancer treatment (using particle beams to treat tumors) and medical diagnosis (X-ray machines). It would be shortsighted to exchange the U.S. lead in high energy physics research for a marginal increase in the medical research budget, which has already been increased by almost five percent over last year's baseline.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)				NAYS (38)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (30 or 61%)	Republicans (27 or 59%)			Democrats (19 or 39%)	Republicans (19 or 41%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Graham	Armstrong	Kasten	Bradley	Chafee	Biden-3	
Baucus	Heflin	Bond	Lugar	Bumpers	Cohen	Gore-2	
Bentsen	Hollings	Boschwitz	McCain	Burdick	D'Amato	Lautenberg-4	
Bingaman	Johnston	Cochran	McClure	Byrd	Dole	Simon-2	
Boren	Levin	Danforth	Murkowski	Conrad	Durenberger	Stennis-2	
Breaux	Melcher	Domenici	Nickles	Dodd	Hatfield		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Evans	Pressler	Harkin	Hecht		
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Quayle	Inouye	Heinz		
Daschle	Pryor	Gramm	Roth	Kennedy	Karnes		
DeConcini	Reid	Grassley	Symms	Kerry	McConnell		
Dixon	Riegle	Hatch	Thurmond	Leahy	Packwood		
Exon	Sanford	Helms	Wallop	Matsunaga	Rudman		
Ford	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner	Mikulski	Simpson		
Fowler	Shelby	Kassebaum		Mitchell	Specter		
Glenn	Wirth			Moynihan	Stafford		
				Pell	Stevens		
				Proxmire	Trible		
				Rockefeller	Weicker		
				Sarbanes	Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—61%
Republicans—59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—30 or 53%
Republicans—27 or 47%

Against (38)
Democrats—19 or 50%
Republicans—19 or 50%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 94

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 14, 1988, 1:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3961

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (CAPITAL GAINS INDEXING)

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1945

SUBJECT: Bentsen motion to table the Armstrong, et al., amendment which reduces estimated revenues in order to phase in the indexing of the basis used in computing the capital gains tax, offset by equal reductions of \$100 million in FY 1989 and \$200 million in 1990 in Community and Regional Development (Function 450).

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that reducing the revenue base by \$100 million this year and \$200 million next year would give the Finance Committee the opportunity to consider the indexing of the basis—cost at acquisition—for capital gains taxation. This would allow adjusting the acquisition cost on a property for inflation before calculating the capital gain so that taxes are not paid on gains due solely to inflation. Taxpayer fairness demands action on this matter that erodes the life savings of many. It, too, would be a first step toward improving U.S. tax treatment of capital gains vis a vis the major trading partners of the U.S., many of which do not tax capital gains. Such needed action could be accomplished in a virtually painless way. There is over \$7 billion in the Community and Regional Development Function and \$100 million is less than two percent of the total. This concept has been accepted before by the Senate and House, as well as endorsed by the President and the Chamber of Commerce.

Opponents of the amendment contended that the Senate should not rewrite the Tax Code on a budget bill. There have been no hearings on tax policy since passage of the tax reform bill, and this is not the only provision that should be examined. In addition, the tax reform bill is not yet fully in effect. The major criticism of the tax law is that it is changed too frequently. Also of importance, this amendment breaks the commitment to the agreement between Democrats and Republicans reached at the economic summit last year. Accepting this amendment would open the gates to a flood of others.

S. Con. Res. 113 (H. Con. Res. 268): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (66)			NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (44 or 90%)	Republicans (22 or 48%)		Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (24 or 52%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Harkin	Bond	Melcher	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	
Baucus	Heflin	Chafee	Nunn	Boschwitz	Gore ⁻²	
Bentsen	Hollings	Cochran	Proxmire	Dole	Lautenberg ⁻⁴	
Bingaman	Inouye	Cohen	Shelby	Garn	Simon ⁻²	
Boren	Johnston	D'Amato	Wirth	Gramm	Stennis ⁻²	
Bradley	Kennedy	Danforth		Hatch		
Breaux	Kerry	Domenici		Hecht		
Bumpers	Leahy	Durenberger		Helms		
Burdick	Levin	Evans		Humphrey		
Byrd	Matsunaga	Grassley		Karnes		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Hatfield		Kassebaum		
Conrad	Mikulski	Heinz		Kasten		
Cranston	Mitchell	McCain		Lugar		
Daschle	Moynihan	McConnell		McClure		
DeConcini	Pell	Packwood		Murkowski		
Dixon	Pryor	Pressler		Nickles		
Dodd	Reid	Roth		Quayle		
Exon	Riegle	Specter		Rudman		
Ford	Rockefeller	Stafford		Simpson		
Fowler	Sanford	Trible		Stevens		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Warner		Symms		
Graham	Sasser	Weicker		Thurmond		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—52%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats—44 or 67%
Republicans—22 or 33%

Against (29)
Democrats—5 or 17%
Republicans—24 or 83%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 95

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 14, 1988, 2:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3976

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 268 (S. Con. Res. 113)

SUBJECT: Adoption of the concurrent resolution which sets forth recommended levels of total new budget authority, outlays, and revenues for FY 1989-91 resulting in a deficit of \$136.0 billion—the deficit target established by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings (GRH)—as follows (in billions of dollars):

	FY 1989	FY 1990	FY 1991
Budget Authority	\$1,231.0	\$1,302.8	\$1,385.0
Outlays	1,100.6	1,158.1	1,215.7
Revenues	964.6	1,043.2	1,123.2
Deficit	-136.0	-114.9	-92.5
Public Debt Limit	2,825.4	3,065.3	3,289.5

Excluding new asset sales and loan prepayments (which do not count under GRH), the FY 1989 deficit totals \$141.8 billion—\$4.2 billion below the GRH sequestration threshold of \$146 billion. The resolution meets the terms of the GRH law and the budget summit agreement, as enacted in the Budget Reconciliation bill (P.L. 100-203) and the Continuing Resolution (P.L. 100-202), in December 1987. The FY 1989 funding levels for defense and domestic discretionary programs meet the appropriations spending caps, and the remaining asset sales required under the summit agreement are provided for.

H. Con. Res. 268 (S. Con. Res. 113): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (69)			NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (44 or 88%)	Republicans (25 or 56%)		Democrats (6 or 12%)	Republicans (20 or 44%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Baucus	Armstrong	Biden ³	Evans ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Conrad	Cochran	Gore ²	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	Heflin	Durenberger	Simon ²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Hollings	Garn	Stennis ²	
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Levin	Gramm		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Proxmire	Grassley		
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole		Hatch		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici		Helms		
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatfield		Humphrey		
Chiles	Mitchell	Hecht		Karnes		
Cranston	Moynihan	Heinz		McClure		
Daschle	Nunn	Kassebaum		McConnell		
DeConcini	Pell	Kasten		Nickles		
Dixon	Pryor	Lugar		Pressler		
Dodd	Reid	McCain		Roth		
Exon	Riegle	Murkowski		Simpson		
Ford	Rockefeller	Packwood		Symms		
Fowler	Sanford	Quayle		Trible		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Rudman		Wallop		
Graham	Sasser	Specter		Warner		
Harkin	Shelby	Stafford				
Inouye	Wirth	Stevens				
		Thurmond				
		Weicker				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—88%
Republicans—56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (69)
Democrats—44 or 64%
Republicans—25 or 36%

Against (26)
Democrats—6 or 23%
Republicans—20 or 77%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Defense: Meets the budget summit agreement levels of \$299.5 billion in BA and \$294 billion in outlays.

Revenues: Requires no revenue increases in 1989 beyond those enacted in 1987 as a result of the summit agreement—assumes that any proposed or pending tax or trade legislation will be deficit neutral.

Deficits: Projects deficits totaling \$343.4 billion over the three-year period FY 1989-91—\$136.0 billion in FY 1989 as required by GRH, \$114.9 billion in 1990, and \$92.5 billion in 1991.

International Programs: Contains program levels of \$18.1 billion in BA and \$16.1 billion in outlays for discretionary programs, which meet the summit caps.

Domestic Discretionary Spending: Contains \$148.1 billion in BA and \$169.2 billion in outlays in non-defense spending in 1989, consistent with the summit agreement caps; assumes increased spending for high priority programs, such as education and job training, drug enforcement, AIDS and health research, child nutrition, veterans' medical care, and air safety.

Entitlements and Other Mandatory Spending: Assumes \$500 million for continuation of nutrition aid when commodity surpluses in the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program are depleted; assumes enactment of deficit-neutral catastrophic health insurance and welfare reform legislation and enactment of deficit-neutral Medicaid provisions to broaden coverage for pregnant women and children, protect families during the transition period of welfare to work, and protect low-income elderly against spousal impoverishment.

Federal Aid to State and Local Governments: Contains Federal grant-in-aid outlays of \$121.6 billion in FY 1989.

Asset Sales/Prepayments: Contains asset sales and prepayments totaling \$5.8 billion in 1989, including \$2.3 billion already enacted and \$3.5 billion as called for in the summit agreement, to be achieved through reconciliation; contains the sense of the Congress language to prevent allocation of proceeds from asset sales and loan prepayments to committees in FY 1989.

Reconciliation: Directs the following Senate authorizing committees to report legislation by April 29, 1989, to increase contributions by a total of \$3.5 billion in FY 1989: Agriculture, \$1.494 billion; Banking, \$970 million; Labor and Human Resources, \$326 million; and Small Business, \$710 million.

Welfare Reform/Catastrophic Insurance: Assumes the allocation of BA and outlays in FY 1988 and/or 1989 to the Finance Committee for deficit-neutral welfare reform and medicare catastrophic health insurance initiatives and provides for adjustment of the FY 1989-91 aggregates when legislation is reported making funds available for these initiatives; provides authority for adjusting committee section 302 allocations to reflect technical changes in BA and outlays as necessary to allow Senate consideration of a deficit-neutral conference report.

Anti-drug Funding: Expresses the sense of the Congress that anti-narcotics activities, including law enforcement, drug interdiction, drug treatment, and substance abuse education, should be among the top funding priorities in FY 1989, and urges all committees to enhance their participation in the anti-drug effort.

Provides for a reserve fund for an anti-drug initiative of \$2.6 billion in budget authority and \$1.4 billion in outlays, which shall not become effective until deficit-neutral legislation has been reported by the appropriate congressional committees and the President and bipartisan leadership in Congress agree that the drug threat poses a dire emergency.

Trust Funds: Expresses the sense of the Congress that the National Economic Commission should study the budgetary treatment of the social security, airport and highway, military retirement, unemployment, and other trust funds as well as self-supporting public enterprise funds, including the Postal Service and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, to determine if they should be removed from the Federal budget; directs the Commission to consider the effects of setting trust fund surpluses aside as additional savings; and calls for a final report on the Commission's recommendation and reports on the means of achieving a balance in the remaining budget and the economic effects of a unified budget surplus.

Credit Budget: Includes non-binding credit levels of \$28.3 billion in FY 1989, \$27.1 billion in 1990, and \$26.7 billion in 1991 for new direct loan obligations and \$110.6 billion in FY 1989, \$122.9 billion in 1990, and \$132.2 billion in 1991 for new primary loan guarantee commitments.

FUNCTIONAL BREAKDOWN FOR FY 1989-91 (in billions of dollars)

FUNCTION	FY 1989		FY 1990		FY 1991	
	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O
050: National defense	\$299.5	\$294.0	\$312.3	\$304.2	\$325.0	\$316.0
150: International affairs	16.6	16.2	17.7	16.0	17.2	15.8
250: General science, space & technology	13.4	13.0	14.0	13.9	14.5	14.4
270: Energy	4.9	4.2	5.4	4.3	5.2	3.7
300: Natural resources & environment	14.6	14.9	15.2	15.5	15.9	15.8
350: Agriculture	27.0	23.2	25.2	21.9	22.2	19.9
370: Commerce & housing credit	13.5	9.1	15.1	8.1	9.0	3.6
400: Transportation	28.4	27.9	28.9	28.9	29.6	30.0
450: Community & regional development	7.1	6.5	6.9	6.8	7.1	6.4
500: Education, training, employment, & social services	36.6	35.3	37.9	36.8	38.7	37.8
550: Health	49.9	48.9	54.4	54.2	59.5	58.7
570: Medicare	103.7	86.9	113.2	97.5	124.1	108.5
600: Income Security	176.2	138.3	181.0	145.3	213.0	152.4
650: Social Security	278.1	233.5	306.3	249.0	332.8	263.5
700: Veterans' benefits & services	28.8	28.4	30.9	29.9	31.4	30.5
750: Administration of justice	9.0	9.0	9.1	9.1	10.3	10.2
800: General government	9.5	9.4	10.1	10.2	10.6	10.2
900: Net interest	151.9	151.9	158.5	158.5	160.1	160.1
920: Allowances	-0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
950: Undistributed offsetting receipts	-37.6	-49.9	-39.3	-52.0	-41.2	-41.8
TOTAL SPENDING	1,231.0	1,100.6	1,302.8	1,158.1	1,385.0	1,215.7
TOTAL REVENUES	964.6		1,043.2		1,123.2	
TOTAL DEFICIT	-136.0		-114.9		-92.5	

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 96

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 14, 1988, 5:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4002

BAHAMAS ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 292

SUBJECT: Passage (rejected) of the joint resolution which disapproves the President's certification, as required by Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, that the Bahamas has cooperated fully in matters relating to drug interdiction and eradication efforts and in preventing and punishing the laundering of drug-related profits or monies.

NOTE: Under the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-570), the President is required to certify to Congress by March 1 of each year that 24 specified countries, which are recipients of U.S. aid, have in the past year cooperated fully with the U.S. in its effort to eradicate the drug problem or be subject to stiff sanctions, including a 50 percent reduction in U.S. foreign aid. The Act further provides for congressional disapproval of any certification by passage of a joint resolution of disapproval, within 45 days of its receipt (excluding recesses), under expedited procedures. The President submitted the required certification with respect to the Bahamas on February 28. The Foreign Relations Committee ordered the disapproval resolution reported on April 12, 1988, by a vote of 10 to 6.

S.J. Res. 292: Vote No. 96.

RESULT: JOINT DISAPPROVAL RESOLUTION DEFEATED

YEAS (40)		NAYS (53)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (22 or 46%)	Republicans (18 or 40%)	Democrats (26 or 54%)	Republicans (27 or 60%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Armstrong	Bentsen	Bond	Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Baucus	Cohen	Boren	Boschwitz	Gore ⁻²	
Bingaman	Dole	Breaux	Chafee	Inouye ⁻²	
Bradley	Grassley	Bumpers	Cochran	Sanford ⁻²	
Burdick	Hecht	Chiles	D'Amato	Simon ⁻²	
Byrd	Heinz	Daschle	Danforth	Stennis ⁻²	
Conrad	Helms	DeConcini	Domenici		
Cranston	Humphrey	Dixon	Durenberger		
Exon	Karnes	Dodd	Garn		
Heflin	McClure	Ford	Gramm		
Kennedy	McConnell	Fowler	Hatch		
Kerry	Pressler	Glenn	Hatfield		
Lautenberg	Roth	Graham	Kassebaum		
Leahy	Specter	Harkin	Kasten		
Levin	Symms	Hollings	Lugar		
Mitchell	Trible	Johnston	McCain		
Pell	Warner	Matsunaga	Murkowski		
Proxmire	Wilson	Melcher	Nickles		
Riegle		Metzenbaum	Packwood		
Rockefeller		Mikulski	Quayle		
Sarbanes		Moynihan	Rudman		
Sasser		Nunn	Simpson		
		Pryor	Stafford		
		Reid	Stevens		
		Shelby	Thurmond		
		Wirth	Wallop		
			Weicker		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—54%
Republicans—60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (40)
Democrats—22 or 55%
Republicans—18 or 45%

Against (53)
Democrats—26 or 49%
Republicans—27 or 51%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 97

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 14, 1988, 8:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4029

MEXICO ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 268

SUBJECT: Passage of the joint resolution which disapproves the President's certification, as required by Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, that Mexico has cooperated fully in matters relating to drug interdiction and eradication efforts and in preventing and punishing the laundering of drug-related profits or monies.

NOTE: Under the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-570), the President is required to certify to Congress by March 1 of each year that 24 specified countries, which are recipients of U.S. aid, have in the past year cooperated fully with the U.S. in its effort to eradicate the drug problem or be subject to stiff sanctions, including a 50 percent reduction in U.S. foreign aid. The Act further provides for congressional disapproval of any certification by passage of a joint resolution of disapproval, within 45 days of its receipt (excluding recesses), under expedited procedures. The President submitted the required certification with respect to Mexico on February 28. The Foreign Relations Committee was discharged of further consideration of the disapproval resolution on April 12, 1988, after the motion to report was defeated by a tie vote of 8 to 8 on April 12, 1988.

S.J. Res. 268: Vote No. 97.

RESULT: JOINT DISAPPROVAL RESOLUTION PASSED

YEAS (63)			NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (27 or 59%)	Republicans (36 or 82%)		Democrats (19 or 41%)	Republicans (8 or 18%)	Democrats (8)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Armstrong	McConnell	Bentsen	Boschwitz	Biden ¹	Evans ²
Baucus	Bond	Murkowski	Bingaman	Cochran	Daschle ²	Hecht ²
Breaux	Chafee	Nickles	Boren	Durenberger	Gore ²	
Burdick	Cohen	Packwood	Bradley	Hatfield	Hollings ²	
Byrd	D'Amato	Pressler	Bumpers	Kassebaum	Pryor ²	
Chiles	Danforth	Quayle	Cranston	Lugar	Sanford ²	
Conrad	Dole	Roth	Dodd	McCain	Simon ²	
DeConcini	Domenici	Rudman	Glenn	Simpson	Stennis ²	
Dixon	Garn	Specter	Graham			
Fox	Gramm	Stafford	Harkin			
Ford	Grassley	Stevens	Inouye			
Fowler	Hatch	Symms	Johnston			
Hefflin	Heinz	Thurmond	Kennedy			
Kerry	Helms	Triple	Leahy			
Lautenberg	Humphrey	Wallop	Levin			
Melcher	Karnes	Warner	Matsunaga			
Metzenbaum	Kasten	Weicker	Moynihan			
Mikulski	McClure	Wilson	Pell			
Mitchell			Wirth			
Nunn						
Proxmire						
Reid						
Riegle						
Rockefeller						
Sarbanes						
Sasser						
Shelby						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 59%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats— 27 or 43%
Republicans— 36 or 57%

Against (27)
Democrats— 19 or 70%
Republicans— 8 or 30%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 98

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 15, 1988, 1:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4090

LOBBYING—"REVOLVING DOOR" (ATTORNEY EXEMPTION)

BILL NO.: S. 237

AMENDMENT NO.: 1947

TITLE: "Integrity in Post-Employment Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Rudman perfecting amendment (to the Thurmond, et al., modified substitute amendment No. 1946) which strikes the partial exemption in cases where the former employee is an attorney representing a party on a matter likely to involve judicial proceedings.

NOTE: The sponsor asserted that the amendment would eliminate a massive loophole which would benefit an already privileged group—attorneys. Most Members of Congress and congressional staff are attorneys and should not be exempt from postemployment laws. While this amendment (and the subsequent two) could have been accepted without a record vote, its sponsor felt that a record vote would give the conferees on the measure a clearer indication of support for this amendment.

S. 237: Vote Nos. 98-100.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (83)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (42 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (12)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	McCain			Biden ⁻³	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond	McClure			Burdick ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Chafee	McConnell			Cranston ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Cochran	Murkowski			Dodd ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga	Cohen	Packwood			Exon ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
Bradley	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Pressler			Gore ⁻²	
Breaux	Mikulski	Danforth	Quayle			Hollings ⁻²	
Bumpers	Mitchell	Dole	Roth			Inouye ⁻²	
Byrd	Moynihan	Domenici	Rudman			Johnston ⁻²	
Chiles	Nunn	Durenberger	Simpson			Melcher ⁻²	
Conrad	Pell	Garn	Specter			Sanford ⁻²	
Daschle	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford			Stennis ⁻²	
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Thurmond				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Wallop				
Graham	Sasser	Karnes	Warner				
Harkin	Shelby	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Heflin	Simon	Kasten	Wilson				
Kennedy	Wirth	Lugar					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats—42 or 51%
Republicans—41 or 49%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 99

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 15, 1988, 1:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4093

LOBBYING—"REVOLVING DOOR" (PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATION)

BILL NO.: S. 237

AMENDMENT NO.: 1948

TITLE: "Integrity in Post-Employment Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Rudman perfecting amendment (to the Thurmond, et al., modified substitute amendment No. 1946) which prohibits Members of Congress from affiliating with professional corporations and receiving compensation for professional services.

NOTE: The sponsor noted that the amendment was simply a codification of the Senate Rule that prevents a Senator from affiliating with a firm or practicing a profession for compensation during regular office hours. This latter phrase "during regular office hours" has been omitted. While the House has no such rule, both Houses of Congress should be treated the same and held to the same ethical conduct.

S. 237: Vote Nos. 98-100.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (81)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (19)	
Democrats (42 or 100%)		Republicans (39 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (12)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Lautenberg	Bond	McCain			Bentsen ⁻²	Armstrong ⁻²
Baucus	Leahy	Chafee	McConnell			Biden ⁻³	Boschwitz ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Cochran	Murkowski			Burdick ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga	Cohen	Packwood			Cranston ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher	D'Amato	Pressler			Dodd ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Quayle			Exon ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Bumpers	Mikulski	Dole	Roth			Gore ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Rudman			Hollings ⁻²	
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Simpson			Inouye ⁻²	
Conrad	Nunn	Garn	Specter			Johnston ⁻²	
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Stafford			Sanford ⁻²	
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens			Stennis ⁻²	
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Reid	Heinz	Thurmond				
Fowler	Riegle	Helms	Trible				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Wallop				
Graham	Sarbanes	Karnes	Warner				
Harkin	Sasser	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Heflin	Shelby	Kasten	Wilson				
Kennedy	Simon	Lugar					
Kerry	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats—42 or 52%
Republicans—39 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 100

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 15, 1988, 2:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4094

LOBBYING—"REVOLVING DOOR" (EXCESS CAMPAIGN FUNDS)

BILL NO.: S. 237

AMENDMENT NO.: 1949

TITLE: "Integrity in Post-Employment Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Rudman perfecting amendment (to the Thurmond, et al., modified substitute amendment No. 1946) which prohibits Members of Congress from converting excess campaign funds to personal use upon leaving Congress.

NOTE: The sponsor of the amendment noted that Senate Rule 38 prohibits Senators from converting campaign funds to personal use, but exempts those Senators in office prior to January 8, 1980. Although there has been no compliance problem, the rule is unenforceable, in reality, against a former Senator, and the House has adopted no similar rule. After the 1986 election, House candidates had over \$49 million in surplus campaign funds. No public policy is served by allowing one class of Members of Congress to convert, after paying taxes, campaign funds to personal use.

S. 237: Vote Nos. 98-100.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (83)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (42 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (12)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Lautenberg	Armstrong	McCain			Bentsen ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Leahy	Bond	McClure			Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	McConnell			Burdick ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga	Cochran	Murkowski			Cranston ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bradley	Melcher	Cohen	Packwood			Dodd ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
Breaux	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Pressler			Exon ⁻²	
Bumpers	Mikulski	Danforth	Quayle			Gore ⁻²	
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole	Roth			Hollings ⁻²	
Chiles	Moynihan	Domenici	Rudman			Inouye ⁻²	
Conrad	Nunn	Durenberger	Simpson			Johnston ⁻²	
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Specter			Sanford ⁻²	
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford			Stennis ⁻²	
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Ford	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Fowler	Riegle	Heinz	Thurmond				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible				
Graham	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Wallop				
Harkin	Sasser	Karnes	Warner				
Hefflin	Shelby	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Kennedy	Simon	Kasten	Wilson				
Kerry	Wirth	Lugar					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats—42 or 51%
Republicans—41 or 49%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 101

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 20, 1988, 9:35 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4322

JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 1009 (H.R. 442)

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.

S. 1009 (H.R. 442): Vote Nos. 101-105.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (73)			NAYS (22)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (23 or 51%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (22 or 49%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Cochran		Armstrong	Biden— ³	Boschwitz— ²
Baucus	Kerry	Danforth		Bond	Bumpers— ²	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Dole		Chafee	Gore— ²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Domenici		Cohen	Kennedy— ²	
Boren	Levin	Durenberger		D'Amato		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Garn		Evans		
Breaux	Melcher	Grassley		Gramm		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatch		Hecht		
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatfield		Helms		
Chiles	Mitchell	Heinz		Humphrey		
Conrad	Moynihan	Kassebaum		Karnes		
Cranston	Nunn	Lugar		Kasten		
Daschle	Pell	McClure		McCain		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Packwood		McConnell		
Dixon	Pryor	Pressler		Murkowski		
Dodd	Reid	Roth		Nickles		
Egon	Riegle	Rudman		Quayle		
Ford	Rockefeller	Simpson		Specter		
Fowler	Sanford	Stafford		Symms		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Stevens		Wallop		
Graham	Sasser	Thurmond		Weicker		
Harkin	Shelby	Trible		Wilson		
Heflin	Simon	Warner				
Hollings	Stennis					
Inouye	Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 51%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats— 50 or 68%
Republicans— 23 or 32%

Against (22)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 22 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 102

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 20, 1988, 12:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4334

JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT

BILL NO.: S. 1009 (H.R. 442)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1919

SUBJECT: Stevens motion to table the Hecht amendment which strikes the Trust Fund provisions authorizing funds in FY 1989-93, subject to appropriations, to provide individual payments of \$20,000 to U.S. citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who were evacuated, relocated, and interned during World War II and \$12,000 to compensate surviving Aleuts for their losses during evacuation.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that they could not in good conscience agree to the \$1.3 billion price tag of this bill considering the huge Federal deficit. The U.S. did commit a wrong and should apologize for the internment of innocent Japanese-Americans, but it is not necessary to pay \$20,000 tax free to every individual involved. The U.S. already made restitution through the American-Japanese Evacuation Claims Act of 1948. Any further compensation should be sought through the courts, not the U.S. Senate. Others objected to the "judgmental" tone of the bill's statement that the internment occurred because of "a failure of political leadership." The Nation's former leaders, they stated, should not be impugned for exercising their best judgments based on the facts at that time.

Opponents of the amendment stated that the bill only provides token monetary compensation for losses not compensable under the 1948 Claims Act—the unjust deprivation of liberty and civil rights, the infliction of mental and physical suffering, and the stigma of being branded disloyal. If addressed in the courts, billions of dollars probably would be awarded for actual compensatory and punitive losses. The U.S. has compensated U.S. citizens held hostage and imprisoned by foreign governments during World War II and the Korean and Vietnam Wars. It surely should make redress for falsely incarcerating innocent persons for three years or longer. The bill does not challenge the executive order to arrest those who were a risk to internal security but does dispute the decisions made by military commanders to intern innocent Japanese-Americans which the Commission on Wartime Relocation concluded were motivated by racial prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership. It is true that the Senate must set budget priorities, but the first call upon a nation is to honor its just obligations. These restitution payments should be made so that the Nation can finally close this shameful chapter in its history.

S. 1009 (H.R. 442): Vote Nos. 101-105.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (67)			NAYS (30)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (45 or 88%)	Republicans (22 or 48%)		Democrats (6 or 12%)	Republicans (24 or 52%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Breaux	Bond	Biden—3	
Raucus	Kerry	Boschwitz	Ford	Chafee	Gore—2	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cochran	Heflin	Danforth	Pell—2AY	
Bingaman	Leahy	Cohen	Hollings	Garn		
Boren	Levin	D'Amato	Nunn	Gramm		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Dole	Stennis	Grassley		
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici		Hecht		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		Helms		
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans		Humphrey		
Chiles	Mitchell	Hatch		Karnes		
Conrad	Moynihan	Hatfield		Kassebaum		
Cranston	Proxmire	Heinz		McCain		
Daschle	Pryor	Kasten		McClure		
DeConcini	Reid	Lugar		McConnell		
Dixon	Riegle	Murkowski		Nickles		
Dodd	Rockefeller	Packwood		Pressler		
Exon	Sanford	Rudman		Quayle		
Fowler	Sarbanes	Specter		Roth		
Glenn	Sasser	Stafford		Simpson		
Graham	Shelby	Stevens		Symms		
Harkin	Simon	Weicker		Thurmond		
Inouye	Wirth	Wilson		Trible		
Johnston				Wallop		
				Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—88%
Republicans—52%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats—45 or 67%
Republicans—22 or 33%

Against (30)
Democrats—6 or 20%
Republicans—24 or 80%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 103

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 20, 1988, 2:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4390

JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT

BILL NO.: S. 1009 (H.R. 442)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1968

SUBJECT: Matsunaga motion to table the Helms amendment which prohibits appropriation of any funds to provide restitution payments under the Act in any year having a budget deficit.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that \$1.3 billion should not be added to the burden of American taxpayers who are already shouldering the \$2 trillion national debt. Nobody is proud of the relocation of the Japanese-Americans during World War II, but the decision to do so was made against a backdrop of wartime fear and hysteria and was based on intelligence reports that warned of a Japanese "intelligence machine geared for war" having been put into operation in the U.S. utilizing both alien and second generation Japanese. Furthermore, the American Japanese Claims Act of 1948 provided a reasonable, contemporaneous remedy to affected individuals. Nothing has occurred since that time to warrant a supplemental payment to the internees, and any inadequacies of settlements provided under the 1948 Claims Act should be resolved by the courts.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that the bill already makes the authority to enter into contracts or to make payments under the Act effective only in "such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation acts." The Appropriations Committee may reduce or deny funding for the restitution payments if warranted by the budget deficit or any other budgetary situation.

S. 1009 (H.R. 442): Vote Nos. 101-105.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (61)			NAYS (35)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (42 or 82%)	Republicans (19 or 42%)		Democrats (9 or 18%)	Republicans (26 or 58%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Bentsen	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Warner ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Cochran	Breaux	Bond	Gore ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Byrd	Chafee	Kennedy ⁻²	
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Ford	Danforth		
Bradley	Levin	Dole	Heflin	Garn		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Domenici	Rockefeller	Gramm		
Burdick	Melcher	Durenberger	Sasser	Grassley	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Evans	Shelby	Hatch		
Conrad	Mikulski	Hatfield	Siennis	Hecht		
Cranston	Mitchell	Heinz		Helms		
Daschle	Moynihan	Kasten		Humphrey	SYMBOLS:	
DeConcini	Nunn	Lugar		Karnes		
Dixon	Pell	Murkowski		Kassebaum		
Dodd	Proxmire	Packwood		McCain		
Exon	Pryor	Rudman		McClure	AY—Announced Yea	
Fowler	Reid	Stafford		McConnell	AN—Announced Nay	
Glenn	Riegle	Stevens		Nickles	PY—Paired Yea	
Graham	Sanford	Weicker		Pressler	PN—Paired Nay	
Harkin	Sarbanes	Wilson		Quayle		
Hollings	Simon			Roth		
Inouye	Wirth			Simpson		
				Specter		
				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—82%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats—42 or 69%
Republicans—19 or 31%

Against (35)
Democrats—9 or 26%
Republicans—26 or 74%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 104

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 20, 1988, 4:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4399

JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT

BILL NO.: S. 1009 (H.R. 442)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1971

SUBJECT: Stevens motion to table the Helms amendment which prohibits restitution payments from being made to U.S. citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who were evacuated, relocated, and interned during World War II, until the Japanese government has fairly compensated the families of the people who were killed as a result of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

NOTE: The sponsor of the amendment stated that it was being offered as a way of emphasizing the terror and grave apprehension that motivated President Roosevelt, operating on intelligence information that had been provided to him, to sign the executive order which allowed the internment of Japanese-Americans. The families of military personnel killed or injured at Pearl Harbor, the sponsor added, deserve to have this amendment offered. Further, enactment of this bill will make a mockery of congressional budget priorities and only add to the burden of American taxpayers who already are being required to shoulder the \$2 trillion national debt. The U.S. government already has compensated those harmed as a result of relocation, and it is a subjective judgment as to whether enough has been done. Opponents of the amendment stated that this amendment would be punishing Americans for what the Japanese government did at Pearl Harbor. They asserted that it implies that Japanese-Americans had something to do with the bombing attack. Some opponents agreed that the failure of the U.S. to seek reparations from Japan following World War II should be questioned, but not at the expense of denying compensation to the Japanese-Americans unjustly interned by the U.S. government.

S. 1009 (H.R. 442): Vote Nos. 101-105.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 91%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten		Hecht	Biden ⁻³	Warner ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar		Helms	Gore ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain		McClure	Kennedy ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell		Symms	Moynihan ⁻²	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Pell	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatfield	Trible				
Eaton	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Ford	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wilson				
Glenn	Sasser	Kassebaum					
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats—50 or 55%
Republicans—41 or 45%

Against (4)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—4 or 100%

NO. 105

April 20, 1988, 4:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4415

BILL NO.: H.R. 442 (S. 1009)

H.R. 442 (S. 1009): Vote Nos. 101-105.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (69)			NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (44 or 86%)		Republicans (25 or 56%)	Democrats (7 or 14%)	Republicans (20 or 44%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Ford	Bond	Biden— ³	Warner— ²
Baucus	Kerry	Boschwitz	Fowler	Chafee	Gore— ² AY	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cochran	Heflin	Danforth	Kennedy— ²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Cohen	Hollings	Garn		
Boren	Levin	D'Amato	Nunn	Gramm		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Dole	Shelby	Grassley		
Breaux	Melcher	Domenici	Stennis	Hecht		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		Helms		
Burdick	Mikulski	Evans		Humphrey		
Byrd	Mitchell	Hatch		Karnes		
Chiles	Moynihan	Hatfield		McCain		
Conrad	Pell	Heinz		McClure		
Cranston	Proxmire	Kassebaum		McConnell		
Daschle	Pryor	Kasten		Nickles		
DeConcini	Reid	Lugar		Pressler		
Dixon	Riegle	Murkowski		Roth		
Dodd	Rockefeller	Packwood		Symms		
Exon	Sanford	Quayle		Thurmond		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Rudman		Trible		
Graham	Sasser	Simpson		Wallop		
Harkin	Simon	Specter				
Inouye	Wirth	Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Weicker				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

Party Cohesion

Democrats—86%
Republicans—56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (69)
 Democrats— 44 or 64%
 Republicans— 25 or 36%

Against (27)
Democrats—7 or 26%
Republicans—20 or 74%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Accepts the findings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians and contains an official apology to the U.S. citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who were evacuated, relocated, and interned during World War II.

Civil Liberties Public Education Fund: Establishes the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, administered by the Treasury Department, to make tax-free individual payments of \$20,000 to surviving individuals of Japanese ancestry who were confined, held in custody, or otherwise deprived of liberty during World War II as a result of the Federal government's exclusion, relocation, and detention policy (approximately 60,000 persons); authorizes therefor \$500 million in FY 1989, \$400 million in 1990, \$200 million in 1991, and \$100 million in each 1992-93; requires anyone who accepts restitution payment to waive further claims against the Federal government stemming from the relocation and internment; specifies that the payments would not count as income in determining eligibility for Federal benefits; establishes a Board of Directors for the Fund to authorize disbursements to sponsor research and public educational activities about the relocation and internment, fund comparative studies of similar civil liberties abuses, support the preparation and distribution of the Commission's findings, and improve the general welfare of the ethnic Japanese community in the U.S.; requests the Attorney General to review cases in which living U.S. citizens or permanent resident aliens of Japanese ancestry received criminal convictions, including those for violating military orders, during the relocation period and to recommend and request that the President pardon individuals convicted for refusing to accept treatment that discriminated against them because of their race or ethnicity; requires Federal agencies to review applications for restitution of any Federal position, status, or entitlement lost during the relocation period and give full consideration to the findings of the Commission and this Act.

Aleutian and Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust Fund: Establishes the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands Restitution Trust Fund (which shall terminate three years after enactment or one year after all monies are disbursed, whichever is later) and authorizes such sums as necessary to make individual payments of \$12,000 to compensate surviving Aleuts for their losses during evacuation (approximately 450 persons), and \$5 million to benefit the general welfare of the affected Aleut villages including the provision of assistance to the needy, elderly, disabled, or severely ill persons and scholarships to needy students, and preserving the Aleut cultural heritage and history; authorizes the Secretary of Interior to designate an Administrator for the Trust Fund; authorizes \$1.4 million for the restoration of church property that was lost, damaged, or destroyed; and authorizes \$15 million for the Attu Island Restitution Program to be paid by the Secretary of the Interior to the Aleut Corporation, a for-profit regional corporation for the Aleut region, to compensate the Aleuts for the loss of Attu Island which is currently designated a wilderness area by the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act.

General Provisions: Makes the authority to enter into contracts or to make payments subject to appropriations and makes any provisions which authorize new budget authority effective only after September 30, 1988; and states that nothing in this act shall be construed as recognition of any claim of Mexico or any other country or Indian tribe to any territory or other property of the U.S., nor shall it be construed as providing any basis for compensation in connection with any such claim.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 106

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 21, 1988, 11:25 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4464

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 282

SUBJECT: Gramm motion to table the Gramm motion to recommit the joint resolution to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report back forthwith, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute containing the provisions of the Gramm amendment No. 1954 which proposes a Constitutional amendment to require Congress to adopt a balanced budget prior to each fiscal year, unless both Houses of Congress pass, by a three-fifths vote, legislation permitting outlays to exceed receipts; limits the rate of increase in total receipts for any fiscal year to the rate of increase in the GNP in the prior year, unless Congress, by majority vote, enacts a bill directly providing for the increase; allows the Congress to waive these provisions in any fiscal year in which a declaration of war is in effect; makes permanent the public debt limit that exists on the date of ratification which shall not be increased thereafter except by three-fifths vote of both Houses; and provides that the article shall take effect for the second fiscal year beginning after its ratification.

NOTE: In an effort to force a vote on his amendment (and further delay action on campaign reform), Senator Gramm made these motions. His objective was not attained since almost all Senators also voted nay.

S.J. Res. 282: Vote Nos. 106-108.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE THE MOTION TO RECOMMIT FAILED

YEAS (5)		NAYS (90)				NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (48 or 98%)		Republicans (42 or 91%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
Bradley	Chafee	Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden— ³	
	Cohen	Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain	Gore— ²	
	Hatfield	Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure	Kennedy— ²	
	Weicker	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell	Metzenbaum— ²	
		Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski	Rockefeller— ²	
		Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Nickles		
		Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Packwood		
		Burdick	Melcher	Domenici	Pressler		
		Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Quayle		
		Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Roth		
		Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Rudman		
		Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Simpson		
		Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Specter		
		DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Stafford		
		Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Stevens		
		Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Symms		
		Exon	Riegle	Helms	Thurmond		
		Ford	Sanford	Humphrey	Trible		
		Fowler	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wallop		
		Glenn	Sasser	Kassebaum	Warner		
		Graham	Shelby	Kasten	Wilson		
		Harkin	Simon				
		Heflin	Stennis				
		Hollings	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—91%

For (5)
Democrats—1 or 20%
Republicans—4 or 80%

Against (90)
Democrats—48 or 53%
Republicans—42 or 47%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 107

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 21, 1988, 1:46 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4477

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 282

AMENDMENT NO.: 1957

SUBJECT: Hollings, et al., motion to close further debate on the Hollings perfecting amendment (to the Gramm motion to recommit the joint resolution to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions) which contains the provisions of the underlying joint resolution and provides that it would become effective only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States within seven years and three days after the date of the final passage of the joint resolution. (See also Vote No. 108 on a second motion to close debate which also failed.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on April 20, 1988, was signed by Senators Hollings, Sanford, DeConcini, Adams, Matsunaga, Graham, Chiles, Exon, Simon, Fowler, Mikulski, Daschle, Pell, Boren, Rockefeller, Bumpers, Riegle, Cranston, Melcher, and Byrd.

S.J. Res. 282: Vote Nos. 106-108.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (52)			NAYS (42)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (41 or 91%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Kassebaum	Bradley	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden— ³	Hecht— ²
Baucus	Johnston	Pressler		Bond	Lugar	Gore— ²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Roth		Boschwitz	McCain	Kennedy— ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Specter		Chafee	McClure	Metzenbaum— ²	
Boren	Leahy			Cochran	McConnell	Stennis— ²	
Breaux	Levin			Cohen	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Matsunaga			D'Amato	Nickles		
Burdick	Melcher			Danforth	Packwood		
Byrd	Mikulski			Dole	Quayle		
Chiles	Mitchell			Domenici	Rudman		
Conrad	Moynihan			Durenberger	Simpson		
Cranston	Nunn			Evans	Stafford		
Daschle	Pell			Garn	Stevens		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Gramm	Symms		
Dixon	Pryor			Grassley	Thurmond		
Dodd	Reid			Hatch	Trible		
Exon	Riegle			Hatfield	Wallop		
Ford	Rockefeller			Heinz	Warner		
Fowler	Sanford			Helms	Weicker		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Humphrey	Wilson		
Graham	Sasser			Karnes			
Harkin	Shelby						
Heilin	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats— 48 or 92%
Republicans— 4 or 8%

Against (42)
Democrats— 1 or 2%
Republicans— 41 or 98%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 108

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 22, 1988, 11:16 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4539

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 282

AMENDMENT NO.: 1957

SUBJECT: Hollings, et al., second motion to close further debate on the Hollings perfecting amendment (to the Gramm motion to recommit the joint resolution to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions) which contains the provisions of the underlying joint resolution and provides that it would become effective only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States within seven years and three days after the date of the final passage of the joint resolution. (See Vote No. 107 on the first cloture motion.)

NOTE: By unanimous consent, this cloture vote occurred on the same cloture petition presented on April 20, 1988—Vote No. 107—which was signed by Senators Hollings, Sanford, DeConcini, Adams, Matsunaga, Graham, Chiles, Exon, Simon, Fowler, Mikulski, Daschle, Pell, Boren, Rockefeller, Bumpers, Riegle, Cranston, Melcher, and Byrd.

S.J. Res. 282: Vote Nos. 106-108.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (53)			NAYS (37)		NOT VOTING (10)		
Democrats (48 or 100%)		Republicans (5 or 12%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (37 or 88%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (4)	
Adams	Inouye	Kassebaum		Armstrong	Humphrey	Biden ⁻³	Hecht ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Pressler		Bond	Kasten	Dixon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Roth		Boschwitz	Lugar	Gore ⁻²	Packwood ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Rudman		Chafee	McCain	Kennedy ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Specter		Cochran	McClure	Matsunaga ⁻²	
Bradley	Levin			Cohen	McConnell	Reid ⁻²	
Breaux	Melcher			D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum			Danforth	Nickles		
Burdick	Mikulski			Dole	Quayle		
Byrd	Mitchell			Domenici	Simpson		
Chiles	Moynihan			Durenberger	Stafford		
Conrad	Nunn			Evans	Stevens		
Cranston	Pell			Garn	Thurmond		
Daschle	Proxmire			Gramm	Trible		
DeConcini	Pryor			Grassley	Wallop		
Dodd	Riegle			Hatch	Warner		
Exon	Rockefeller			Hatfield	Weicker		
Ford	Sanford			Heinz	Wilson		
Fowler	Sarbanes			Helms			
Glenn	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—48 or 91%
Republicans—5 or 9%

Against (37)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—37 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 109

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 25, 1988, 11:24 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4656

VETERANS' COMPENSATION FOR NUCLEAR EXPOSURE

BILL NO.: H.R. 1811

TITLE: "Radiation-Exposed Veterans Compensation Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which provides a presumption of service connection to veterans, or their survivors, who participated in atmospheric nuclear tests as part of the U.S. nuclear weapons testing program or in the American occupation of Hiroshima or Nagasaki, Japan, and who suffer from certain diseases that may be attributable to exposure to ionizing radiation; specifies the diseases covered by this bill which include 13 types of cancer (except Hodgkin's disease and liver cancer where cirrhosis or hepatitis B is indicated); and establishes the presumption period as the 40-year period, beginning on the last date on which the veteran participated in a radiation-risk activity, for all covered diseases except leukemia (other than chronic lymphocytic leukemia), which has a 30-year presumptive period.

NOTE: The House agreed to the Senate amendments to this bill on May 2, 1988, thus clearing the measure as passed by the Senate. H.R. 1811 became Public Law 100-321, approved May 20, 1988.

H.R. 1811: Vote No. 109.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (48)		NAYS (30)		NOT VOTING (22)	
Democrats (38 or 95%)	Republicans (10 or 26%)	Democrats (2 or 5%)	Republicans (28 or 74%)	Democrats (14)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Kennedy	Bentsen	Armstrong	Biden— ³	Cohen— ²
Baucus	Kerry	Proxmire	Bond	Burdick— ²	Durenberger— ²
Bingaman	Leahy		Cochran	Chiles— ²	Garn— ²
Boren	Levin		Danforth	DeConcini— ^{2AY}	Hecht— ²
Bradley	Matsunaga		Dole	Dixon— ²	Karnes— ²
Breaux	Melcher		Evans	Dodd— ²	Specter— ²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum		Gramm	Exon— ²	Trible— ²
Byrd	Mitchell		Grassley	Ford— ²	Wilson— ²
Conrad	Pryor		Hatfield	Gore— ^{2AY}	
Cranston	Reid		Helms	Lautenberg— ²	
Daschle	Riegle		Humphrey	Mikulski— ^{2AY}	
Fowler	Rockefeller		Kassebaum	Moynihan— ²	
Gienn	Sanford		Kasten	Nunn— ²	
Graham	Sarbanes		Lugar	Pell— ^{2AY}	
Harkin	Sasser		McCain		
Heflin	Shelby		McClure		
Hollings	Simon		McConnell		
Inouye	Stennis		Murkowski		
Johnston	Wirth		Nickles		
			Quayle		
			Roth		
			Rudman		
			Simpson		
			Stafford		
			Stevens		
			Symms		
			Thurmond		
			Wallop		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—95%
Republicans—74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats—38 or 79%
Republicans—10 or 21%

Against (30)
Democrats—2 or 7%
Republicans—28 or 93%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 110

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 27, 1988, 4:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4926

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: H.R. 3 (S. 1420)

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill.

NOTE: The bill was vetoed by the President on May 24, 1988, and the veto sustained by the Senate on June 8, 1988—see Vote No. 169.

H.R. 3 (S. 1420): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208 (100th-1st); 110, 169 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (63)			NAYS (36)			NOT VOTING (1)	
Democrats (52 or 98%)		Republicans (11 or 24%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (35 or 76%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Proxmire	Armstrong	Lugar		
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee		Boschwitz	McCain	Biden— ³	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen		Cochran	McClure		
Bingaman	Kerry	Danforth		D'Amato	McConnell		
Boren	Lautenberg	Durenberger		Dole	Murkowski		
Bradley	Leahy	Heinz		Domenici	Pressler		
Breaux	Levin	Nickles		Evans	Quayle		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Packwood		Garn	Rudman		
Burdick	Melcher	Roth		Gramm	Simpson		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Specter		Grassley	Stafford		
Chiles	Mikulski	Weicker		Hatch	Stevens		
Conrad	Mitchell			Hatfield	Symms		
Cranston	Moynihan			Hecht	Thurmond		
Daschle	Nunn			Heims	Trible		
DeConcini	Pell			Humphrey	Wallop		
Dixon	Pryor			Karnes	Warner		
Dodd	Reid			Kassebaum	Wilson		
Eaton	Riegle			Kasten			
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats— 52 or 83%
Republicans— 11 or 17%

Against (36)
Democrats— 1 or 3%
Republicans— 35 or 97%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Nontariff Barrier Agreements: Extends nontariff agreement negotiating authority for 5 years, until May 31, 1993; extends the "fast track" congressional approval procedure of implementing legislation for agreements entered into on or before May 31, 1991, until May 31, 1993, unless either House passes a disapproval resolution before May 31, 1991, because of insufficient progress in negotiations or an extension is not requested; requires the President and the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations to submit progress reports on negotiations 90 days before expiration of the original "fast track" extension as a precondition to further extension.

"Reverse Fast Track": Terminates the fast track approval procedure if the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means and Rules Committees report, and both Houses of Congress separately pass, disapproval resolutions under the fast track within a 60 legislative day period because the USTR fails or refuses to consult with Congress on trade negotiations and agreements.

Tariff Agreements: Reestablishes presidential authority to enter into multilateral tariff agreements until May 31, 1993, and to proclaim changes in U.S. rates of duty required or appropriate to carry out these agreements; makes any duty reduction exceeding 50 percent or any tariff increase subject to fast track congressional approval.

Bilateral Trade Agreements: Extends authority to enter into bilateral tariff and nontariff barrier agreements until May 31, 1993, if certain pre-negotiation conditions are met, subject to congressional approval under the fast track implementing procedure and subject to the same possible disapproval and reverse fast track procedures as for multilateral authority.

Special Trade Agreement Authorities: Implements the International Convention, effective upon enactment, and the Harmonized Tariff Schedules on January 1, 1989.

Authorizes the President to implement the U.S. duty reductions in the U.S.-EC citrus/pasta agreement and to modify or terminate any reductions at any time; requires the section 301 report to include an assessment of EC compliance.

Requires the President, before a major country accedes to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), to determine whether state trading enterprises account for a significant share of the country's trade and unduly burden and restrict or adversely affect U.S. trade or economy; makes GATT inapplicable between the U.S. and that country unless it enters into an agreement with the U.S. to conduct state trading enterprises on a commercial basis or a bill is enacted under the fast track procedures approving extension of the agreement to that country.

Provides compensation authority for section 301 actions and tariff reclassifications, as well as import relief actions, if necessary or appropriate to meet U.S. international obligations; makes general tariff authority limits applicable while in effect, and present law (30 percent duty reduction limit) applicable after May 31, 1993.

Requires the President, when negotiating a trade agreement and advised by the Secretary of the Treasury that a foreign country party to the negotiations manipulates its currency exchange rate, to initiate exchange rate negotiations with that country on an expedited basis.

Section 301 Reform: Transfers from the President to the USTR the authority to make determinations of whether foreign practices meet section 301 criteria; transfers to the USTR, subject to the direction, if any, of the President, the authorities in all cases to determine whether and what type of action is appropriate and to implement the action.

Requires the USTR, in cases involving foreign violations of trade agreements or other "unjustifiable" practices, to take retaliatory action in an amount equivalent in value to the foreign burden or restriction on U.S. commerce; specifies that the form of retaliation would be at his/her discretion, with preference given to tariff rather than quota restrictions; provides that no retaliation would be required: (1) if the GATT Contracting Parties determine, or a GATT panel reports, that the foreign practice does not violate or deny U.S. trade agreement benefits; (2) if the foreign government has agreed to eliminate or phase out the practice; (3) the foreign country has agreed to provide satisfactory compensatory trade benefits; (4) in extraordinary cases, where action would have an adverse impact on the U.S. economy substantially out of proportion to the benefits, taking into account the impact of not acting on the credibility of section 301; or (5) if taking action would seriously harm U.S. national security.

Provides that the USTR would retain discretionary authority to retaliate as under present law with respect to cases involving unreasonable or discriminatory practices which do not violate U.S. trade agreement rights; authorizes the USTR to enter into binding agreements that commit a foreign country to eliminate or phase out or pay compensation for the practice; requires any compensation agreement to provide trade benefits in the same or a closely-related economic sector, unless the benefits are not feasible or would be more satisfactory in another sector.

Defines the following new foreign country practices as "unreasonable" and provides that the USTR may act if the statutory criteria are met: (1) export targeting that is a burden or restriction on U.S. commerce; (2) a persistent pattern of conduct that denies certain specified worker rights; and (3) denial of market opportunities when a foreign government tolerates systematic anticompetitive activities by or among private firms in that country.

Requires the USTR in the annual foreign trade barriers (national trade estimates) report to estimate, where feasible, the value of additional U.S. exports or investment that would have occurred in the previous year if each of the identified barriers did not exist with the next report required on April 30, 1989, and subsequent reports due on March 31 annually; requires the USTR to initiate an investigation of Japanese barriers to U.S. architectural, engineering, construction, and consulting services in Japan.

Requires the USTR, within 30 days after submission to Congress of the foreign trade barriers report in 1989 and 1990, to: (1) identify priority practices, including major barriers and trade distorting practices whose elimination is likely to have the most significant potential to increase U.S. exports, taking into account: (a) the international competitive position and export potential of U.S. products and services, (b) circumstances in which the sale of a small quantity of a product or service may be more significant than its value, and (c) the measurable medium- and long-term implications of government procurement commitments to U.S. exporters; (2) identify priority foreign countries, taking into account the number and pervasiveness of the acts, policies, or practices included in the report and the level of U.S. exports of goods and services that could reasonably be expected if a country fully implemented its trade agreements, based on the international competitive position of the products and services; and (3) estimate the amount by which U.S. exports would have increased during the preceding calendar year if those barriers and practices did not exist.

Requires the USTR to submit a report to Congress identifying priority countries and practices and trade estimates; and within 21 days of submitting the report, to initiate section 301 investigations with respect to all the priority practices identified in the report for each of the priority countries; permits the initiation of investigations for other priority practices.

Requires the USTR, during consultations with a priority foreign country, to seek to negotiate an agreement which provides for: (1) the elimination of, or compensation for, the priority practices identified by the USTR, within three years of the date on which the investigation was initiated, and (2) the reduction of those practices over a three-year period, with the expectation that U.S. exports to that country will, as a result, increase incrementally during each of the three years; requires suspension of an investigation if an agreement is reached within the time limits prescribed generally; requires the USTR to continue the section 301 investigation which was suspended as a result of the agreement, applying the same time limits for investigation that were applicable prior to suspension, if he/she determines that a foreign country is not in compliance with an agreement entered into under this section; makes section 301 provisions relating to USTR determinations and action applicable; specifies that the USTR is not required to take action when any of the exceptions to action under section 301 apply.

Requires the USTR to submit a report to Congress annually, beginning in 1990, which includes the following information: (1) revised estimates of the amount by which U.S. exports to a country would have increased in the absence of its identified priority practices; (2) in the case of a country that has entered into an agreement, evidence that demonstrates (in the form of increased U.S. exports during the previous year) that substantial progress has been made toward the goal of eliminating the priority practices; (3) in the case of a country that has not entered into or not complied with an agreement, evidence that demonstrates (in the form of increased U.S. exports) the elimination of the priority practices; and (4) to the extent that evidence under (2) and (3) above cannot be provided, a description of the actions taken by the USTR under section 301 to eliminate the priority practices.

Vote No. 110

Import Relief Under the Escape Clause (Section 201 Reform): Reforms section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974 to encourage efforts by domestic industries to undertake actions to make the domestic industry compete successfully with imports, and (2) encourages a petitioner to submit, at any time prior to the ITC injury determination, a plan to promote positive adjustment to import competition.

Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA): Expands eligibility for TAA to otherwise qualified workers that supply essential goods or essential services to directly affected firms, effective 3 years after enactment if an import fee is imposed within two years; expands eligibility to workers in the oil and gas industry.

Intellectual Property Rights: Improves the effectiveness of intellectual property protection under section 337 of the Tariff Act of 1930; eliminates the injury requirement in intellectual property rights cases; retains the domestic industry requirement with an expanded definition; creates a mechanism (relating to piracy and market access) to improve international intellectual property rights protection through identification by the USTR of foreign priority countries and self-initiation of section 301 investigations; makes section 301 procedures generally applicable in these investigations.

Windfall Profits Repeal: Repeals the excise tax on windfall profits on crude oil.

National Security Import Relief: Amends section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to require the Secretary of Commerce to report to the President within 270 days of initiating an investigation; requires the President to decide within 90 days of receiving the Commerce Secretary's report, on whether to take action and, if so, to proclaim such action within 15 days; requires the President to report to Congress, within 30 days, on the action taken and the reasons for the action; authorizes the enforcement of the quantitative restrictions negotiated with respect to machine tool imports.

Telecommunications: Provides specific negotiating authority and remedies to address the lack of foreign market openness in telecommunications trade; requires a USTR investigation, within 5 months, of priority foreign countries; requires the President to negotiate and establish specific, country-by-country negotiating objectives necessary to meet certain general objectives applicable to negotiations with all countries; requires actions to be taken within a time certain (18 months to 3-1/2 years, depending upon a Presidential decision as to progress being made in negotiations); requires the USTR to conduct annual reviews to determine if a country has violated a telecommunications trade agreement or otherwise denied mutually advantageous market opportunities; treats cases of an affirmative determination as a trade agreement violation under section 301.

Export Controls Provisions: Eliminates licenses for exports to CoCom countries (NATO and Japan, except Iceland) of goods which can currently be exported to the People's Republic of China (PRC) without multilateral approval (PRC greenline level); requires, within 3 months, that the Administration certify CoCom countries with effective export control systems; eliminates licensing requirements for exports to certified countries and subjects certified countries to only limited mandatory U.S. sanctions for future export control violations; eliminates licenses for exports of goods to the Free World which can currently be exported to controlled countries without multilateral approval (AEN level); eliminates, with certain exceptions, unilateral reexport licenses for CoCom countries, and for U.S. parts and components incorporated into foreign made goods when U.S. content is 25 percent or less.

Decontrols low-level technology (below AEN) worldwide except for goods on which CoCom agrees to maintain notification requirements; clarifies the existing embedded microprocessor provision that goods are to be controlled on the basis of overall functional characteristics and not solely on component parts thereby easing restrictions on medical equipment; eliminates unilateral national security controls unless negotiations are underway to achieve multilateral control, or the item is unique to the U.S.; directs the National Academy of Sciences to conduct a follow-up study to examine the current export control system and make recommendations for regulatory and legislative reforms.

Provides timetables for resolution of disputes on license applications and inclusion of items on the control list; clarifies that the basis of DOD's review is limited to national security, not foreign policy considerations.

Establishes a maximum of 9 months for foreign availability determinations; provides for expedited licensing of goods available in Western countries (West-West foreign availability).

Toshiba and Kongsberg Retroactive Sanctions: Imposes mandatory 3-year sanctions against Toshiba Machine, Kongsberg Trade, and other guilty parties consisting of (1) a prohibition on USG contracting and procurement, and (2) a prohibition on importation; imposes mandatory 3-year sanctions against the parent corporations, consisting of a prohibition on USG contracting and procurement; provides limited exceptions for reasons of national security, spare parts, component parts, routine servicing and maintenance, information and technology, and contracts signed prior to June 30, 1987.

Prospective Sanctions for Future Violations: Imposes mandatory 2-5 year sanctions against any foreign person (including the parent, subsidiaries, successors, and affiliates) if the President determines that a CoCom violation has occurred that has had a serious adverse effect on the strategic balance of forces consisting of (1) a prohibition on USG contracting and procurement, and (2) a prohibition on importation; contains limited exceptions for spare parts, component parts, routine servicing and maintenance, information and technology, and contracts signed prior to June 30, 1987; bars the President from waiving the USG contracting and procurement ban on the parent company for at least 2 years; specifies that in the case of countries the President determines had an effective export control system in effect at the time of a violation, sanctions shall not be applied to any but the guilty party; directs the President to initiate discussions with the guilty party and its government for compensation by the company in an amount proportionate to the increased costs to the USG and allied governments for R&D and procurement of new defensive systems; permits the Attorney General to seek civil damages against the violator and its parent; provides that similar sanctions could be applied on a discretionary basis in cases which did not have a serious adverse impact on the strategic balance of forces.

Exchange Rates and International Economic Policy Coordination: Finds that the macroeconomic policies, including the exchange rate policies, of the leading industrialized countries require increased coordination; current values have a major role in determining production and trade patterns in the world economy; the rise of the dollar in the early 1980's contributed substantially to the current U.S. trade deficit; and a more stable exchange rate for the dollar at a level consistent with a more appropriate and sustainable balance in the U.S. current account should be the major focus of U.S. national economic policy.

International Negotiations on Exchange Rates and Economic Policies: Directs the President to seek to confer and negotiate with other countries to achieve better coordination of macroeconomic policies of the major industrialized countries, more appropriate and sustainable levels of trade and current account balances, and exchange rates of the dollar and other currencies consistent with these balances, and a program for improving coordinating mechanisms and the functioning of the exchange rate system.

Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to initiate negotiations in the IMF or bilaterally with countries that manipulate their exchange rates with respect to countries that have material global current account surpluses and significant bilateral trade surpluses with the U.S. to ensure that they regularly and promptly adjust the rate of exchange between their currencies and the U.S. dollar to permit effective balance of payments adjustments and to eliminate the unfair advantage.

International Debt Provisions: Directs the Secretary to study the feasibility of establishing a multilateral financial authority and to initiate discussions with industrialized and developing countries on the establishment of the authority unless he/she determines that it would carry a material risk of reducing the value of the debt, disrupting debt service, or causing defaults; requires submission of interim reports on the progress being made on the study or discussions six months and 12 months after enactment, as well as a final report upon the conclusion of the study or discussions; specifies that the authority would undertake to purchase the sovereign debt of less developed countries from private creditors at an appropriate discount and enter into negotiations with the debtor countries to restructure the debt in order to ease the debt service burden and provide opportunities for increased economic growth; specifies that any loan restructuring assistance provided by the authority should involve commitments by the debtor country to the preparation of an economic management plan calculated to provide sustained economic growth, and that support for the authority should come particularly from industrialized countries with large current account surpluses.

Directs the U.S. executive directors to the World Bank and IMF to request those institutions to prepare a review and analysis of the debt burden of developing countries, including consideration of various alternatives for dealing with the debt problem.

Primary Dealers in U.S. Government Securities: Prohibits, effective 1 year after enactment, the Board of Governors of the Fed and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York from designating or permitting the continued designation of a foreign entity to be a primary dealer in U.S. government securities unless the home nation of the entity accords U.S. firms national treatment in dealing in that country's government securities; exempts primary dealers which were purchased by foreign persons prior to July 31, 1987, or which notified the Federal Reserve Bank of New York before July 31, 1987, that a foreign person intended to purchase the primary dealer.

Agricultural Trade Provisions: Requires the President to certify to Congress, no later than 45 days after January 1, 1990, as to whether there has been significant progress toward achieving an agreement with respect to agricultural trade under the GATT; requires the President if he cannot so certify to instruct the Secretary to implement a marketing loan program for the 1990 crops of wheat, feed grains, and soybeans unless he determines that implementation would harm further negotiations; provides that if the President so determines, an expanded Export Enhancement Program (EEP) must be implemented unless implementation would be a substantial impediment to achieving an agreement under the GATT; authorizes the President to stop implementation of either program at any time if they have spurred the GATT negotiations and the President determines that they would harm further negotiations.

Extends the authorization for the EEP through 1990 and increases the ceiling on the value of commodities that can be used under the program from \$1.5 billion to \$2.5 billion; gives priority to sales to countries that have traditionally purchased U.S. agricultural commodities and products.

Increases, subject to appropriations, the level of funding for the targeted export assistance program in 1988 from \$110 million to \$215 million; gives the Secretary discretionary authority to provide compensation for expenses incurred by trade associations in defending countervailing duty actions instituted after January 1, 1986, in foreign countries.

Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) Amendments: Amends the FCPA to clarify its provisions and alleviate unnecessary paperwork and needless concerns about criminal liability.

Presidential Authority with Regard to Reviewing Certain Mergers, Acquisitions, and Takeovers ("Exon-Florio" Provision): Amends Title VII of the Defense Production Act of 1950 to give the President the authority, upon making certain findings, to take actions to suspend or prohibit any acquisition, merger, or takeover by a person engaged in interstate commerce in the U.S. by or with foreign persons so that such control will not threaten to impair U.S. national security.

Education Provisions: Contains a number of authorizations to fund education programs to improve American competitiveness; \$175 million for grants to upgrade instruction in math, science, foreign language, and computer instruction; \$37.5 million for grants to partnerships to establish telecommunications networks which provide and enhance math, science, and foreign language instruction; \$15 million for regional technology transfer centers, of which \$3 million is for the Technology Transfer Training Act to facilitate the transfer of training technology from Federal agencies to the private sector, State and local governments, and educational institutions.

Worker Adjustment and Advance Notice Provisions: Authorizes \$980 million annually for assistance to dislocated workers, of which 80 percent is allocated to States that develop a satisfactory worker adjustment plan.

Requires 60 days advance notice of: (1) a plant closing that results in an employment loss for at least 50 employees at the employment site, and (2) a layoff of more than 6 months that results in employment loss for 50 or more employees, if 33 percent of the workforce at an employment site are affected, or that results in an employment loss for 500 employees, whether or not 33 percent of the workforce is affected; exempts employers with fewer than 100 fulltime employees; specifies that in calculating the number of employees who have experienced an employment loss, only employees working at least 20 hours a week and who have worked for the employer for at least 6 months would be included.

National Institutes of Standards and Technology: Changes the National Bureau of Standards (NBS) to the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST); modernizes and expands its functions by requiring it to carry out current functions of NBS, including its functions as the Nation's national standards and measurement laboratory, and expanding its role as the government's lead laboratory in support of U.S. industrial quality and competitiveness while encouraging growth and modernization of the core metrology mission.

Authorizes \$5 million to start 2-3 Regional Centers for the Transfer of Manufacturing Technology during FY 1988 and \$40 million in FY 1989-90 for expansion of the program to provide outlets for demonstrating technology developed by NIST to small- and medium-sized firms.

Authorizes the NIST to provide technical assistance to State technology extension programs and authorizes \$2 million annually in FY 1989-91 for cooperative agreements for this purpose.

Establishes an Advanced Technology Program (ATP) under the NIST Director to serve as a focal point for cooperation between the public/private sectors in developing industrial technology and encouraging business to use the research, research techniques, and know-how developed by the program.

Creates the National Advisory Committee on Semiconductors (NACOS) responsible for devising a national semiconductor strategy to assure continued U.S. leadership in semiconductor technology.

Establishes a process to monitor international science and technology agreements to ensure that Americans are provided with reciprocal access to R&D opportunities and facilities abroad.

Government Procurement Provisions: Requires the President, using strict criteria, to identify annually countries that engage in discriminatory government procurement practices against U.S. firms; provides for monitoring discrimination in the procurement of both goods and services.

Patent Law Provisions: Gives process patent owners the right to exclude others from using or selling in the U.S. or importing products made by that process, and specifies that any unauthorized use would become an act of patent infringement under Title 35, U.S.C.

Small Business Export Assistance Grants: Provides an additional \$5 million in export assistance grants to be used by the Small Business Development Center (SBDC) Network to provide export related services to small businesses, including information on existing trade promotion and trade financing programs, both private and public, as well as on translation services, trade data, and other services useful to exporting.

Competitiveness Policy Council Provisions: Establishes a 12-member Competitiveness Policy Council as an independent body subject to the structures of the Federal Advisory Commission Act, to serve as a forum for the discussion and evaluation of U.S. competitiveness policy.

Shipping Practices: Gives the Federal Maritime Commission discretion to initiate investigations or upon petition to determine whether any laws, rules, regulations, policies, or practices of foreign governments, or other persons providing maritime or maritime-related services in a foreign country result in the existence of conditions that (1) adversely affect the operations of U.S. carriers in U.S. oceanborne trades, and (2) do not exist for foreign carriers of that country in the U.S. under U.S. laws or as a result of acts of U.S. carriers or other persons providing maritime or maritime-related services in the U.S.

Pesticide Monitoring and Enforcement Information: Requires the Secretary of HHS to establish computerized data management systems to track and evaluate the results of the FDA's program for monitoring domestic and imported food products for pesticide residues.

Federal Budget Deficit Provisions: Requires OMB and the two Congressional Budget Committees to assess annually the impact of the Federal budget on the U.S. trade balance and other important economic indicators and to project, for the fiscal year in which the budget is submitted, the amount of Government borrowing in private credit markets, net domestic savings, new private domestic investment, the merchandise trade and current accounts, U.S. foreign indebtedness, and the effect of Government borrowing on interest and exchange rates.

Competitive Impact Provisions: Requires the President or the head of the appropriate department or agency to include in every recommendation or report made to Congress on legislation which may affect U.S. competitiveness in domestic and foreign markets, a statement of the impact that the legislation will have on international trade and public interest of the U.S. and the ability of U.S. firms engaged in the manufacture, sale, distribution or provision of goods and services to compete in foreign or domestic markets; sunsets this requirement six years after enactment.

National Trade Data Bank: Establishes a National Trade Data Bank within the Department of Commerce consisting of both an export promotion data system (containing information designed to be useful to business) and an international economic data system (containing information useful to policymakers and analysts concerned with international economics).

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 111

April 27, 1988, 8:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4955

100th Congress
2nd Session

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1982

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Helms amendment which prohibits the use of funds authorized by this bill to provide hypodermic needles or syringes (thereby prohibiting their provision for intravenous blood testing, intravenous [IV] administration of antibiotics, vaccine testing, and administration of chemotherapy). (See also Vote Nos. 112 and 113.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that tax dollars should not be used to promote an activity that is illegal in every State. This amendment seeks to prevent the Federal government from dispensing clean needles to drug addicts as a method of AIDS prevention. Giving out sterile needles for suicidal drug usage is not an acceptable means of dealing with the spread of AIDS and, in effect, condones drug usage.

Opponents pointed out that the amendment is so far-reaching and broad that it would forbid hospitals and other health institutions from using hypodermic needles or syringes to combat disease. While the bill asks NIH to conduct clinical trials in developing vaccines and cures, the amendment would forbid money for these instruments of medicine. It is so poorly written that it would destroy many health provisions of the bill, prevent home health care agencies funded under this Act from using needles to care for AIDS patients, and prohibit IV feeding and IV antibiotics in hospices or skilled nursing home care.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (19)		NAYS (66)		NOT VOTING (15)		
Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (18 or 43%)	Democrats (42 or 98%)	Republicans (24 or 57%)	Democrats (11)	Republicans (4)	
Shelby	Armstrong Bond Danforth Garn Gramm Grassley Hecht Helms Humphrey McCain McClure Nickles Roth Rudman Simpson Symms Thurmond Wallop	Baucus Bingaman Breaux Bumpers Burdick Byrd Conrad Cranston DeConcini Dixon Dodd Exon Ford Fowler Glenn Gore Graham Heflin Hollings Inouye Johnston	Kennedy Kerry Lautenberg Leahy Levin Matsunaga Metzenbaum Mikulski Mitchell Moynihan Nunn Proxmire Pryor Reid Riegle Rockefeller Sanford Sarbanes Sasser Simon Wirth	Boschwitz Chafee Cochran Cohen D'Amato Dole Domenici Durenberger Evans Hatch Hatfield Heinz Kassebaum Kasten Lugar McConnell Murkowski Pressler Quayle Specter Trible Warner Weicker Wilson	Adams ² Bentsen ² Biden ³ Boren ² Bradley ² Chiles ² Daschle ² Harkin ² Melcher ² Pell ^{2AN} Stennis ²	Karnes ² Packwood ² Stafford ² Stevens ²

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (19)
Democrats—1 or 5%
Republicans—18 or 95%

Against (66)
Democrats—42 or 64%
Republicans—24 or 36%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 112

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 10:11 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5006

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1983

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Helms amendment which prohibits the use of funds authorized by this Act to provide hypodermic needles or syringes to drug addicts (thereby prohibiting intravenous home health care from being provided to AIDS patients who are drug addicts, including intravenous feeding or the administration of legal drugs intravenously). (See also Vote Nos. 111 and 113.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that this modified amendment and its legislative history should make it clear that the Federal money available under this Act should not be used for the distribution of clean needles to drug addicts who use illegal drugs. They noted that under the floor procedures agreed to, second degree amendments would not be in order so that the amendment could be clarified. The people of this country, they argued, would understand the intent of the amendment.

Opponents contended that this amendment is as flawed as the previous one and could cause an early death to thousands of Americans. Government AIDS treatment funds could not be used to provide needles to drug addicts rather than to the entire population of AIDS victims. Even though half of the drug addicts in the country are estimated to have the AIDS virus, their medical care, under this amendment, requiring intravenous feeding or drug administration would be prohibited because it would have to be administered by a needle. Since the amendment does not define "drug addict," it could be interpreted as including smokers, because some medical authorities claim that nicotine is an addictive substance, as is alcohol. It also could be interpreted as applying only to addictive users of illegal drugs, not "recreational" users. This poorly crafted amendment should be rejected for what it is—harrassment against a bill which has the support of every major medical, public health, and health care organization.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (37)		NAYS (59)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (9 or 17%)	Republicans (28 or 64%)	Democrats (43 or 83%)	Republicans (16 or 36%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Boren	Bond	Adams	Kerry	Biden— ³	Armstrong— ²
Byrd	Cohen	Baucus	Lautenberg	Stennis— ²	Karnes— ²
DeConcini	D'Amato	Bentsen	Leahy		
Exon	Danforth	Bingaman	Levin		
Ford	Dole	Bradley	Matsunaga		
Fowler	Domenici	Breaux	Melcher		
Hefflin	Garn	Bumpers	Metzenbaum		
Rockefeller	Gramm	Burdick	Mikulski		
Shelby	Grassley	Chiles	Mitchell		
	Hecht	Conrad	Moynihan		
	Helms	Cranston	Nunn		
	Humphrey	Daschle	Pell		
	Kassebaum	Dixon	Proxmire		
	Kasten	Dodd	Pryor		
	McCain	Glenn	Reid		
	McClure	Gore	Riegle		
	Murkowski	Graham	Sanford		
	Nickles	Harkin	Sarbanes		
	Pressler	Hollings	Sasser		
	Quayle	Inouye	Simon		
	Roth	Johnston	Wirth		
	Rudman	Kennedy			
	Simpson				
	Symms				
	Thurmond				
	Trible				
	Wallop				
	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—83%
Republicans—64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (37)
Democrats—9 or 24%
Republicans—28 or 76%

Against (59)
Democrats—43 or 73%
Republicans—16 or 27%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 113

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 10:34 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5006

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1985

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Kennedy-Hatch substitute amendment (for the Hatch-Dole amendment No. 1984) which prohibits the use of funds authorized by this Act to provide hypodermic needles or syringes to individuals for their use in administering illegal drugs, unless the Surgeon General determines that a demonstration needle exchange program would be effective in reducing drug abuse and the risk that the public will become infected with AIDS. (See also Vote Nos. 111 and 112.)

NOTE: The sponsor noted that this amendment would make a single exception to the prohibition of the previous amendment. It is far too early, they maintained, to make a final judgment on the clean needle exchange program.

Opponents criticized the needle exchange program, claiming that it would aid and encourage illegal drug usage.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (70)			NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)	Republicans (21 or 47%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (24 or 53%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	DeConcini	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Heflin	Bond	Stennis ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran	Shelby	Danforth		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen		Dole		
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato		Domenici		
Bradley	Levin	Durenberger		Garn		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Evans		Gramm		
Bumpers	Melcher	Hatch		Grassley		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatfield		Hecht		
Byrd	Mikulski	Heinz		Helms		
Chiles	Mitchell	Kassebaum		Humphrey		
Conrad	Moynihan	Lugar		Kasten		
Cranston	Nunn	McConnell		McCain		
Daschle	Pell	Murkowski		McClure		
Dixon	Proxmire	Packwood		Nickles		
Dodd	Pryor	Simpson		Pressler		
Fox	Reid	Specter		Quayle		
Ford	Riegle	Stafford		Roth		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Stevens		Rudman		
Glenn	Sanford	Weicker		Symms		
Gore	Sarbanes	Wilson		Thurmond		
Graham	Sasser			Trible		
Harkin	Simon			Wallop		
Hollings	Wirth			Warner		
Inoué						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats— 49 or 70%
Republicans— 21 or 30%

Against (27)
Democrats— 3 or 11%
Republicans— 24 or 89%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 114

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 1:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5022

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1988

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment (for the Armstrong amendment No. 1986 which would require States to certify that they have no law or policy which permits health care providers to deny nutrition and fluids to an AIDS patient unless explicitly requested by the patient) which requires the Congressional Biomedical Ethics Board to report to Congress, within 18 months of enactment, on the ethical issues connected with the administration of nutrition and hydration to dying patients including a review of relevant State laws and court decisions and a discussion of the appropriate roles of the patient, his/her family, and the care provider.

NOTE: Proponents noted that in two and one-half hours of debate on the underlying amendment, more questions have been raised than answered. The amendment involves issues that are too complex and difficult to resolve in a few hours of floor debate and, therefore, the Congressional Biomedical Ethics Board should be permitted to study and report on it. Some objected to approving a policy specifically for AIDS patients without confronting the issue for others who are terminally ill. They noted the problems regarding the interpretation of the amendment's wording and definitions of "nutrition" and "explicit refusal."

Opponents argued in favor of the underlying amendment, citing examples of patients left to die painful deaths by dehydration and starvation. They considered it a cruel form of euthanasia, noting that their amendment did not concern resuscitation or artificial life support systems. They expressed the fear that a large percentage of terminal patients with AIDS would be destitute and dependent on Medicaid, and that the exorbitant cost of care would encourage such inhumane treatment.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (60)			NAYS (36)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (11 or 25%)	Democrats (3 or 6%)		Republicans (33 or 75%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Boren	Armstrong	McCain	Biden ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	DeConcini	Boschwitz	McClure	Stennis ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen	Reid	Cochran	McConnell		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth		D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bradley	Leahy	Evans		Dole	Nickles		
Breaux	Levin	Heinz		Domenici	Pressler		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Kassebaum		Durenberger	Quayle		
Burdick	Melcher	Packwood		Garn	Rudman		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Roth		Gramm	Specter		
Ciiles	Mikulski	Simpson		Grassley	Stevens		
Conrad	Mitchell	Weicker		Hatch	Symms		
Cranston	Moynihan			Hatfield	Thurmond		
Daschle	Nunn			Hecht	Trible		
Dixon	Pell			Helms	Wallop		
Dodd	Proxmire			Humphrey	Warner		
Exon	Pryor			Kasten	Wilson		
Ford	Riegle			Lugar			
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inoué							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 75%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats— 49 or 82%
Republicans— 11 or 18%

Against (36)
Democrats— 3 or 8%
Republicans— 33 or 92%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 115

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 3:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5032

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1990

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Nickles amendment which requires routine, confidential testing for exposure to the AIDS virus of individuals convicted of felonious intravenous drug or sexual offenses; authorizes the Attorney General to implement the program in Federal prisons and to provide pre- and post-test counseling; and requires States to file an application, which must be approved before Federal funding is provided, implementing the program in State prisons.

NOTE: Proponents stated that this amendment is urgent since it deals with groups of people who have a high risk of being infected with AIDS.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden—3	Karnes—2
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain			Stennis—2	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McClure				
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Ison	Reid	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Sasser	Kasten					
Harkin	Shelby						
Helm	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 45 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 116

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 5:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5042

IMMIGRATION AMNESTY PROGRAM EXTENSION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4222

SUBJECT: Kennedy, et al., motion to close further debate on the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill which extends for six months the period (due to expire on May 4, 1988) during which certain illegal aliens in the U.S. may apply for legalization under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-603).

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on April 27, 1988, was signed by Senators Kennedy, Simon, Riegle, DeConcini, Bradley, Daschle, Leahy, Fowler, Mikulski, Metzenbaum, Melcher, Baucus, Adams, Sanford, Inouye, and Kerry.

H.R. 4222: Vote No. 116.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (40)			NAYS (56)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (36 or 68%)		Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (17 or 32%)		Republicans (39 or 91%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Kerry	Chafee	Baucus	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Hatfield	Bentsen	Bond	McClure		Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	McCain	Boren	Boschwitz	McConnell		Symms ⁻²
Bumpers	Levin	Wilson	Breaux	Cochran	Murkowski		
Burdick	Matsunaga		Byrd	Cohen	Nickles		
Conrad	Melcher		Chiles	D'Amato	Packwood		
Cranston	Metzenbaum		Exon	Danforth	Pressler		
Daschle	Mikulski		Ford	Dole	Quayle		
DeConcini	Moynihan		Heflin	Domenici	Roth		
Dixon	Pell		Hollings	Durenberger	Rudman		
Dodd	Proxmire		Johnston	Garn	Simpson		
Fowler	Riegle		Mitchell	Gramm	Specter		
Glenn	Sanford		Nunn	Grassley	Stafford		
Gore	Sarbanes		Pryor	Hatch	Stevens		
Graham	Sasser		Reid	Hecht	Thurmond		
Harkin	Shelby		Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible		
Inouye	Simon		Stennis	Helms	Wallop		
Kennedy	Wirth			Humphrey	Warner		
				Kassebaum	Weicker		
				Kasten			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 68%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (40)
Democrats— 36 or 90%
Republicans— 4 or 10%

Against (56)
Democrats— 17 or 30%
Republicans— 39 or 70%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 117

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 6:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5047

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1992

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Helms substitute amendment (for the Nickles amendment No. 1991) which prohibits the use of funds authorized by this Act to provide educational, informational, or risk reduction materials or activities to promote or encourage, directly, homosexual activity; requires that such materials and activities emphasize abstinence from illegal intravenous drug usage and from sexual activity outside a sexually monogamous marriage (including abstinence from homosexual sexual activities); and requires all Federally-funded AIDS public information and education materials to provide warnings that homosexual and bisexual activities, multiple sex partners, and intravenous drug use are high risk activities for becoming infected with the AIDS virus. (See also Vote No. 118.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that Federal dollars should not be spent to promote homosexuality. Literature paid for with Federal funds must stress abstinence, and such a provision should become a permanent part of the law (unlike the Helms 1987 amendment to the Labor-HHS-Education Appropriation bill). To illustrate their concerns, they cited comic books, cards, and videos which they considered offensive and explicit in nature.

Opponents of the amendment contended that Congress should not substitute its political judgment for the professional judgment of the Surgeon General and restrict the content of AIDS educational materials. They noted that the Helms amendment that was adopted last year by a vote of 94 to 2 had the unanticipated effect of cutting off education funds to organizations that work with high risk groups, thereby restricting the one weapon against AIDS that public health experts agree saves lives. Restraints on the availability of frank information about AIDS condemn thousands of men, women, and children to its devastation.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (22)		NAYS (73)				NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (15 or 29%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (37 or 71%)		Republicans (36 or 84%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Chafee	Baucus	Hefin	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden ³	Evans ²
Bradley	Hatfield	Bentsen	Hollings	Bond	Lugar	Stennis ²	Karnes ²
Cranston	Heinz	Bingaman	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain		Symms ²
Dodd	Packwood	Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McClure		
Gore	Specter	Breaux	Levin	Cohen	McConnell		
Inouye	Stafford	Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Kennedy	Weicker	Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Nickles		
Kerry		Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Leahy		Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle		
Moskowitz		Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth		
Pell		Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Rudman		
Proxmire		DeConcini	Pryor	Gramm	Simpson	SYMBOLS:	
Sanford		Dixon	Reid	Grassley	Stevens		
Simon		Exon	Riegle	Hatch	Thurmond		
Wirth		Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Tinley		
		Fowler	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop		
		Glenn	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner		
		Graham	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wilson		
		Harkin					

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 71%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (22)
Democrats— 15 or 68%
Republicans— 7 or 32%

Against (73)
Democrats— 37 or 51%
Republicans— 36 or 49%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 118

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 7:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5049

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1992

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Helms substitute amendment (for the Nickles amendment No. 1991) which prohibits the use of funds authorized by this Act to provide educational, informational, or risk reduction materials or activities to promote or encourage, directly, homosexual activity; requires that such materials and activities emphasize abstinence from illegal intravenous drug use and from sexual activity outside a sexually monogamous marriage (including abstinence from homosexual sexual activities); and requires all Federally-funded AIDS public information and education materials to provide warnings that homosexual and bisexual activities, multiple sex partners, and intravenous drug use are high risk activities for becoming infected with the AIDS virus. (See also Vote No. 117.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that Federal dollars should not be spent to promote homosexuality. Literature paid for with Federal funds must stress abstinence, and such a provision should become a permanent part of the law (unlike the Helms 1987 amendment to the Labor-HHS-Education Appropriation bill). To illustrate their concerns, they cited comic books, cards, and videos which they considered offensive and explicit in nature.

Opponents contended that Congress should not substitute its political judgment for the professional judgment of the Surgeon General and restrict the content of AIDS educational materials. They noted that the Helms amendment that was adopted last year by a vote of 94 to 2 had the unanticipated effect of cutting off education funds to organizations that work with high risk groups, thereby restricting the one weapon against AIDS that public health experts agree saves lives. Restraints on the availability of frank information about AIDS condemn thousands of men, women, and children to its devastation.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (71)				NAYS (18)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (35 or 73%)		Republicans (36 or 88%)		Democrats (13 or 27%)	Republicans (5 or 12%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (5)
Baucus	Hefflin	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams	Chafee	Biden-3	Evans-2
Bentsen	Hollings	Bond	Lugar	Cranston	Hatfield	Bradley-2	Heinz-2AN
Bingaman	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain	Dodd	Packwood	Chiles-2	Karnes-2
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McClure	Gore	Specter	Levin-2	Stafford-2
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	McConnell	Inouye	Weicker	Simon-2AN	Symms-2
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Murkowski	Kennedy		Stennis-2	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Nickles	Kerry			
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler	Leahy			
Conrad	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle	Moynihan			
Daschle	Nunn	Durenberger	Roth	Pell			
DeConcini	Pryor	Garn	Rudman	Proxmire			
Dixon	Reid	Gramm	Simpson	Sanford			
Exon	Riegle	Grassley	Stevens	Wirth			
Ford	Rockefeller	Hatch	Thurmond				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Hecht	Trible				
Gleit	Sasser	Helms	Wallop				
Graham	Shelby	Humphrey	Warner				
Harkin		Kassebaum	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—73%
Republicans—88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats—35 or 49%
Republicans—36 or 51%

Against (18)
Democrats—13 or 72%
Republicans—5 or 28%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 119

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 8:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5061

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

AMENDMENT NO.: 1996

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Helms motion to table the Kennedy amendment (and the Kennedy modified substitute amendment No. 1997 thereto) which requires education programs funded by this Act to stress the public health benefits of sexual abstinence and a single monogamous relationship and the avoidance of illegal intravenous drug use; and provides that, notwithstanding any other provisions in this Act, nothing shall restrict the ability of an education program to provide accurate information on reducing the risk of becoming infected with the etiologic agent for AIDS. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that its purpose was to ensure that the restrictions of the prior Helms amendment (Vote No. 118) were not interpreted in a manner that would prevent funding of educational material on the basis that its content or presentation might offend some people or appear to promote sexual activity. Informing those most at risk—gay and bisexual men—about how to prevent a sexually-transmitted disease requires explicit discussion of sexual activity. As a public health issue, the medical community stands ready to deal with this crisis to avert the spread of this fatal disease. It is unconscionable to let those most at risk die because they have not been informed frankly of the dangers of AIDS. The Helms amendment enacted last year virtually froze education and prevention for three months, blocking the only effective weapon against AIDS.

Opponents of the amendment objected that it would negate the previous amendment just adopted by an overwhelming majority, which prohibits the use of Federal funds to promote or encourage sodomy and states that abstinence from sexual activity outside a monogamous marriage should be emphasized. In contrast, this amendment states that education programs should stress the public health benefits of a monogamous relationship which could, unfortunately they felt, include homosexuals and those who cheat on their spouses. The AIDS issue should not be used to promote or legitimize the homosexual lifestyle in American society.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (29)		NAYS (61)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (25 or 61%)	Democrats (45 or 92%)	Republicans (16 or 39%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (5)
DeConcini	Armstrong	Adams	Johnston	Biden ³	Evans ²
Ford	Cohen	Baucus	Kennedy	Chiles ²	Karnes ²
Helms	D'Amato	Bentsen	Kerry	Rockefeller ²	Quayle ²
Shelby	Dole	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Simon ^{2AN}	Stafford ²
	Domenici	Boren	Leahy	Stennis ²	Symms ²
	Garn	Bradley	Levin		
	Gramm	Breaux	Matsunaga		
	Grassley	Bumpers	Melcher		
	Hecht	Burdick	Metzenbaum		
	Helms	Byrd	Mikulski		
	Humphrey	Conrad	Mitchell		
	Kasten	Cranston	Moynihan		
	McCain	Daschle	Nunn		
	McClure	Dixon	Pell		
	Murkowski	Dodd	Proxmire		
	Nickles	Exon	Pryor		
	Pressler	Fowler	Reid		
	Roth	Glenn	Riegle		
	Rudman	Gore	Sanford		
	Simpson	Graham	Sarbanes		
	Stevens	Harkin	Sasser		
	Thurmond	Hollings	Wirth		
	Trible	Inouye			
	Wallop				
	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (29)
Democrats—4 or 14%
Republicans—25 or 86%

Against (61)
Democrats—45 or 74%
Republicans—16 or 26%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 120

100th Congress
2nd Session

April 28, 1988, 8:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5071

AIDS INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

BILL NO.: S. 1220

TITLE: "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Research and Information Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which authorizes funds for a comprehensive program of education, information, risk reduction, training, prevention, treatment, care, and research concerning AIDS.

NOTE: S. 2889, enacted as Public Law 100-607, contains funding for AIDS programs.

S. 1220: Vote Nos. 111-115, 117-120.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (87)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (48 or 100%)		Republicans (39 or 91%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Lugar		Armstrong	Biden ³	Evans ²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain		Helms	Boren ²	Karnes ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McConnell		McClure	Chiles ²	Symms ^{2AN}
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	Murkowski		Wallop	Rockefeller ^{2AY}	
Bradley	Lautenberg	Cohen	Nickles			Simon ^{2AY}	
Breaux	Leahy	D'Amato	Packwood			Stennis ²	
Bumpers	Levin	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Matsunaga	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Melcher	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Mikulski	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Mitchell	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Moynihan	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Nunn	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Pell	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Proxmire	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Pryor	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Reid	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gian	Riegle	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Gore	Sanford	Kasten					
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 48 or 55%
Republicans— 39 or 45%

Against (4)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 4 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

AIDS as Public Health Emergency: Directs the Secretary of HHS to declare AIDS a public health emergency and increases the authorization for the Public Health Emergency Fund from \$30 million to \$60 million; requires the Secretary to submit annual reports to Congress on AIDS activities and expenditures by HHS; authorizes \$70 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 for a dedicated AIDS treatment rapid evaluation facility at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Clinical Center and to provide for the hiring of additional employees at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), NIH, and FDA to expand and expedite AIDS prevention and research; requires the Secretary to expedite the review and award of Federal research and prevention grants and contracts relating to AIDS within six months of solicitation; expedites "AIDS priority" requests for personnel and facilities; authorizes such sums as necessary in FY 1988-90 to provide technical assistance to State and local governments and public and nonprofit private entities carrying out AIDS activities; requires the CDC to implement an emergency information program on AIDS infection control procedures for health and public safety workers.

International Efforts: Authorizes \$50 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 for grants and technical assistance for international efforts to prevent and cure AIDS with 50 percent earmarked for the AIDS program of the World Health Organization and the Pan American Health Organization.

National Information Program: Requires the Director of the CDC to prepare annually a comprehensive plan and budget and authorizes \$115 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 for a National AIDS Information Program; directs CDC to establish a national clearinghouse for AIDS information; requires the Public Health Service to maintain a toll-free 24-hour hotline to provide AIDS information to the public and a dedicated hotline to provide medical and technical information on AIDS to health workers.

State Information and Prevention/Care and Treatment Programs: Authorizes \$150 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 for State AIDS prevention programs and requires States to report annually to HHS on their activities; authorizes \$100 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 to States to pay for home health care and requires States to establish a State AIDS Council to monitor, review, and evaluate services for AIDS patients; outlines State auditing and accountability responsibilities and establishes criminal penalties for false statements in connection with allotment payments under both programs.

Fellowships and Training: Authorizes \$20 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 for the CDC to establish special training programs on AIDS for health professionals; authorizes \$11 million in 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 for grants and contracts for faculty training at schools for health professionals; authorizes \$4 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-90 for grants to nonprofit national organizations representing health care workers for continuing medical education projects on AIDS.

National Research Program on AIDS: Establishes the National Research Program on AIDS within the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) to expand and accelerate efforts to find a vaccine and cure by coordinating basic and clinical research on AIDS; requires the Director of NIAID to establish projects to promote cooperation in AIDS research; requires the Secretary to appoint a seven-member AIDS Advisory Board, sunsetted on September 30, 1992, to evaluate and make recommendations on the program's implementation and maintain liaison with other Federal agency advisory bodies involved with AIDS; authorizes the Director to award funds to public or private nonprofit entities for national AIDS research centers for five-year periods with renewals of up to five years after peer review; establishes the position of an Associate Director for Prevention to coordinate and promote NIAID's programs to prevent infectious diseases; provides for a virus and serum bank available to qualified investigators and organizations; directs NIAID to make National Research Service Awards to train individuals in national research efforts on AIDS; earmarks \$25 million annually for a National Institute on Drug Abuse research and demonstration program to reduce the transmission of AIDS among intravenous drug users.

Nutrition for Dying Patients: Requires the Congressional Biomedical Ethics Board to report to Congress on the ethical issues connected with the administration of nutrition and hydration to dying patients, including a review of relevant State laws and court decisions and a discussion of the appropriate roles of the patient, his/her family, and the care provider.

Spousal Notification: Prohibits funds to any State or local government which has a law, regulation, or administrative regulation that forbids spousal notification in AIDS cases, or holds any health care provider criminally or civilly liable for spousal notification in AIDS cases.

Native Americans: Authorizes \$6.6 million to the Indian Health Service for AIDS education and prevention programs, health care provider training and awareness, and care and treatment programs for Native Americans stricken with AIDS who are on Indian reservations and urban Indian communities.

Illegal Drug Use: Prohibits the use of funds to provide hypodermic needles or syringes to individuals for their use in administering illegal drugs, unless the Surgeon General determines that a demonstration needle exchange program would be effective in reducing drug abuse and the risk that the public will become infected with AIDS.

AIDS Education Information: Prohibits the use of funds to provide educational, informational, or risk reduction materials or activities which promote or encourage, directly, homosexual activity; requires education programs funded by this Act to stress the public health benefits of sexual abstinence and a single monogamous relationship and the avoidance of illegal intravenous drug use; and provides that, notwithstanding any other provisions in this Act, nothing shall restrict the ability of an education program to provide accurate information on reducing the risk of becoming infected with the etiologic agent for AIDS.

D.C. Law 6-170: Repeals D.C. law 6-170 which prohibits insurers from testing insurance applicants for the AIDS virus and requires insurance companies to insure HIV-positive applicants at a standard rate for five years.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 121

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 9, 1988, 2:56 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5286

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (IN-STATE PURCHASE OF ALCOHOL)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2003

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Dixon amendment to retain current law requiring the in-State purchase of alcoholic beverages for resale on military installations. (See also Vote Nos. 368, 99th-1st, and 202, 99th-2nd.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that requiring the in-State purchase of alcoholic beverages prevents the military from duplicating the beverage distribution system that exists in the private sector—which for Texas alone would cost the Pentagon \$10 million. This requirement, which the Senate has supported on two previous occasions, does not prevent competition, because significant competition exists within States. In addition, it protects the constitutional right of a State to regulate the importation of alcoholic beverages within its borders, and assures that those institutions that depend on the State tax on alcoholic beverages for funding will not be hurt. Moreover, in the 18 States where the State itself is the alcoholic beverage wholesaler, the States would lose revenue if this requirement were eliminated because the Federal government cannot be taxed by a State.

Opponents countered that the military should be allowed to purchase alcoholic beverages for resale in the most efficient and economic manner possible, without regard to location. Forcing the military to buy in-State and pay higher prices only benefits special interests at the expense of welfare and recreation programs for military service members and their families, which are funded by the profits from alcoholic sales. In 1987 alone, these funds lost an estimated \$25 million because of the in-State provision. The provision could lead to the requirement that other items be purchased in-State.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (53)		NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (18)	
Democrats (28 or 64%)	Republicans (25 or 66%)	Democrats (16 or 36%)	Republicans (13 or 34%)	Democrats (10)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Bond	Byrd	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Baucus	Chafee	Exon	Boschwitz	Bradley ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Cohen	Fowler	Cochran	Chiles ⁻²	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	D'Amato	Glenn	Dole	Cranston ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Boren	Danforth	Gore	Gramm	Dodd ⁻²	Roth ⁻²
Breaux	Domenici	Harkin	Grassley	Ford ^{-2AY}	Symms ⁻²
Bumpers	Durenberger	Kennedy	Helms	Graham ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
Burdick	Hatch	Levin	Humphrey	Lautenberg ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Conrad	Hatfield	Metzenbaum	Lugar	Matsunaga ⁻²	
Daschle	Hecht	Mitchell	Nickles	Riegle ⁻²	
DeConcini	Heinz	Moynihan	Quayle		
Dixon	Kassebaum	Nunn	Rudman		
Heflin	Kasten	Rockefeller	Thurmond		
Hollings	McClure	Sasser			
Inouye	McConnell	Stennis			
Johnston	Murkowski	Wirth			
Kerry	Packwood				
Leahy	Pressler				
Melcher	Simpson				
Mikulski	Specter				
Pell	Stafford				
Proxmire	Stevens				
Pryor	Trible				
Reid	Wallop				
Sanford	Warner				
Sarbanes					
Shelby					
Simon					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—64%
Republicans—66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—28 or 53%
Republicans—25 or 47%

Against (29)
Democrats—16 or 55%
Republicans—13 or 45%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 122

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 10, 1988, 5:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5368

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (BASE REALIGNMENT AND CLOSURES)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2012

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Dixon, et al., modified perfecting amendment (to the Dixon modified amendment No. 2005, as amended by the Levin amendment No. 2008) which modifies the provisions creating the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure to add six additional members to be appointed by the Secretary of Defense after consultation with the Chairmen and ranking Members of the appropriate congressional committees and national associations of State and local officials; provides that senior Commission staff may not have been employed by DOD during calendar year 1988; prohibits any action with regard to base closures or realignment in accordance with the Commission's report if a resolution of disapproval has been enacted within 45 days of receipt of the report; establishes expedited procedures for congressional consideration of the disapproval resolution; and requires the Secretary to report to Congress and the Commission on the possible closure of foreign bases and authorizes the Commission to make suggestions and comments thereon. (Subsequently, amendment No. 2005, as amended, was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that Congress should not allow itself to be excluded from the process of deciding whether military bases should be closed. The Commission on Base Realignment and Closure created in the bill would remove all congressional authority regarding base closures. Allowing such decisions to be delegated to a commission, they argued, is indicative of Congress' increasing unwillingness to address difficult questions. Since the closing of a base affects the economic stability of a community, as well as national security interests, Congress should retain a voice in the process. No opposing arguments were presented.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (83)				NAYS (13)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (33 or 75%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (11 or 25%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Hollings	Bond	Murkowski	Leahy	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Baucus	Inouye	Cochran	Nickles	Proxmire	Boschwitz	Sanford ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Bentsen	Johnston	Cohen	Packwood		Chafee		
Bingaman	Kennedy	D'Amato	Pressler		Danforth		
Boren	Kerry	Dole	Quayle		Durenberger		
Bradley	Lautenberg	Domenici	Roth		Gramm		
Breaux	Levin	Evans	Rudman		Hatch		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Garn	Simpson		Humphrey		
Burdick	Melcher	Grassley	Specter		Lugar		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Hatfield	Stevens		Stafford		
Chiles	Mikulski	Hecht	Symms		Wallop		
Conrad	Mitchell	Heinz	Thurmond				
Cranston	Moynihan	Helms	Trible				
Daschle	Nunn	Kasten	Warner				
DeConcini	Pell	McCain	Weicker				
Dixon	Pryor	McClure	Wilson				
Dodd	Reid	McConnell					
Exon	Riegle						
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sarbanes						
Glenn	Sasser						
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heftin	Wirth						

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

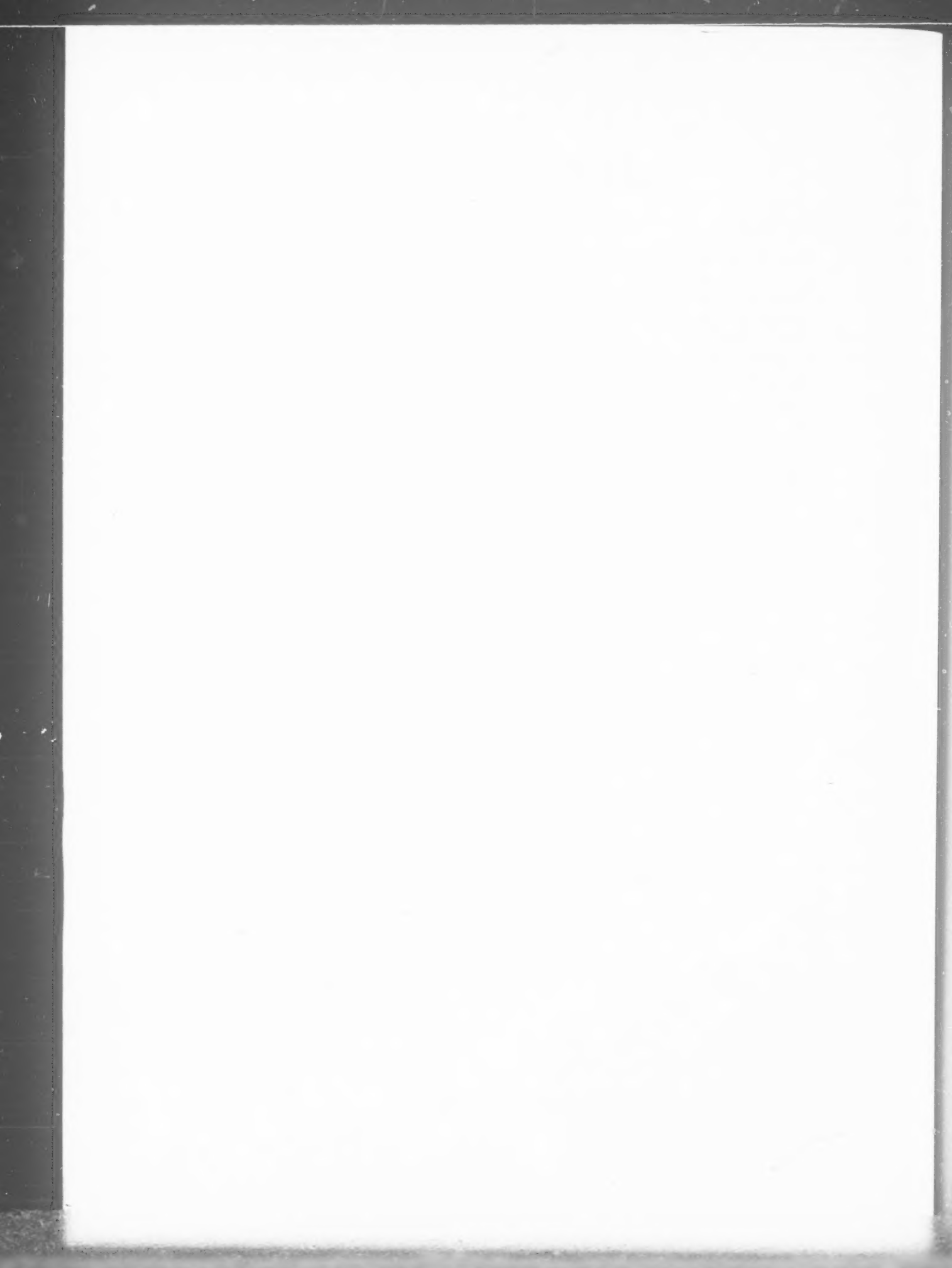
Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—75%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats—50 or 60%
Republicans—33 or 40%

Against (13)
Democrats—2 or 15%
Republicans—11 or 85%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 123

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 10, 1988, 7:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5393

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (IMPACT AID)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2014

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Nunn motion to table the Wilson, et al., amendment which requires the Secretary of any military department which constructs a family housing project after October 1, 1988, to provide Federal financial assistance (equal to \$1.50 multiplied by the total square footage of the housing project) to the affected public school districts which can show a substantial increase in its student enrollment for which it does not have adequate financial resources.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that children on military bases are receiving a substandard education because there are not enough school buildings to accommodate them, and local school districts do not have the resources to construct new buildings. While military bases draw a lot of families into a community, they reduce the local tax base (because they are on Federal property), which inhibits local school districts from meeting the requirements of an increased number of students. There are currently 120 school districts on military bases that have applied for Federal assistance; however, only three to four receive approval a year. Rather than force military dependents to receive a substandard education, funds should be made available from the DOD budget to meet these needs.

Opponents of the amendment countered that it is unfair to favor funding for school construction on newly expanding military bases when 105 school districts and 73 Indian school districts throughout the country are trying to obtain Federal assistance. Eighty-four districts have been waiting for more than ten years. This amendment represents a user fee on military housing. Impact aid is currently available to compensate local communities for the cost of providing these educational services. In fact, military base areas are major beneficiaries of Federal funds, which provide substantial stimulus to local economic and tax bases. The proposal, which is opposed by DOD, would only take money away from military housing and not help military personnel.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (59)			NAYS (33)			NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (44 or 90%)		Republicans (15 or 35%)	Democrats (5 or 10%)		Republicans (28 or 65%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Cranston	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Cochran	Daschle	Bond	McCain	Chiles ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen	Hollings	Chafee	McClure	Gore ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Gramm	I Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski	Sanford ⁻²	
Boren	Levin	Grassley	Pell	Danforth	Pressler	Stennis ⁻²	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Humphrey		Dole	Quayle		
Breaux	Melcher	Kasten		Domenici	Simpson		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	McConnell		Durenberger	Specter		
Burdick	Mikulski	Nickles		Garn	Stevens		
Byrd	Mitchell	Packwood		Hatch	Symms		
Conrad	Moynihan	Roth		Hatfield	Thurmond		
DeConcini	Nunn	Rudman		Hecht	Trible		
Dixon	Proxmire	Stafford		Heinz	Weicker		
Dodd	Pryor	Wallop		Helms	Wilson		
Eaton	Reid	Warner					
Ford	Riegle						
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—65%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats—44 or 75%
Republicans—15 or 25%

Against (33)
Democrats—5 or 15%
Republicans—28 or 85%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 124

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 11, 1988, 1:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5441

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (SDI)

BILL. NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2017

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Exon motion to table the Proxmire perfecting amendment (to the Johnston, et al., amendment—Vote No. 125) which reduces by \$700 million funding for the SDI program. (See also Vote Nos. 125, 126, 128, 136, and 137.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate's most important responsibility at this time is to cut spending to reduce the Federal deficit. SDI is overfunded, and its potential has been overestimated. It will not protect population centers, but military targets. The Soviet Union can defeat it easily and inexpensively with bombers and cruise missiles that fly close to the earth. SDI research requires such vast resources that it would weaken the Nation, rather than strengthen it. While some members agreed that funding for SDI research is appropriate, they were critical of the amount of waste that exists in defense spending, citing the immense cost and questionable value of such weapons as the MX and the B-1 bomber. They feared that the drive for SDI funding is based largely on the desire to build a constituency for the program that will sustain it after President Reagan leaves the White House. The amendment would reduce the increase in the SDI budget from 20 percent to six percent and still make \$3.8 billion available for SDI.

Opponents of the amendment acknowledged that the capabilities of SDI have been exaggerated but contended that SDI research has the potential to stimulate areas of technology, as did space research, that could lead to tremendous economic benefits, regardless of whether SDI is ever deployed. Most importantly, the SDI program has proven instrumental in convincing the Soviet Union to negotiate arms reductions. They feared that a \$700 million cut in SDI would make funding too close to the House amendment and would not leave enough room for negotiations in conference.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (66)			NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (28 or 55%)	Republicans (38 or 86%)		Democrats (23 or 45%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Armstrong	Lugar	Bradley	Chafee	Biden ⁻¹	Karnes ⁻²
Baucus	Bond	McCain	Bumpers	Durenberger	Dodd ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Bentsen	Boschwitz	McClure	Burdick	Grassley	Lautenberg ⁻²	
Bingaman	Cochran	McConnell	Conrad	Hatfield		
Boren	Cohen	Murkowski	Cranston	Stafford		
Breaux	D'Amato	Nickles	Daschle	Weicker		
Byrd	Danforth	Packwood	Harkin			
Chiles	Dole	Pressler	Kennedy			
DeConcini	Domenici	Quayle	Kerry			
Dixon	Evans	Roth	Leahy			
Exon	Garn	Rudman	Matsunaga			
Ford	Gramm	Simpson	Melcher			
Fowler	Hatch	Specter	Metzenbaum			
Glenn	Hecht	Stevens	Mikulski			
Gore	Heinz	Thurmond	Mitchell			
Graham	Helms	Trible	Moynihan			
Heflin	Humphrey	Wallop	Pell			
Hollings	Kassebaum	Warner	Proxmire			
Inouye	Kasten	Wilson	Pryor			
Johnston			Riegle			
Levin			Sanford			
Nunn			Sarbanes			
Reid			Simon			
Rockefeller						
Sasser						
Shelby						
Stennis						
Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 55%
Republicans— 86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats— 28 or 42%
Republicans— 38 or 58%

Against (29)
Democrats— 23 or 79%
Republicans— 6 or 21%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 125

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 11, 1988, 1:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5444

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (SDI/SPACE SHUTTLE)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2015

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Exon motion to table the Johnston, et al., amendment which earmarks \$700 million of SDI funding for reimbursement of NASA as the Defense Department's share of the cost of the space shuttle and station. (See also Vote Nos. 124, 126, 128, 136, and 137.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that an adequate source of funding must be found for the space station program. While the budget summit agreement calls for the space station to be funded by cutting other programs under the jurisdiction of the Appropriations Subcommittee on HUD-Independent Agencies (elderly housing, homeless programs, community development programs, waste treatment construction money, and assisted housing), there is some question as to whether the Senate can actually make these cuts. The amendment would make substantive funding available to NASA by requiring that funds presently available for the SDI program be used to reimburse NASA for DOD's share of the cost of the space shuttle program. This would allow NASA to divert more of its budget to the space station. Since the space shuttle is a legitimate defense expenditure, the amendment does not violate the summit budget agreement. Many defense activities are dependent on access to space, and Congress has taken action previously requiring the Pentagon to pay part of the cost of the space shuttle program.

Opponents of the amendment countered that transferring funds in the DOD budget from SDI to NASA would violate the spirit of the budget summit agreement by reducing the agreed level of spending for SDI. The amendment would destroy any incentive for future summit agreements to resolve decisions on budget allocations. If the Senate wants to provide additional funding for NASA, it can do so by cutting waste elsewhere in the budget. Others opposed the amendment in order to increase the likelihood of SDI funds being reallocated in conference for the small ICBM Program which, they felt, is underfunded.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (50)			NAYS (46)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (12 or 24%)	Republicans (38 or 84%)		Democrats (39 or 76%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Bingaman	Armstrong	McClure	Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Biden-3	Karnes-2
Boren	Bond	McConnell	Baucus	Kerry	Durenberger	Cranston-2	
Dixon	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Bentsen	Lautenberg	Evans	Pryor-2	
Exon	Cochran	Nickles	Bradley	Leahy	Garn		
Gore	Cohen	Packwood	Breaux	Levin	Grassley		
Hollings	D'Amato	Pressler	Bumpers	Matsunaga	Hatfield		
Johnston	Danforth	Quayle	Burdick	Melcher	Weicker		
Nunn	Dole	Roth	Byrd	Metzenbaum			
Reid	Domenici	Rudman	Chiles	Mikulski			
Shelby	Gramm	Simpson	Conrad	Mitchell			
Stennis	Hatch	Specter	Daschle	Moynihan			
Wirth	Hecht	Stafford	DeConcini	Pell			
	Heinz	Stevens	Dodd	Proxmire			
	Helms	Symms	Ford	Riegle			
	Humphrey	Thurmond	Fowler	Rockefeller			
	Kassebaum	Trible	Glenn	Sanford			
	Kasten	Wallop	Graham	Sarbanes			
	Lugar	Warner	Harkin	Sasser			
	McCain	Wilson	Heflin	Simon			
			Inouye				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—76%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats—12 or 24%
Republicans—38 or 76%

Against (46)
Democrats—39 or 85%
Republicans—7 or 15%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 126

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 11, 1988, 2:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5445

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (SDI/SPACE SHUTTLE)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2015

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Warner motion to table the Exon motion to reconsider Vote No. 125 by which the Senate tabled the Johnston, et al., amendment earmarking \$700 million for the space shuttle and station. (See also Vote Nos. 124, 125, 128, 136, and 137.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that an adequate source of funding must be found for the space station program. While the budget summit agreement calls for the space station to be funded by cutting other programs under the jurisdiction of the Appropriations Subcommittee on HUD-Independent Agencies (elderly housing, homeless programs, community development programs, waste treatment construction money, and assisted housing), there is some question as to whether the Senate can actually make these cuts. The amendment would make substantive funding available to NASA by requiring that funds presently available for the SDI program be used to reimburse NASA for DOD's share of the cost of the space shuttle program. This would allow NASA to divert more of its budget to the space station. Since the space shuttle is a legitimate defense expenditure, the amendment does not violate the summit budget agreement. Many defense activities are dependent on access to space, and Congress has taken action previously requiring the Pentagon to pay part of the cost of the space shuttle program.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) countered that transferring funds in the DOD budget from SDI to NASA would violate the spirit of the budget summit agreement by reducing the agreed level of spending for SDI. The amendment would destroy any incentive for future summit agreements to resolve decisions on budget allocations. If the Senate wants to provide additional funding for NASA, it can do so by cutting waste elsewhere in the budget. Others opposed the amendment in order to increase the likelihood of SDI funds being reallocated in conference for the small ICBM Program which, they felt, is underfunded.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECONSIDER REJECTED

YEAS (47)			NAYS (50)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (9 or 17%)	Republicans (38 or 86%)		Democrats (44 or 83%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Bingaman	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Biden ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Boren	Bond	McClure	Baucus	Kennedy	Durenberger		Rudman ⁻²
Dixon	Boschwitz	McConnell	Bentsen	Kerry	Evans		
Gore	Cochran	Murkowski	Bradley	Lautenberg	Garn		
Hollings	Cohen	Nickles	Breaux	Leahy	Hatfield		
Nunn	D'Amato	Packwood	Bumpers	Levin	Weicker		
Reid	Danforth	Pressler	Burdick	Matsunaga			
Shelby	Dole	Quayle	Byrd	Melcher			
Wirth	Domenici	Roth	Chiles	Metzenbaum			
	Gramm	Simpson	Conrad	Mikulski			
	Grassley	Specter	Cranston	Mitchell			
	Hatch	Stafford	Daschle	Moynihan			
	Hecht	Stevens	DeConcini	Pell			
	Heinz	Symms	Dodd	Proxmire			
	Helms	Thurmond	Exon	Pryor			
	Humphrey	Trible	Ford	Riegle			
	Kassebaum	Wallop	Fowler	Rockefeller			
	Kasten	Warner	Glenn	Sanford			
	Lugar	Wilson	Graham	Sarbanes			
			Harkin	Sasser			
			Heflin	Simon			
			Inouye	Stennis			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—83%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats—9 or 19%
Republicans—38 or 81%

Against (50)
Democrats—44 or 88%
Republicans—6 or 12%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 127

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 11, 1988, 3:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5445

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)
TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"
SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.
RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (72)		NAYS (23)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)	Republicans (21 or 49%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (22 or 51%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Proxmire	Armstrong	Biden ⁻¹	Humphrey ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston		Bond	Sanford ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy		Boschwitz		Kassebaum ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry		Danforth		
Boren	Lautenberg		Evans		
Bradley	Leahy		Garn		
Breaux	Levin		Hatch		
Bumpers	Matsunaga		Hecht		
Burdick	Melcher		Heinz		
Byrd	Metzenbaum		Helms		
Chiles	Mikulski		Kasten		
Conrad	Mitchell		Lugar		
Cranston	Moynihan		McCain		
Daschle	Nunn		McConnell		
DeConcini	Pell		Murkowski		
Dixon	Pryor		Nickles		
Dodd	Reid		Quayle		
Exon	Riegle		Specter		
Ford	Rockefeller		Stevens		
Fowler	Sarbanes		Symms		
Glenn	Sasser		Wallop		
Gore	Shelby		Weicker		
Graham	Simon				
Harkin	Stennis				
Herlin	Wirth				
Hollings					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—51%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats—51 or 71%
Republicans—21 or 29%

Against (23)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—22 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 128

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 11, 1988, 3:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5446

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (SDI/SPACE SHUTTLE)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2015

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Exon motion to reconsider Vote No. 125 by which the Senate tabled the Johnston, et al., amendment earmarking \$700 million for the space shuttle and station. (See also Vote Nos. 124-126, 136, and 137.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting yea) asserted that an adequate source of funding must be found for the space station program. While the budget summit agreement calls for the space station to be funded by cutting other programs under the jurisdiction of the Appropriations Subcommittee on HUD-Independent Agencies (elderly housing, homeless programs, community development programs, waste treatment construction money, and assisted housing), there is some question as to whether the Senate can actually make these cuts. The amendment would make substantive funding available to NASA by requiring that funds presently available for the SDI program be used to reimburse NASA for DOD's share of the cost of the space shuttle program. This would allow NASA to divert more of its budget to the space station. Since the space shuttle is a legitimate defense expenditure, the amendment does not violate the summit budget agreement. Many defense activities are dependent on access to space, and Congress has taken action previously requiring the Pentagon to pay part of the cost of the space shuttle program.

Opponents of the amendment (voting nay) countered that transferring funds in the DOD budget from SDI to NASA would violate the spirit of the budget summit agreement by reducing the agreed level of spending for SDI. The amendment would destroy any incentive for future summit agreements to resolve decisions on budget allocations. If the Senate wants to provide additional funding for NASA, it can do so by cutting waste elsewhere in the budget. Others opposed the amendment in order to increase the likelihood of SDI funds being reallocated in conference for the small ICBM Program which, they felt, is underfunded.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO RECONSIDER REJECTED

YEAS (48)			NAYS (50)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (42 or 79%)		Republicans (6 or 13%)	Democrats (11 or 21%)		Republicans (39 or 87%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Bingaman	Armstrong	McClure	Biden ⁻³	Karnes ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Durenberger	Boren	Bond	McConnell		
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Evans	Dixon	Boschwitz	Murkowski		
Bradley	Leahy	Garn	Exon	Cochran	Nickles		
Breaux	Levin	Hatfield	Fowler	Cohen	Packwood		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Weicker	Gore	D'Amato	Pressler		
Burdick	Meicher		Hollings	Danforth	Quayle		
Byrd	Metzenbaum		Nunn	Dole	Roth		
Chiles	Mikulski		Reid	Domenici	Rudman		
Conrad	Mitchell		Shelby	Gramm	Simpson		
Cranston	Moynihan		Wirth	Grassley	Specter		
Daschle	Pell			Hatch	Stafford		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Hecht	Stevens		
Dodd	Pryor			Heinz	Symms		
Ford	Riegle			Helms	Thurmond		
Glenn	Rockefeller			Humphrey	Trible		
Graham	Sanford			Kassebaum	Wallop		
Harkin	Sarbanes			Kasten	Warner		
Heflin	Sasser			Lugar	Wilson		
Inouye	Simon			McCain			
Johnston	Stennis						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—79%
Republicans—87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats—42 or 87.5%
Republicans—6 or 12.5%

Against (50)
Democrats—11 or 22%
Republicans—39 or 78%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 129

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 11, 1988, 6:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5467

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (INTERIM RESTRAINT)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2018

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Nunn motion to table the Bumpers, et al., amendment (taking with it the Leahy second degree amendment No. 2019) which prohibits the expenditure or obligation of funds from 60 days after enactment through September 30, 1989, to overhaul, maintain, operate, or deploy any MIRVed strategic nuclear weapons launcher or platform that would cause the U.S. to exceed the numbers of MIRVed ICBMs, MIRVed ballistic missiles, and MIRVed strategic systems that it had deployed on January 25, 1988; allows waiver of the prohibition if the U.S. and Soviet Union have entered into a new strategic arms agreement or agreed upon an alternative regime for interim restraint on strategic nuclear weapons, or the Soviet Union has deployed strategic launchers and platforms in excess of the number of launchers of MIRVed ICBMs or MIRVed ballistic missiles that it had deployed on January 25, 1988, or in excess of the number of launchers and platforms of MIRVed strategic systems that the U.S. had deployed on January 25, 1988; and permits a temporary waiver for 30-day periods if the U.S. intelligence community cannot determine whether the Soviet strategic forces have exceeded these permitted limits. (See also Vote No. 299, 100th-1st, on a similar amendment.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the U.S. should not allow the number of offensive weapons to increase beyond the levels that existed as of January 25—the date the Senate received the INF Treaty—because doing so runs counter to recent arms reduction efforts and does not enhance national security. The INF Treaty is an important political step in arms control, they argued, but it does not limit the growth of strategic arsenals and, therefore, is not beneficial to NATO. Without limits on their strategic nuclear forces, the Soviets would be free to compensate for their dismantled intermediate-range SS-20s by deploying more strategic missiles that could be aimed at European targets. Until a START agreement is concluded, the amendment would serve as an interim restraint on nuclear forces. While the Soviet Union is permitted 820 ICBMs under the amendment, compared to 550 permitted the U.S., the present situation is advantageous to the U.S. since a greater number of the Soviet weapons are in vulnerable silos, whereas the U.S. has more submarine missiles, which are

(OVER)

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)			NAYS (45)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (12 or 23%)	Republicans (39 or 89%)		Democrats (40 or 77%)	Republicans (5 or 11%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Bentsen	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Lautenberg	Chafee	Biden ⁻¹	Hecht ⁻²
Boren	Bond	McClure	Baucus	Leahy	Hatfield	Stennis ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Breaux	Boschwitz	McConnell	Bingaman	Levin	Heinz		
Chiles	Cochran	Murkowski	Bradley	Matsunaga	Specter		
DeConcini	Cohen	Nickles	Bumpers	Melcher	Stafford		
Dixon	D'Amato	Packwood	Burdick	Metzenbaum			
Eaton	Danforth	Pressler	Byrd	Mikulski			
Graham	Dole	Quayle	Conrad	Mitchell			
Heflin	Domenici	Roth	Cranston	Moynihan			
Hollings	Durenberger	Rudman	Daschle	Pell			
Nunn	Evans	Simpson	Dodd	Proxmire			
Shelby	Garn	Stevens	Ford	Pryor			
	Gramm	Symms	Fowler	Reid			
	Grassley	Thurmond	Glenn	Riegle			
	Hatch	Trible	Gore	Rockefeller			
	Helms	Wallop	Harkin	Sanford			
	Humphrey	Warner	Inouye	Sarbanes			
	Kassebaum	Weicker	Johnston	Sasser			
	Kasten	Wilson	Kennedy	Simon			
	Lugar		Kerry	Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—77%
Republicans—89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats—12 or 24%
Republicans—39 or 76%

Against (45)
Democrats—40 or 89%
Republicans—5 or 11%

invulnerable. In addition, the Soviets are at the limit already and, therefore, cannot change the mix of weapons. The U.S. would not be penalized by the amendment, because there are no plans to exceed the 550 land-based missile limit, and it will be unable to for more than two years. While some may fear that the Soviet Union would not observe the limits, it was pointed out that the Soviet Union has complied with the majority of important arms control agreements, according to State Department testimony. It is in this Nation's interest to observe a limit on the number of land-based systems that is analogous to the sublimits in the unratified SALT II agreement, because the Soviet Union, with its production facilities, is in a better position to exceed the sublimits. The amendment would make clear the Senate's opposition to President Reagan's desire to exceed the sublimits.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the proposed limits are more restrictive than the SALT II Treaty and more restrictive for the U.S. than for the Soviet Union. Traditionally, the Senate has held that the U.S. would not permit itself to be in an inferior position to the Soviet Union regarding strategic systems and passed the Jackson Amendment to that effect in 1972. While the U.S. is not about to increase its number of land-based missile systems, the amendment creates the perception that the U.S. would be increasing its vulnerability and suggests that the U.S. accepts the idea of unequal ceilings. Some agreed that the U.S. should stay within the sublimits on an informal basis, which could be accomplished in conference by such actions as retiring a submarine rather than overhauling it. Some asserted that the amendment is superfluous, since the Soviet Union is exceeding the SALT II limits already, they claimed, and therefore the limits in the amendment would not be binding on the U.S. They objected to writing arms treaties on the floor of the Senate and feared that the amendment would set a precedent for putting into effect failed treaties by legislation, which requires only a majority vote, rather than a two-thirds vote. Proposing the amendment while the INF Treaty is under consideration sends the message to the Soviets that the U.S. will tolerate treaty violations.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 130

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 12, 1988, 11:33 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5521

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS FREEZE)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2022

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Reid motion to table the Hatfield-Kennedy-Mitchell modified amendment which imposes, within 270 days of enactment, a mutual, conditional, two-year moratorium on spending to conduct underground nuclear explosions with a yield greater than five kilotons each (except for two designated test explosions which shall not exceed a 15 kiloton yield), in a weak-coupling geologic media, at a location not part of a "designated test area," and unless a public announcement of the test has been made at least 30 days prior to the explosion; provides that the testing moratorium shall cease if the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union has violated any of the first three conditions listed above or has refused to implement reciprocal, in-country monitoring arrangements, and Congress has passed a joint resolution, under expedited procedures, approving the certification; and also makes the moratorium inapplicable if supplanted by an agreement or treaty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union which reduces the number or yield of underground explosions further than permitted by any treaties signed before January 1, 1987. (See also Vote No. 267, 100th-1st.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that limiting underground nuclear testing would enhance international security by slowing the rate of development in destabilizing hard-target-kill and directed energy weapons, thereby easing both the political tensions and economic burdens arising from competitive pressures to deploy new strategic weapons. It is essential to control the technology since reducing the number of warheads often involves replacing them with fewer but more powerful warheads. By focusing on weapons technology, the amendment addresses an area that is not considered by the INF Treaty. The Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed its willingness to consider more comprehensive nuclear testing negotiations than those advocated by the Administration, and to accept extensive and rigorous procedures for verification of a low-threshold test ban. The amendment would allow testing that is adequate for assuring the reliability of each country's arsenal because it would permit each

(OVER)

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)			NAYS (39)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (20 or 38%)	Republicans (37 or 86%)		Democrats (33 or 62%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Bentsen	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Levin	Chafee	Biden—3	Hecht—2
Bingaman	Bond	McClure	Baucus	Matsunaga	Danforth		Heinz—2
Boren	Boschwitz	McConnell	Bumpers	Melcher	Hatfield		Karnes—2
Bradley	Cochran	Nickles	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Murkowski		
Breaux	Cohen	Packwood	Conrad	Mikulski	Stafford		
Byrd	D'Amato	Pressler	Cranston	Mitchell	Weicker		
Chiles	Dole	Quayle	Daschle	Moynihan			
Dixon	Domenici	Roth	DeConcini	Pell			
Eaton	Durenberger	Rudman	Dodd	Proxmire			
Ford	Evans	Simpson	Fowler	Riegle			
Glenn	Garn	Specter	Gore	Rockefeller			
Graham	Gramm	Stevens	Harkin	Sanford			
Heflin	Grassley	Symms	Inouye	Sarbanes			
Hollings	Hatch	Thurmond	Kennedy	Sasser			
Johnston	Helms	Tribble	Kerry	Simon			
Nunn	Humphrey	Wallop	Lautenberg	Wirth			
Pryor	Kassebaum	Warner	Leahy				
Reid	Kasten	Wilson					
Shelby	Lugar						
Stennis							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—62%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—20 or 35%
Republicans—37 or 65%

Against (39)
Democrats—33 or 85%
Republicans—6 or 15%

country to conduct two tests in a two-year period that exceed the limitations in the amendment, which is twice the historical level of testing for this purpose. The House recently passed similar test limitation legislation. Opponents of the amendment countered that as long as the U.S. depends on nuclear weapons for deterrence, it must maintain unquestionable competence in its arsenal, which would not be possible with the proposed yield thresholds. The limitation would erode confidence in the reliability of the Nation's nuclear stockpile, and prevent the U.S. from completing programs designed to make weapons safer and to modernize in response to Soviet activities not constrained by a testing moratorium. It could erode confidence in the wartime effectiveness of land and space-based command, control, communications, and intelligence functions. Moreover, according to testimony before the Armed Services Committee, monitoring compliance would be very difficult. The amendment would be a unilateral decision to limit testing, since there is nothing to compel the Soviet Union to follow suit. The only way to achieve real arms control objectives, they argued, is through negotiations on proposals to cut the number of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 131

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 12, 1988, 12:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5528

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (U.S. TROOPS IN HONDURAS/NICARAGUA)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2025

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: McCain motion to table the Kennedy, et al., amendment which prohibits the introduction of U.S. troops into Honduras or Nicaragua for the purpose of combat unless Congress has declared war or authorized the presence of U.S. forces by joint resolution, or the President has determined that U.S. forces are necessary to protect or provide for the immediate evacuation of American citizens or to respond to a clear and present danger of military attack on the U.S.; and provides that nothing in this section shall invalidate any authority of the U.S. to act under the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that U.S. troops should not be sent into combat in Central America without the approval of Congress. This amendment is necessary because the Administration has a record in Central America of dealing with terrorists, lawbreakers, and drug dealers, and misrepresenting its actions to Congress with events ranging from mining harbors in Nicaragua to the Iran-Contra Affair. It has been critical of the Sapoa ceasefire agreement between the Sandinistas and the Contras. The President's desire to resolve the situation in Nicaragua before leaving office could prompt the Administration to consider a military confrontation, they feared. While the U.S. does have legitimate security interests in Central America, there is a consensus among Americans that U.S. troops should not be sent into Central America unless the American people are consulted. The Constitution assigned the warring powers to Congress, and to claim that Congress could not provide the President with timely authorization in the presence of a legitimate national security threat, such as the presence of offensive Soviet missiles or MIGs, does a disservice to the institution, they argued. Under the amendment, the President would retain the authority to use force to protect American lives, evacuate U.S. citizens, or respond to a clear and present danger of military attack on the U.S.

(OVER)

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (18 or 34%)	Republicans (42 or 95%)		Democrats (35 or 66%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams	Levin	Hatfield	Biden—3	Hecht—2
Bradley	Bond	McCain	Baucus	Matsunaga	Weicker		Karnes—2
Breaux	Boschwitz	McClure	Bingaman	Melcher			
Bumpers	Chafee	McConnell	Boren	Metzenbaum			
Byrd	Cochran	Murkowski	Burdick	Mikulski			
Chiles	Cohen	Nickles	Conrad	Mitchell			
DeConcini	D'Amato	Packwood	Cranston	Moynihan			
Dixon	Danforth	Pressler	Daschle	Pell			
Ford	Dole	Quayle	Dodd	Proxmire			
Fowler	Domenici	Roth	Exon	Reid			
Glenn	Durenberger	Rudman	Gore	Riegle			
Graham	Evans	Simpson	Harkin	Rockefeller			
Heflin	Garn	Specter	Inouye	Sanford			
Hollings	Gramm	Stafford	Johnston	Sarbanes			
Nunn	Grassley	Stevens	Kennedy	Sasser			
Prior	Hatch	Symms	Kerry	Simon			
Shelby	Heinz	Thurmond	Lautenberg	Wirth			
Stennis	Helms	Trible	Leahy				
	Humphrey	Wallop					
	Kassebaum	Warner					
	Kasten	Wilson					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—66%
Republicans—95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats—18 or 30%
Republicans—42 or 70%

Against (37)
Democrats—35 or 95%
Republicans—2 or 5%

Opponents of the amendment countered that the President has primary responsibility to protect the Nation's security, and Congress must not restrict his ability to act. The Sandinistas pose a threat to the freedom and security of Central America, but the amendment would allow the President to respond to this threat only in very narrow circumstances. He would need Congressional approval to deal with such threats as the presence in Nicaragua of offensive Soviet missiles or MIG aircraft. The War Powers Act provides ample protection against a precipitous act on the part of a President. Some questioned the motive of the amendment, noting that it limits the President's constitutional authority in Central America without regard to other parts of the world, such as the Middle East.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 132

May 12, 1988, 2:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5537

100th Congress
2nd Session

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (BUY AMERICAN/COAL CONVERSIONS)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2027

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Gramm motion to table the Heinz, et al., amendment which strikes the section of the bill that would permit DOD to waive the Buy America provisions in current law for any item or article if the cost of procurement abroad is at least 10 percent less than purchasing from a U.S. source and DOD determines that the country that produces the item to be purchased does not impose limitations on the procurement of U.S.-produced goods for its armed forces; and strikes the section repealing current law that establishes goals for DOD to convert domestic oil-fired defense facilities to coal where cost-effective and purchase 300,000 short tons of anthracite coal in FY 1988. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote. See also Vote No. 138.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that for 43 years Congress has sought to insure that the U.S. has an effective mobilization base in clothing, food, and critical materials such as specialty steel. The national defense capability depends heavily on specialty steel for missiles, aircraft, and navigation equipment. In 1983, President Reagan granted import relief to the specialty steel industry because of foreign subsidies and dumping, and recently he asked to extend that protection. The provision in this bill undermines the President's action by potentially expanding the access of unfairly traded specialty steel to the U.S. market. It would allow U.S. competitors to evade Buy America provisions by undercutting domestic products. It, too, would jeopardize the 34,000 jobs in the U.S. specialty steel industry. Repeal of the Berry Buy America amendment would devastate the textile industry where imports now control more than 50 percent of consumption.

Opponents of the amendment focused their argument on the futility of buying 300,000 tons of coal the military does not want. This Buy America restriction should be repealed, they argued, so that hard-earned American tax dollars are not squandered needlessly. DOD should be allowed to procure overseas such products as spun silk, stainless steel, and canvas overwear if they are sold 10 percent

(OVER)

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (32)		NAYS (64)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (13 or 25%)	Republicans (19 or 43%)	Democrats (39 or 75%)	Republicans (25 or 57%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Armstrong	Baucus	Kerry	Chafee	Biden-3	Hecht-2
Bingaman	Bond	Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cohen	Breaux-2	Karnes-2
Bradley	Boschwitz	Boren	Matsunaga	D'Amato		
Chiles	Cochran	Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth		
Cranston	Evans	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole		
Dodd	Gramm	Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici		
Glenn	Hatfield	Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger		
Graham	Humphrey	Daschle	Moynihan	Garn		
Leahy	Kassebaum	DeConcini	Pell	Grassley		
Levin	McCain	Dixon	Pryor	Hatch		
Nunn	McClure	Exon	Reid	Heinz		
Proxmire	Murkowski	Ford	Riegle	Helms		
Wirth	Nickles	Fowler	Rockefeller	Kasten		
	Packwood	Gore	Sanford	Lugar		
	Quayle	Harkin	Sarbanes	McConnell		
	Roth	Heflin	Sasser	Pressler		
	Simpson	Hollings	Shelby	Rudman		
	Symms	Inouye	Simon	Specter		
	Wallop	Johnston	Stennis	Stafford		
		Kennedy		Stevens		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Warner		
				Weicker		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—75%
Republicans—57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (32)
Democrats—13 or 41%
Republicans—19 or 59%

Against (64)
Democrats—39 or 61%
Republicans—25 or 39%

cheaper by a nation that has less restrictive limitations on the purchase of U.S. products for its armed forces. Some opposed retaining the current Buy America law and favored any language ending the present arbitrary system where many of the items not covered are at least as vital to maintaining military readiness as those covered by the current law.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 133

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 12, 1988, 4:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5548

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (MX RAIL GARRISON)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2028

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Exon motion to table the Simon-Levin amendment which reduces funding for the MX rail garrison program by \$500 million and increases funding for Air Force war reserve spare parts by \$300 million, Army supply operations by \$100 million, Army procurement of Hellfire missiles by \$70 million, and Navy procurement of aircraft electronic countermeasures equipment by \$30 million.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that the rail mobile MX missile would not work militarily, would have been a huge economic drain, and this Administration helped kill it, but now it reappears, even though only one-half of one percent of its 1988 R&D funding had actually been spent by mid-year. The MX rail garrison system would need at least six hours warning to get out of garrison and disperse throughout a rail network. It is slow, vulnerable, and with 10 warheads, a highly lucrative target. Soviet missiles can reach any of these sites in 15 minutes from their submarines. This amendment would shift the funding emphasis from redundant strategic nuclear programs to conventional forces that are lacking relative to the threats the U.S. faces.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that \$700 million already had been cut from the Administration's request for rail garrison. While the amendment's increases for conventional forces may be worthy, a further cut to MX would reduce any chance of modernizing the strategic systems built around Minuteman IIs and IIIs at a time the USSR is going through accelerated modernization. The House funded rail garrison at only \$100 million and small ICBM at \$600 million. The Senate should stay with its reported amounts of \$700 million for MX and \$50 million for small ICBM which the Secretary of Defense says he can support.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (61)			NAYS (36)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (22 or 42%)	Republicans (39 or 89%)		Democrats (31 or 58%)	Republicans (5 or 11%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Bentsen	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Matsunaga	Chafee	Biden ⁻³	Hecht ⁻²
Boren	Bond	McConnell	Baucus	Melcher	Durenberger		Karnes ⁻²
Breaux	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Bingaman	Metzenbaum	Hatfield		
Burdick	Cochran	Nickles	Bradley	Mikulski	McClure		
Byrd	Cohen	Packwood	Bumpers	Mitchell	Weicker		
Conrad	D'Amato	Pressler	Chiles	Pell			
DeConcini	Danforth	Quayle	Cranston	Proxmire			
Dixon	Dole	Roth	Daschle	Pryor			
Dodd	Domenici	Rudman	Ford	Riegle			
Exon	Evans	Simpson	Fowler	Rockefeller			
Glenn	Garn	Specter	Harkin	Sanford			
Gore	Gramm	Stafford	Kennedy	Sarbanes			
Graham	Grassley	Stevens	Kerry	Sasser			
Heflin	Hatch	Symms	Lautenberg	Simon			
Hollings	Heinz	Thurmond	Leahy	Wirth			
Inouye	Helms	Trible	Levin				
Johnston	Humphrey	Wallop					
Moynihan	Kassebaum	Warner					
Nunn	Kasten	Wilson					
Reid	Lugar						
Shelby							
Stennis							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 59%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 22 or 36%
Republicans— 39 or 64%

Against (36)
Democrats— 31 or 86%
Republicans— 5 or 14%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 134

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 12, 1988, 7:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5570

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (PERSIAN GULF)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2034

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: McCain motion to table the Adams amendment which prohibits the use of funds to escort or convoy commercial vessels under the U.S. flag but formerly owned by Kuwait or Kuwaiti nationals, or to defend commercial vessels in the Persian Gulf registered under other nations' flags if Congress enacts a joint resolution of disapproval within 15 days of submission by the President of a plan outlining the presence of U.S. Armed Forces in the Persian Gulf; provides that, if a joint disapproval resolution is not enacted, the plan shall be deemed approved by Congress and funds for Persian Gulf activities may be appropriated only in accordance with the plan; and prohibits the obligation or expenditure of funds for U.S. Armed Forces in the Persian Gulf in any future year unless Congress specifically appropriates funds for that purpose. (See also Vote No. 168.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that there has been a period of hostilities and major naval engagement for over a year, and Congress has not been asked to authorize and appropriate funds. In essence, the Administration has hidden the costs of the Persian Gulf operation by paying for it from operations and maintenance accounts. This occurred for almost three years in Vietnam. This amendment calls for the President to work with Congress on a national policy acceptable to both branches. By selling the F-18 to Kuwait and other nations, the U.S. has increased the military might in the area thereby increasing the volatility when it should be promoting peace diplomatically from a position of objectivity.

Opponents of the amendment contended it would set a bad precedent for any future military actions, and that it is an attempt to have a war powers framework to address the Persian Gulf issue. They maintained it would tie the President's hands and help the Iranians by showing the U.S. as weak and lacking the will to meet its strategic commitments. They felt the U.S. should pursue both diplomatic efforts and convoying in order to protect free navigation and the availability of nearly 70 percent of the world's oil reserves for the future. Some specifically objected to the provision terminating funding for convoying and reflagging if the U.S. were not acting as part of a multinational force. Some contended that it was not the time to deal with this complex issue and that the Foreign Relations Committee was going to hold hearings on proposed changes to the War Powers Resolution.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (82)				NAYS (13)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (40 or 78%)		Republicans (42 or 95%)		Democrats (11 or 22%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Hollings	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams	Hatfield	Biden-3	Hecht-2
Bentsen	Inouye	Bond	McCain	Conrad	Weicker	Daschle-2	Karnes-2
Bingaman	Johnston	Boschwitz	McClure	Cranston		Stennis-2	
Boren	Kennedy	Chafee	McConnell	Harkin			
Bradley	Kerry	Cochran	Murkowski	Leahy			
Breaux	Lautenberg	Cohen	Nickles	Matsunaga			
Bumpers	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood	Metzenbaum			
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler	Proxmire			
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Quayle	Riegle			
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth	Sanford			
DeConcini	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman	Simon			
Dixon	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Dodd	Pell	Garn	Specter				
Exon	Pryor	Gramm	Stafford				
Ford	Reid	Grassley	Stevens				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Hatch	Symms				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Heinz	Thurmond				
Gore	Sasser	Helms	Trible				
Graham	Shelby	Humphrey	Wallop				
Heflin	Wirth	Kassebaum	Warner				
		Kasten	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—78%
Republicans—95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (82)
Democrats—40 or 49%
Republicans—42 or 51%

Against (13)
Democrats—11 or 85%
Republicans—2 or 15%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 135

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 13, 1988, 12:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5718

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (AIRCRAFT CARRIER LEVEL)

BILL. NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2049

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Cohen motion to table the Kennedy-Levin-Nunn amendment to require the Navy to maintain the current level of 14 deployable aircraft carriers by directing that two aircraft carriers be decommissioned 30 days after the USS *Abraham Lincoln* and the USS *George Washington* are commissioned.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it would ensure a balanced naval force structure of carriers, warships, planes, and munitions. It does no good to have 15 carriers but not enough planes, ammunition, or spare parts components. It would defer expansion from 14 to 15 carriers until 1997 and allow from \$1 billion to \$5 billion to be shifted to accounts in greater need—without reducing current force levels or abandoning any international commitments. It would not delay modernization of the carrier force but only retire two holdovers from World War II as two new carriers become available. The Navy would be asked to do no more than the Army and Air Force have already done—delay planned expansion in order to avoid creating a hollow force. While there has been no significant change in U.S. commitment since 1981, there has been substantial additional forces—two new aircraft carriers and four battleships—to meet those same commitments.

Opponents of the amendment contended that the aircraft carriers are U.S. mobile bases and project U.S. power on a global basis. They have been the main response to 75 percent of all the crises in recent years. While the U.S. commitments worldwide are likely to remain the same or expand in the future, there is less inclination to allow U.S. bases around the world. Because of the unplanned requirement of aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf region, the U.S. is failing to meet its commitment to NATO to station two carriers in the Mediterranean. Congress should not micromanage naval ship scheduling and deployment. The amendment also would have an adverse effect on the retention of pilots and sailors. Some claimed it would affect American basic war-fighting capabilities and lead to an eventual cut in our naval forces equal to two carrier task groups. This amendment would not maintain the status quo because the remaining carriers would have to absorb new operational responsibilities resulting from the planned refueling and recoring of nuclear carriers.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (56)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (16 or 32%)	Republicans (40 or 93%)		Democrats (34 or 68%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Armstrong	Lugar	Baucus	Levin	Kassebaum	Biden ³	Hatfield ²
Bentsen	Bond	McCain	Bingaman	Matsunaga	Roth	Bradley ²	Hecht ²
Boren	Boschwitz	McClure	Breaux	Melcher	Weicker	Simon ²	Karnes ²
Byrd	Chafee	McConnell	Bumpers	Metzenbaum		Stennis ²	
Chiles	Cochran	Murkowski	Burdick	Mikulski			
DeConcini	Cohen	Nickles	Conrad	Nunn			
Dodd	D'Amato	Packwood	Cranston	Pell			
Ford	Danforth	Pressler	Daschle	Proxmire			
Glenn	Dole	Quayle	Dixon	Pryor			
Graham	Domenici	Rudman	Exon	Reid			
Heflin	Durenberger	Simpson	Fowler	Riegle			
Hollings	Evans	Specter	Gore	Rockefeller			
Inouye	Garn	Stafford	Harkin	Sanford			
Lautenberg	Gramm	Stevens	Johnston	Sarbanes			
Mitchell	Grassley	Symms	Kennedy	Sasser			
Moynihan	Hatch	Thurmond	Kerry	Shelby			
	Heinz	Trible	Leahy	Wirth			
	Helms	Wallop					
	Humphrey	Warner					
	Kasten	Wilson					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—68%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats—16 or 29%
Republicans—40 or 71%

Against (37)
Democrats—34 or 92%
Republicans—3 or 8%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 136

May 13, 1988, 12:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5718

100th Congress
2nd Session

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (SDI/ALPS)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2051

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Exon motion to table the Wallop, et al., amendment which earmarks \$100 million of the amount authorized for SDI to deploy an accidental launch protection system. (See also Vote Nos. 124-126, 128, and 137.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the U.S. must begin protecting itself from the greatest military threat in its 200-year history—Soviet ballistic missiles. An accidental launch protection system (ALPS) would protect the American population. In addition, a commitment to its deployment would give strategic defenses a boost within the military, put SDI on even budgetary footing, give strategic nuclear force negotiations a real impetus, and help close the current advantage held by the Soviet Union in deployed ABM capabilities.

Opponents of the amendment claimed it was the wrong time for the Senate to get into this complex area by a spur-of-the-moment amendment. They felt it extremely unwise to micromanage such an important subject. It is indeed too soon to commit at this stage to a specific two-layer ALPS architecture. Information needs to be available regarding assessment of risk, costs, and other alternatives.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (56)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (47 or 94%)	Republicans (9 or 21%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (34 or 79%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Burdick	Armstrong	McClure	Biden— ³	Hatfield— ²
Raucus	Kerry	Cohen	Conrad	Bond	McConnell	Bradley— ²	Hecht— ²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Domenici	Hollings	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Simon— ²	Karnes— ²
Bringaman	Leahy	Durenberger		Cochran	Nickles	Stennis— ²	
Boren	Levin	Heinz		D'Amato	Pressler		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Kassebaum		Danforth	Quayle		
Bumpers	Melcher	Packwood		Dole	Roth		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Stafford		Evans	Rudman		
Chiles	Mikulski	Weicker		Garn	Simpson		
Cranston	Mitchell			Gramm	Specter		
Daschle	Moynihan			Grassley	Stevens		
DeConcini	Nunn			Hatch	Symms		
Dixon	Pell			Helms	Thurmond		
Dodd	Proxmire			Humphrey	Trible		
Exon	Pryor			Kasten	Wallop		
Ford	Reid			Lugar	Warner		
Fowler	Riegle			McCain	Wilson		
Glenn	Rockefeller						
Gore	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Hefflin	Shelby						
Isouve	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—79%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats—47 or 84%
Republicans—9 or 16%

Against (37)
Democrats—3 or 8%
Republicans—34 or 92%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 137

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 13, 1988, 1:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5728

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (SDI/CONVENTIONAL FORCES)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2056

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Exon motion to table the Levin-Johnston-Dixon amendment which reduces funding for the SDI program from the Committee-reported amount of \$4.6 billion to \$4.0 billion and increases funding for conventional defense programs by \$600 million (primarily for depot maintenance, Apache attack helicopters, and Army ammunition). (See also Vote Nos. 124-126, 128, and 136.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that the Committee recommended a 21.7 percent funding increase for SDI—a marked contrast to other R&D program funding. Between now and 1994, \$45 billion will be required to determine whether to proceed to full-scale engineering on SDI, and \$150 billion to deploy to Phase I. U.S. nuclear forces are so redundant, they argued, that an attack on the U.S. would be irrational and insane. Because of the possibility of a conventional attack escalating to a nuclear war, conventional forces must be strong—as such strength enhances both nuclear and conventional deterrence. The U.S. has conventional deficiencies, they maintained, which could tempt fate, and those deficiencies are worsened by wasteful or excessive spending. This \$600 million would go for Army ammunition which was funded by the Committee at the lowest level since 1981 in constant dollars. It, too, would allow the purchase of 12 additional Apache attack helicopters which carry the most effective antitank weapon in the U.S. arsenal.

Opponents objected to reducing SDI funding to a level close to last year's when adjusted for inflation. Such a cut could seriously jeopardize planned experiments that are essential for making a decision on full-scale development. While agreeing that these conventional force projects were worthy, they feared that such a reduction would result in too low funding for SDI since the House funding level is \$3.5 billion and they feared funding would end up below \$4 billion.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)			NAYS (43)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (13 or 25%)	Republicans (38 or 88%)		Democrats (38 or 75%)	Republicans (5 or 12%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Bentsen	Armstrong	McClure	Adams	Kerry	Chafee	Biden ⁻³	Hatfield ⁻²
Bingaman	Bond	McConnell	Baucus	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Kennedy ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Byrd	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Boren	Leahy	Evans	Simon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Exon	Cochran	Nickles	Bradley	Levin	Grassley		
Glenn	Cohen	Packwood	Breaux	Matsunaga	Weicker		
Gore	D'Amato	Pressler	Bumpers	Melcher			
Graham	Danforth	Quayle	Burdick	Metzenbaum			
Heflin	Dole	Roth	Chiles	Mikulski			
Hollings	Domenici	Rudman	Conrad	Mitchell			
Nunn	Garn	Simpson	Cranston	Moynihan			
Reid	Gramm	Specter	Daschle	Pell			
Shelby	Hatch	Stafford	DeConcini	Proxmire			
Stennis	Heinz	Stevens	Dixon	Pryor			
	Helms	Symms	Dodd	Riegle			
	Humphrey	Thurmond	Ford	Rockefeller			
	Kassebaum	Trible	Fowler	Sanford			
	Kasten	Wallop	Harkin	Sarbanes			
	Lugar	Warner	Inouye	Sasser			
	McCain	Wilson	Johnston	Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—75%
Republicans—88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats—13 or 25%
Republicans—38 or 75%

Against (43)
Democrats—38 or 88%
Republicans—5 or 12%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 138

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 13, 1988, 6:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5770

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (COAL CONVERSIONS)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2067

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Heinz motion to table the Gramm amendment which reinstates the provisions struck by Vote No. 132 eliminating current law which establishes goals for DOD to convert domestic oil-fired defense facilities to coal where cost-effective and purchase 300,000 short tons of anthracite coal in FY 1988 (and the Byrd-Heinz-Specter amendment No. 2068, as a substitute thereto, which would restrict the conversion of U.S. military facilities in Europe from coal to oil or gas.) (See also Vote No. 132.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that tax money was being wasted by forcing the Pentagon to buy coal it did not want or need. They asserted that the substitute amendment was only an attempt to cloud the issue of tax dollar waste for the benefit of special interest groups, citing a Wall Street Journal article about the unnecessary DOD purchase of coal that is being stacked 20 feet deep over a 45-acre site in Pennsylvania.

Opponents of the amendment questioned the veracity of the newspaper article cited and noted that this second version of the amendment defeated by a two to one margin (Vote No. 132) strikes the domestic purchase preference for energy, and specifically coal. The House, they pointed out, has barred the use of Soviet pipeline gas for military bases. So the substitute would place a temporary moratorium on the costly conversion at military bases in Europe that would make the U.S. military dependent on Soviet gas and Libyan oil. In contrast to the \$1 billion cost to convert these bases, it would cost only \$20 million to purchase U.S. anthracite and bituminous coal to fuel these bases. Now is not the time to become a major purchaser of Soviet natural gas, thereby providing them with hard western currency they need.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)		NAYS (37)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (37 or 74%)	Republicans (16 or 40%)	Democrats (13 or 26%)	Republicans (24 or 60%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Inouye	D'Amato	Bingaman	Biden ³	Hatch ²
Baucus	Johnston	Danforth	Bradley	Gore ²	Hatfield ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Domenici	Cranston	Kerry ^{2AY}	Hecht ²
Boren	Matsunaga	Garn	Dodd	Simon ²	Karnes ²
Breaux	Melcher	Grassley	Glenn		Kassebaum ²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Heinz	Graham		Rudman ²
Burdick	Mikulski	Helms	Lautenberg		
Byrd	Mitchell	Lugar	Leahy		
Chiles	Moynihan	McConnell	Levin		
Conrad	Pell	Specter	Nunn		
Daschle	Pryor	Stafford	Proxmire		
DeConcini	Riegle	Stevens	Reid		
Dixon	Rockefeller	Thurmond	Wirth		
Exon	Sanford	Trible			
Ford	Sarbanes	Weicker			
Fowler	Sasser	Wilson			
Harkin	Shelby				
Heflin	Stennis				
Hollings					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—74%
Republicans—60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—37 or 70%
Republicans—16 or 30%

Against (37)
Democrats—13 or 35%
Republicans—24 or 65%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 139

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 13, 1988, 6:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5771

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (MILITARY DRUG INTERDICTION)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2069

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Wilson-Nunn-Warner, et al., amendment which provides for drug enforcement assistance by the military in the form of aerial detection, law enforcement authority to make arrests in specified circumstances, and a \$60 million authorization for the National Guard for their drug interdiction efforts. (See also Vote No. 299, 99th-2nd.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that drug traffic into the U.S. poses a threat to national security, requiring a coordinated response using the surveillance and detection assets of the military for tracking maritime vessels and aircraft involved in smuggling illegal drugs. They emphasized that nothing in the compromise language permits any member of the armed forces to make arrests, searches or seizures within the borders of the United States. Nor are they permitted to take these actions outside the U.S. unless they are cross-designated to assist the Coast Guard and are assigned to duty on Navy vessels. Opponents insisted that the military already has its hands full without this additional responsibility. Only six interdictions resulted from 591 hours flown last year in the present interdiction program that cost \$1.4 billion. Others pointed out that the most effective way to deal with the drug problem is to eliminate the market—American youngsters who want to buy drugs. Not enough is done to educate American children about the evils of drugs or to improve traditional law enforcement and effectiveness. Just this year, substance abuse grants to States and drug abuse programs were cut below the 1987 level. Using the military will not prove a cheap way to fight drugs. In addition, it is questionable to mix civilian and military law enforcement under the Constitution.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (83)				NAYS (6)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (46 or 92%)		Republicans (37 or 95%)		Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	McCain	Bradley	Evans	Biden ⁻³	Hatch ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond	McClure	Cranston	Weicker	Gore ^{-2AY}	Hatfield ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Boschwitz	McConnell	Dodd		Kerry ^{-2AY}	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	Murkowski	Glenn		Simon ⁻²	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Boren	Matsunaga	Cochran	Nickles				Kassebaum ⁻²
Breaux	Melcher	Cohen	Packwood				Rudman ⁻²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Pressler				Simpson ^{-2AY}
Burdick	Mikulski	Danforth	Quayle				
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole	Roth				
Chiles	Moynihan	Domenici	Specter				
Conrad	Nunn	Durenberger	Stafford				
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Stevens				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Symms				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Thurmond				
Exon	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Helms	Wallop				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sanford	Kasten	Wilson				
Harkin	Sarbanes	Lugar					
Heflin	Sasser						
Hollings	Shelby						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats— 46 or 55%
Republicans— 37 or 45%

Against (6)
Democrats— 4 or 67%
Republicans— 2 or 33%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 140

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 16, 1988, 12:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5893

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (SHIPBUILDING CONTRACTS)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2082

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Stennis motion to table the Johnston-Breaux amendment which prohibits the Secretary of the Navy from limiting the competition for building the DDG-51 Aegis-class destroyer program to the two shipyard contractors to which competition is limited for the three ships currently being built unless the limitation will result in a lower total program cost or is necessary to meet the cost, schedule, or performance requirements of the Navy as determined by the Secretary; and precludes the Secretary from certifying a reason for limiting the competition until after receipt of all competitive bids.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that participation in the \$20 billion Aegis Destroyer Program should be determined by free and open competition and not be restricted to two shipyards. More shipyards would like to compete for the building of the remaining ships in the program. Opponents of the amendment maintained that the issue is whether naval shipbuilding contracts are to be decided by the Navy under law or through the political process on the Senate floor. The Louisiana shipyard lost twice in the open competition and now wants to change the rules. This is the same process followed for 40 years for building ship classes with two shipyards, a leader and follower shipyard, used for building the ships in a class.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (63)				NAYS (24)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (32 or 64%)		Republicans (31 or 84%)		Democrats (18 or 36%)	Republicans (6 or 16%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Levin	Armstrong	Kasten	Bentsen	Helms	Biden ¹	Domenici ²
Baucus	Matsunaga	Bond	Lugar	Bingaman	McClure	Boren ²	Durenberger ²
Byrd	Mikulski	Boschwitz	McCain	Bradley	Murkowski	Kerry ²	Garn ²
Chiles	Mitchell	Chafee	McConnell	Breaux	Nickles	Metzenbaum ²	Gramm ²
Cranston	Moynihan	Cochran	Packwood	Bumpers	Roth		Karnes ²
Daschle	Nunn	Cohen	Pressler	Burdick	Symms		Kassebaum ²
DeConcini	Pell	D'Amato	Quayle	Conrad			Stafford ²
Dodd	Proxmire	Danforth	Rudman	Dixon			Wallop ² AN
Exon	Pryor	Dole	Simpson	Fowler			Wilson ²
Ford	Reid	Evans	Specter	Gore			
Glenn	Rockefeller	Grassley	Stevens	Harkin			
Graham	Sanford	Hatch	Thurmond	Hollings			
Heflin	Sarbanes	Hatfield	Trible	Johnston			
Inouye	Shelby	Hecht	Warner	Lautenberg			
Kennedy	Simon	Heinz	Weicker	Melcher			
Leahy	Stennis	Humphrey		Riegle			
				Sasser			
				Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—64%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats—32 or 51%
Republicans—31 or 49%

Against (24)
Democrats—18 or 75%
Republicans—6 or 25%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 141

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 16, 1988, 2:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5918

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (AFGHANISTAN ACCORDS)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2086

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Dixon motion to table the Helms amendment which prohibits the expenditure of funds for the implementation of the U.S.-USSR Afghan agreement concerning the 1988 Treaty made by Afghanistan and Pakistan in connection with the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan unless and until the President has submitted the agreement to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that there were many reasons why the Senate should review the accords in the form of a treaty, such as preventing any further degradation of the constitutional duty of the Senate to give its advice and consent to any treaty. Also, the agreement was so ill-conceived, they argued, that the Senate should have the opportunity to improve it. Opponents of the amendment maintained that it was an unwise proposition, which if approved, would embarrass the President on the eve of the summit. It, too, could delay the Soviet pull-out of troops.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (63)		NAYS (30)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (48 or 94%)	Republicans (15 or 36%)	Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (27 or 64%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Boren	Armstrong	Biden ³	Durenberger ²
Baucus	Johnston	DeConcini	Bond	Metzenbaum ²	Stafford ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Shelby	Cochran	Rockefeller ²	Wallop ^{2AN}
Bingaman	Kerry		D'Amato		Wilson ²
Bradley	Lautenberg		Dole		
Breaux	Leahy		Garn		
Bumpers	Levin		Gramm		
Burdick	Matsunaga		Grassley		
Byrd	Melcher		Hatch		
Chiles	Mikulski		Hecht		
Conrad	Mitchell		Heinz		
Cranston	Moynihan		Helms		
Daschle	Nunn		Humphrey		
Dixon	Pell		Karnes		
Dodd	Proxmire		Kasten		
Exon	Pryor		McCain		
Ford	Reid		McClure		
Fowler	Riegle		McConnell		
Glenn	Sanford		Murkowski		
Gore	Sarbanes		Nickles		
Graham	Sasser		Pressler		
Harkin	Simon		Quayle		
Heflin	Stennis		Stevens		
Hollings	Wirth		Symms		
			Thurmond		
			Trible		
			Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats—48 or 76%
Republicans—15 or 24%

Against (30)
Democrats—3 or 10%
Republicans—27 or 90%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 142

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 16, 1988, 4:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5931

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (DEATH PENALTY—DRUG-RELATED KILLINGS)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2070

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Levin motion to table the D'Amato, et al., amendment which amends the Controlled Substance Act to permit the death penalty to be imposed on any person engaging in or working to further a continuing criminal enterprise who intentionally kills or participates substantially in the killing of any individual; and requires, upon conviction or entry of a guilty plea, a separate hearing to be conducted before a jury to consider whether any specified aggravating or mitigating factors exist and whether one type of factor outweighs the other; and requires that any aggravating factors must be proven "beyond a reasonable doubt" by the prosecution and any mitigating factors must be proven "by a preponderance of the evidence" by the defense. (Subsequently, the amendment was withdrawn and drafted as a separate bill, S. 2445, which passed the Senate on June 10, 1988—Vote No. 175. See also Vote Nos. 171, 172, and 174.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that it would send a clear message to death-dealing drug lords. The Senate recently voted to put the Armed Services into the war on drugs, and this amendment shows how serious the Senate is about addressing the drug problem. Because the penalty is so severe, it requires five stringent elements of proof for conviction. The amendment is carefully crafted to withstand constitutional scrutiny under recent Supreme Court rulings. It also provides for consideration of mitigating and aggravating factors. The amendment, they insisted, is long overdue, because the American people are sick and tired of the protections provided to those who kill, maim, and destroy neighborhoods, children, and police officers.

Opponents of the amendment noted that States that have capital punishment have, on average, higher murder rates than those without, thereby indicating that capital punishment does not act as a deterrent. They also cited a study showing that 343 persons have been wrongfully convicted of offenses punishable by death in this century, and 25 of those persons have been executed. A survey in Detroit, they pointed out, indicates that the overwhelming majority of drug-related murders are of drug traffickers, not police officers or innocent bystanders. If the likelihood of being killed by a fellow drug dealer is not sufficient to deter drug activity, it is unlikely that a new Federal capital punishment statute would act as a deterrent. Opponents also felt that the killing of drug dealers should not be put in the same category as the killing of police officers and innocent bystanders.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (27)		NAYS (68)				NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (20 or 38%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (32 or 62%)		Republicans (36 or 84%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Cranston	Chafee	Adams	Exon	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden—3	Stafford—2
Glenn	Cohen	Baucus	Ford	Bond	McCain	Rockefeller—2	Wallop—2AN
Gore	Danforth	Bentsen	Fowler	Boschwitz	McClure		Wilson—2AN
Harkin	Durenberger	Bingaman	Graham	Cochran	McConnell		
Inouye	Evans	Boren	Heflin	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Kennedy	Hatfield	Bradley	Hollings	Dole	Nickles		
Kerry	Weicker	Breaux	Johnston	Domenici	Packwood		
Lautenberg		Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Garn	Pressler		
Leahy		Burdick	Moynihan	Gramm	Quayle		
Levin		Byrd	Nunn	Grassley	Roth		
Matsunaga		Chiles	Pryor	Hatch	Rudman		
Melcher		Conrad	Reid	Hecht	Simpson		
Mikulski		Daschle	Riegle	Heinz	Specter		
Mitchell		DeConcini	Sasser	Helms	Stevens		
Pell		Dixon	Shelby	Humphrey	Symms		
Proxmire		Dodd	Stennis	Karnes	Thurmond		
Sanford				Kassebaum	Trible		
Sarbanes				Kasten	Warner		
Simon							
Wirth							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 62%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (27)
Democrats— 20 or 74%
Republicans— 7 or 26%

Against (68)
Democrats— 32 or 47%
Republicans— 36 or 53%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 143

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 17, 1988, 9:33 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5985

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (PANAMA)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2085

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Helms modified amendment which prohibits the obligation or expenditure of any funds for assistance to the Panamanian Defense Force unless the President certifies that no armed forces of the Soviet Union, Cuba, or Nicaragua are present in Panama and that General Manuel Noriega has been removed from office, barred from all offices and authority, and prohibited from designating his successor; provides that nothing in this amendment shall prohibit the President from expending funds for the defense of the Panama Canal or the maintenance of U.S. interests in Panama; and requires the President to report to Congress on the situation. (See also Vote No. 144.)

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (95)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten			Biden ⁻¹	Domenici ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar			Rockefeller ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Quayle				
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Garn	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Gramm	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wilson				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum					
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)
Democrats—52 or 55%
Republicans—43 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 144

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 17, 1988, 10:56 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5992

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION (PANAMA)

BILL NO.: S. 2355 (H.R. 4264)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2094

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Dole, et al., amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the U.S. government should not conduct negotiations or make arrangements with General Manuel Noriega which would involve the dropping of drug-related indictments against him; and that any such negotiations or arrangements would send the wrong signal about the priority which the U.S. attaches to the war on drugs and would not further the prospects of restoring a noncorrupt, democratic government to Panama or serve the overall national security interests of the U.S. (See also Vote No. 143. Subsequently, the bill was passed by voice vote on May 27, 1988, after the D'Amato amendment was withdrawn [Vote No. 142] and drafted as a separate bill.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the evidence appears convincing that General Noriega deals drugs, protects drug traffickers, and launders drug money. If the drug indictments against him are dismissed, the U.S. will be sending a regrettable message to the world that it has a higher priority than the war on drugs. While the indictments may be worthless since he may never be tried in the U.S., they are a strong symbol to many citizens concerned about drugs.

Opponents felt that the Senate should not undercut the Administration's negotiations to rid Panama of General Noriega.

S. 2355 (H.R. 4264): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251-252.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (86)				NAYS (10)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (37 or 84%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	McCain	Dodd	Armstrong	Biden— ³	Stafford— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	McClure	Hollings	Boschwitz	Rockefeller— ²	Wallop— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran	McConnell	Simon	Durenberger		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Murkowski		Evans		
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Nickles		Humphrey		
Bradley	Levin	Danforth	Packwood		Lugar		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Dole	Pressler		Quayle		
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Roth				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Garn	Rudman				
Byrd	Mikulski	Gramm	Simpson				
Chiles	Mitchell	Grassley	Specter				
Conrad	Moynihan	Hatch	Stevens				
Cranston	Nunn	Hatfield	Symms				
Daschle	Pell	Hecht	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Heinz	Trible				
Dixon	Pryor	Helms	Warner				
Exon	Reid	Karnes	Weicker				
Ford	Riegle	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Fowler	Sanford	Kasten					
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats—49 or 57%
Republicans—37 or 43%

Against (10)
Democrats—3 or 30%
Republicans—7 or 70%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 145

100th Congress
2nd SessionMay 18, 1988, 4:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6083

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Pell-Lugar motion to table the Helms point of order that the Treaty before the Senate is not in order because it is not signed by a person authorized to bind the Soviet State but is signed instead by the Leader of a political party and that, additionally, the Soviet Constitution and Soviet law preclude the binding of the Soviet State by the person whose signature appears at four points in the document.

NOTE: Proponents of the point of order (voting nay) asserted that international law requires that treaties be made between governments by persons specifically authorized by a state. Mr. Gorbachev holds no plenipotentiary state office, unlike Mr. Brezhnev who had the authorization and certification. Allowing the Party Chairman's signature to stand would permit the USSR to disavow the Treaty at any time with no penalty. This will be the first time in history that the U.S. recognizes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union instead of the Soviet government.

Opponents of the point of order (voting yea) noted that it is not the practice of the U.S. to demand full powers from a foreign representative where it is clear from the circumstances that he does represent his nation even if he does not occupy a formal governmental position. Governmental authorities in Moscow have made clear by their conduct that they accept the validity of Gorbachev's signature on their behalf, and the Treaty will be approved by the Supreme Soviet. It is not the Constitutional responsibility of the Senate to re-examine the executive's decisions on the credentials of foreign representatives. It certainly would not enhance the credibility of the U.S. to question General Secretary Gorbachev's signature on the Treaty.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (6)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (40 or 87%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (6 or 13%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kassebaum		Helms	Biden— ³	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Kasten		Humphrey	Chiles— ²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar		McClure	Moynihan— ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McCain		Pressler		
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell		Symms		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski		Thurmond		
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Trible				
Eaton	Riegle	Hatfield	Wallop				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wilson				
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats—51 or 56%
Republicans—40 or 44%

Against (6)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—6 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 146

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 20, 1988, 11:35 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6317

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11. "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

AMENDMENT NO.: 2108

SUBJECT: Lugar motion to table Division I of the Symms amendment which requires the President to notify the Soviet Union that the INF Treaty shall not enter into force until the President certifies to the U.S. Senate that the Soviet Union is no longer engaged in the following violations of the SALT I ABM Treaty: construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar; movement of a flat twin ABM radar from a test range and initiation of deployment at a location outside of an ABM deployment area; ABM-mode tests of Soviet SAM-5, SAM-10, and SAM-12 (surface-to-air missiles) and radars; mobility of the Soviet ABM-3 system in violation of the Treaty ban on mobile ABMs; development of mobile flat twin ABM radars; falsification of the deactivation of ABM test range launchers in violation of the ABM Treaty dismantling procedures; and rapid relocation of a flat twin ABM radar, creating a new ABM test range.

NOTE: Debate occurred on the amendment as a whole and not on its five divisions, as essentially the same arguments pertain to the whole list of alleged violations.

Proponents of the amendment insisted that there were three reasons for supporting it. First, the American people support requiring Soviet compliance with existing arms control treaties before the INF Treaty goes into effect. Second, President Reagan has clearly stated as a key Presidential policy that Soviet compliance with existing arms treaties is an "essential prerequisite" for any INF treaty. Third, the press has already reported on two new Soviet violations of the proposed INF Treaty involving covert SS-20s and covert long-range SSN-119 illegal, land-mobile SLCMs. By allowing the Treaty to go into force while the Soviets remain out of compliance, the U.S. sends a clear signal to the Kremlin that they can cheat on this Treaty too.

(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (85)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (35 or 80%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten	Hollings	Gramm	Biden ⁻³	D'Amato ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar	Shelby	Hecht	Leahy ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain		Helms		
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell		Humphrey		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski		McClure		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Packwood		Nickles		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Quayle		Pressler		
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Roth		Symms		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Rudman		Wallop		
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Simpson				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Specter				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Stevens				
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Thurmond				
Daschle	Pell	Hatch	Trible				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatfield	Warner				
Dixon	Pryor	Heinz	Weicker				
Dodd	Reid	Karnes	Wilson				
Evon	Riegle	Kassebaum					
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats—50 or 59%
Republicans—35 or 41%

Against (11)
Democrats—2 or 18%
Republicans—9 or 82%

Opponents of the amendment voiced their agreement with Secretary Shultz that the INF Treaty stands on its own and should not be linked to other arms control agreements. It is not in the best interests of the country to delay the Treaty, thereby deferring destruction of Soviet missile launchers when they have four times as many as the U.S. Nor should the U.S. deny itself on-site inspection and the strongest compliance measures of any treaty. Others objected to the amendment, feeling that it suggests that President Reagan never even thought about these violations. While agreeing with its goal, others disagreed with the means chosen by the amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 147

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 20, 1988, 11:55 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6318

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2108

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Lugar motion to table Division II of the Symms amendment which requires the President to notify the Soviet Union that the INF Treaty shall not enter into force until the President certifies to the U.S. Senate that the Soviet Union is no longer violating the 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty by venting nuclear radioactive debris beyond Soviet borders from underground nuclear weapons tests, of which there have been over 30 conclusively confirmed cases.

NOTE: Debate occurred on the amendment as a whole and not on its five divisions, as essentially the same arguments pertain to the whole list of alleged violations.

Proponents of the amendment insisted that there were three reasons for supporting it. First, the American people support requiring Soviet compliance with existing arms control treaties before the INF Treaty goes into effect. Second, President Reagan has clearly stated as a key Presidential policy that Soviet compliance with existing arms treaties is an "essential prerequisite" for any INF treaty. Third, the press has already reported on two new Soviet violations of the proposed INF Treaty involving covert SS-20s and covert long-range SSN-119 illegal, land-mobile SLCMs. By allowing the Treaty to go into force while the Soviets remain out of compliance, the U.S. sends a clear signal to the Kremlin that they can cheat on this Treaty too.

Opponents of the amendment voiced their agreement with Secretary Shultz that the INF Treaty stands on its own and should not be linked to other arms control agreements. It is not in the best interests of the country to delay the Treaty, thereby deferring destruction of Soviet missile launchers when they have four times as many as the U.S. Nor should the U.S. deny itself on-site inspection and the strongest compliance measures of any treaty. Others objected to the amendment, feeling that it suggests that President Reagan never even thought about these violations. While agreeing with its goal, others disagreed with the means chosen by the amendment.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (87)				NAYS (10)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (37 or 82%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (8 or 18%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten	Hollings	Gramm	Biden ⁻³	Stafford ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar	Shelby	Hecht	Leahy ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain		Helms		
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure		Humphrey		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell		Nickles		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski		Pressler		
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood		Symms		
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle		Wallop		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Specter				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Stevens				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Trible				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Warner				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Weicker				
Evan	Riegle	Karnes	Wilson				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kassebaum					
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats—50 or 57%
Republicans—37 or 43%

Against (10)
Democrats—2 or 20%
Republicans—8 or 80%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 148

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 20, 1988, 12:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6318

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2108

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Lugar motion to table Division III of the Symms amendment which requires the President to notify the Soviet Union that the INF Treaty shall not enter into force until the President certifies to the U.S. Senate that the Soviet Union is no longer violating the Biological and Chemical Weapons Bans by its involvement in the production, transfer, and use of chemical and toxic substances for hostile purposes in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan, in violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, and its maintenance of an offensive biological warfare program and capability, in violation of the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.

NOTE: Debate occurred on the amendment as a whole and not on its five divisions, as essentially the same arguments pertain to the whole list of alleged violations.

Proponents of the amendment insisted that there were three reasons for supporting it. First, the American people support requiring Soviet compliance with existing arms control treaties before the INF Treaty goes into effect. Second, President Reagan has clearly stated as a key Presidential policy that Soviet compliance with existing arms treaties is an "essential prerequisite" for any INF treaty. Third, the press has already reported on two new Soviet violations of the proposed INF Treaty involving covert SS-20s and covert long-range SSN-119 illegal, land-mobile SLCMs. By allowing the Treaty to go into force while the Soviets remain out of compliance, the U.S. sends a clear signal to the Kremlin that they can cheat on this Treaty too.

Opponents of the amendment voiced their agreement with Secretary Shultz that the INF Treaty stands on its own and should not be linked to other arms control agreements. It is not in the best interests of the country to delay the Treaty, thereby deferring destruction of Soviet missile launchers when they have four times as many as the U.S. Nor should the U.S. deny itself on-site inspection and the

(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (86)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (36 or 80%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Hollings	Garn	Biden— ³	Stafford— ²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain	Shelby	Gramm	Leahy— ²	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McClure		Hatch		
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell		Hecht		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski		Helms		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Packwood		Humphrey		
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler		Nickles		
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle		Symms		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth		Wallop		
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Specter				
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens				
Daschle	Pell	Hatfield	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Heinz	Trible				
Dixon	Pryor	Karnes	Warner				
Dodd	Reid	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Exon	Riegle	Kasten	Wilson				
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Healin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 50 or 58%
Republicans— 36 or 42%

Against (11)
Democrats— 2 or 18%
Republicans— 9 or 82%

strongest compliance measures of any treaty. Others objected to the amendment, feeling that it suggests that President Reagan never even thought about these violations. While agreeing with its goal, others disagreed with the means chosen by the amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 149

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 20, 1988, 12:17 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6319

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2108

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Lugar motion to table Division IV of the Symms amendment which requires the President to notify the Soviet Union that the INF Treaty shall not enter into force until the President certifies to the U.S. Senate that the Soviet Union is no longer engaged in the following violations of the SALT I Interim Agreement: deployment of the heavy SS-19 ICBM and the medium SS-17 ICBM as replacements for the light SS-11 ICBM, in violation of the prohibition against replacing light ICBMs and heavy ICBMs; deployment of modern ballistic missile submarines exceeding the limit of 740 SLBM launchers without compensatory dismantlement; deployment of SS-N-21 and SS-NX-24 long-range sea launch cruise missiles on converted Y class SLBM submarines; and use of former SS-7 ICBM facilities in support of the deployment and operation of the SS-25 mobile ICBMs.

NOTE: Debate occurred on the amendment as a whole and not on its five divisions, as essentially the same arguments pertain to the whole list of alleged violations.

Proponents of the amendment insisted that there were three reasons for supporting it. First, the American people support requiring Soviet compliance with existing arms control treaties before the INF Treaty goes into effect. Second, President Reagan has clearly stated as a key Presidential policy that Soviet compliance with existing arms treaties is an "essential prerequisite" for any INF treaty. Third, the press has already reported on two new Soviet violations of the proposed INF Treaty involving covert SS-20s and covert long-range SSN-119 illegal, land-mobile SLCMs. By allowing the Treaty to go into force while the Soviets remain out of compliance, the U.S. sends a clear signal to the Kremlin that they can cheat on this Treaty too.

(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (82)				NAYS (15)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (32 or 71%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (13 or 29%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Hollings	Garn	Biden ⁻³	Stafford ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Kasten	Shelby	Gramm	Leahy ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar		Hatch		
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell		Hecht		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Packwood		Helms		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Quayle		Humphrey		
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Roth		McCain		
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Rudman		McClure		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Simpson		Murkowski		
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Specter		Nickles		
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Stevens		Pressler		
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Thurmond		Symms		
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Trible		Wallop		
Daschle	Pell	Hatfield	Warner				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Heinz	Weicker				
Dixon	Pryor	Karnes	Wilson				
Dodd	Reid						
Exon	Riegle						
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (82)
Democrats—50 or 61%
Republicans—32 or 39%

Against (15)
Democrats—2 or 13%
Republicans—13 or 87%

Opponents of the amendment voiced their agreement with Secretary Shultz that the INF Treaty stands on its own and should not be linked to other arms control agreements. It is not in the best interests of the country to delay the Treaty, thereby deferring destruction of Soviet missile launchers when they have four times as many as the U.S. Nor should the U.S. deny itself on-site inspection and the strongest compliance measures of any treaty. Others objected to the amendment, feeling that it suggests that President Reagan never even thought about these violations. While agreeing with its goal, others disagreed with the means chosen by the amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 150

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 20, 1988, 12:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6319

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2108

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Lugar motion to table Division V of the Symms amendment which requires the President to notify the Soviet Union that the INF Treaty shall not enter into force until the President certifies to the U.S. Senate that the Soviet Union is no longer engaged in the following violations of SALT II: flight testing, deployment, and development of "rapid-refire" capability and multiple warhead capability of a mobile SS-25 in violation of the prohibition against a "second new type ICBM"; total encryption of SS-25 telemetry; exceeding the SALT II ceiling on Strategic Nuclear Delivery Vehicles; flight testing and deployment of the SS-N-23 sea launch ballistic missile; Arctic basing of the Backfire Bomber; production of Backfire Bombers in excess of annual limits; concealed deployment of banned SS-16 Mobile ICBM Launchers; failure to declare operationally deployed and concealed SS-16 Mobile ICBM Launchers in the SALT II Data Exchange; and false declaration of the range of the AS-3 Kangaroo long-range air launch cruise missile and concerning the range and refueling capability of the Backfire Bomber.

NOTE: Debate occurred on the amendment as a whole and not on its five divisions, as essentially the same arguments pertain to the whole list of alleged violations.

Proponents of the amendment insisted that there were three reasons for supporting it. First, the American people support requiring Soviet compliance with existing arms control treaties before the INF Treaty goes into effect. Second, President Reagan has clearly stated as a key Presidential policy that Soviet compliance with existing arms treaties is an "essential prerequisite" for any INF treaty. Third,

(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (89)				NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (39 or 87%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (6 or 13%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Hollings	Gramm	Biden-3	Stafford-2
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain	Shelby	Hecht	Leahy-2	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McClure		Helms		
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell		Humphrey		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski		Nickles		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Packwood		Symms		
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Specter				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Stevens				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Trible				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Wallop				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Warner				
Evan	Riegle	Karnes	Weicker				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Fowler	Sanford	Kasten					
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats—50 or 56%
Republicans—39 or 44%

Against (8)
Democrats—2 or 25%
Republicans—6 or 75%

the press has already reported on two new Soviet violations of the proposed INF Treaty involving covert SS-20s and covert long-range SSN-119 illegal, land-mobile SLCMs. By allowing the Treaty to go into force while the Soviets remain out of compliance, the U.S. sends a clear signal to the Kremlin that they can cheat on this Treaty too.

Opponents of the amendment voiced their agreement with Secretary Shultz that the INF Treaty stands on its own and should not be linked to other arms control agreements. It is not in the best interests of the country to delay the Treaty, thereby deferring destruction of Soviet missile launchers when they have four times as many as the U.S. Nor should the U.S. deny itself on-site inspection and the strongest compliance measures of any treaty. Others objected to the amendment, feeling that it suggests that President Reagan never even thought about these violations. While agreeing with its goal, others disagreed with the means chosen by the amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 151

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 20, 1988. 3:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6342

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

NO.:

100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

AMENDMENT NO.: 2110

SUBJECT:

Exon motion to table the Humphrey amendment which provides that the Treaty shall not enter into force until the President certifies, without delegation, that the stockpile of ammunition and fuel stored in Europe for NATO defense has been increased from its present level of less than seven days to at least a 15-day stockpile.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that a perilous state of unpreparedness exists with NATO conventional capabilities. This issue is especially important considering that if this Treaty is ratified, NATO will have no Pershing IIs for its defense while the Soviet Union will have illegal covert SS-25s. While agreeing that NATO ammunition supplies are a problem, opponents of the amendment felt it was the wrong vehicle through which to address the problem. Making it a condition to ratification would hold the Treaty hostage to this problem. It, too, would be extremely disruptive to the European alliance. Some interpreted it as an indication of no confidence in the President and his Administration who have been working for years on this Treaty.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT:

MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (73)		NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (19)	
Democrats (43 or 98%)	Republicans (30 or 81%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (7 or 19%)	Democrats (10)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Lautenberg	DeConcini	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Chafee ⁻²
Baucus	Levin		Gramm	Burdick ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Bentsen	Matsunaga		Helms	Chiles ⁻²	Durenberger ^{-2PY}
Bingaman	Melcher		Humphrey	Dixon ^{-2AY}	Garn ⁻²
Boren	Metzenbaum		McCain	Ford ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Bradley	Mikulski		McClure	Harkin ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Breaux	Mitchell		Pressler	Hollings ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Bumpers	Moynihan			Johnston ⁻²	Stevens ⁻²
Byrd	Nunn			Leahy ⁻²	Symms ^{-2PN}
Conrad	Pell			Simon ⁻²	
Cranston	Proxmire				
Daschle	Pryor				
Dodd	Reid				
Exon	Riegle				
Fowler	Rockefeller				
Glenn	Sanford				
Gore	Sarbanes				
Graham	Sasser				
Hefflin	Shelby				
Inoué	Stennis				
Kennedy	Wirth				
Kerry					

GENERAL PAIRS

Durenberger Symms

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—81%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats—43 or 59%
Republicans—30 or 41%

Against (8)
Democrats—1 or 12.5%
Republicans—7 or 87.5%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 152

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 23, 1988, 3:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6422

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2113

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Pell-Lugar motion to table the Helms amendment which provides that the instruments of ratification shall not be exchanged until the President certifies, without delegation, that the number of SS-20 missiles possessed by the Soviet Union (as reported in the initial data exchange of November 1, 1987) is a true accounting of the number of SS-20 missiles possessed by the Soviet Union on that date.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the question posed by the amendment was whether the Senate condones Soviet deception. The majority of the intelligence agencies indicated that the Soviets have 300 to 600 more SS-20s than the 650 they have declared for purposes of the Treaty. The Soviets can easily remove the warheads, they claimed, and rebolt them on the newer SS-25s which are not covered by the Treaty.

Opponents of the amendment referred to testimony by the Director of Intelligence that the Soviet data falls within the intelligence community estimates. Even assuming there are concealed missiles, they do not necessarily constitute a usable military force without testing, personnel training, or the supporting infrastructure. The SS-20s were meant to intimidate the U.S. and break up NATO. Given the effective verification of the INF Treaty, as the Joint Chiefs have explained, militarily significant Soviet violations can be detected in a timely fashion. Considering that the allies of the U.S. support the Treaty, failure to ratify would have grave consequences to NATO, while clandestinely hidden SS-29s would not. Others urged their colleagues to refrain from all alterations that would require renegotiation, since this probably would kill the Treaty.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (81)				NAYS (13)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (47 or 96%)	Republicans (34 or 76%)			Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (11 or 24%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Lugar	Hollings	D'Amato	Biden— ³	McCain— ²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McConnell	Shelby	Garn	Chiles— ²	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Murkowski		Grassley	Daschle— ²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Nickles		Hatch	Inouye— ²	
Boren	Levin	Cochran	Packwood		Hecht	Moynihan— ² AY	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Pressler		Helms		
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle		Humphrey		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth		McClure		
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman		Symms		
Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson		Thurmond		
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Specter		Wallop		
Cranston	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hafield	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Heinz	Trible				
Dodd	Reid	Karnes	Warner				
Eaton	Riegle	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kasten	Wilson				
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Helms	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats— 47 or 58%
Republicans— 34 or 42%

Against (13)
Democrats— 2 or 15%
Republicans— 11 or 85%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 153

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 23, 1988, 3:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6423

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2106

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Pell motion to table the Wallop modified amendment which amends Article VI of the Treaty to provide that neither party may produce any other missile stage which is either outwardly similar to, or interchangeable with, any other stage of an existing type of intermediate-range ground-based launch missile.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that it was in the nature of a technical amendment to the Treaty to correct an obvious drafting error. The double negative in the language could be interpreted to avoid the clear intention of both sides. Adding an understanding to the Resolution of Ratification would not be sufficient to bind the Soviet Union to the proper interpretation. Therefore, this amendment to the Treaty should be adopted.

Opponents of the amendment felt that the matter could be clarified by this colloquy so that renegotiation with the Soviets would not be necessary. They asserted that the negotiating history of the provision confirms the Administration's testimony that the Soviet Union shares the same understanding as the U.S. Changing the awkwardness of the provision, some stated, would create additional problems. It should be clear, however, that regardless of the result of this vote, the Senate is relying on the authoritative testimony of the Reagan Administration that the Soviets agree that Article VI does not permit them to deploy a second stage of the SS-25 (which is, in effect, the second stage of the SS-20).

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (68)		NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (44 or 90%)	Republicans (24 or 53%)	Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (21 or 47%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Bond	Byrd	Biden-3	McCain-2
Baucus	Kerry	Boschwitz	DeConcini	Chiles-2	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee	Heflin	Inouye-2	
Bingaman	Leahy	Cohen	Hollings	Moynihan-2	
Boren	Levin	Danforth	Shelby	Nunn-2	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Dole			
Breaux	Melcher	Domenici			
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Durenberger			
Burdick	Mikulski	Evans			
Conrad	Mitchell	Garn			
Cranston	Pell	Hatfield			
Daschle	Proxmire	Heinz			
Dixon	Pryor	Kassebaum			
Dodd	Reid	Lugar			
Exon	Riegle	McConnell			
Ford	Rockefeller	Packwood			
Fowler	Sanford	Roth			
Glenn	Sarbanes	Rudman			
Gore	Sasser	Specter			
Graham	Simon	Stafford			
Harkin	Stennis	Stevens			
Johnston	Wirth	Trible			
		Warner			
		Weicker			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats—44 or 65%
Republicans—24 or 35%

Against (26)
Democrats—5 or 19%
Republicans—21 or 81%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 154

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 23, 1988, 6:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6441

INF TREATY (START)

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

AMENDMENT NO.: 2114

SUBJECT: Pell motion to table the Humphrey amendment which provides that the Treaty shall not enter into force unless and until the parties have also exchanged instruments of ratification of a treaty between them which reduces their strategic nuclear arms (START Treaty).

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment termed the INF Treaty a "very dangerous gamble" because it takes away the two weapons, they maintained, which best deal with the Soviet superiority in conventional forces. In the event of an attack on Europe, the Treaty would force a leap from conventional war to strategic nuclear war, skipping intermediate range weapons altogether.

Opponents of the amendment contended it served no worthwhile purpose but delay, noting that the very persons who were critical last week of signing any agreement with the Soviet Union whatsoever, now want to mandate the signing of a START Treaty. The public wants the Treaty agreed to by the Senate in time for the President to take to the summit in Moscow. They disagreed that Europe would be without an adequate defense. They noted the political pressures that would be put on European leaders to eliminate these missiles if the Treaty were not implemented.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (81)				NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (14)	
Democrats (43 or 100%)		Republicans (38 or 88%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (5 or 12%)	Democrats (11)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Kennedy	Armstrong	Iugar	Hatch		Adams ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Bentsen	Kerry	Bond	McClure	Hecht		Biden ⁻³	McCain ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McConnell	Helms		Bradley ⁻²	Pressler ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Chafee	Murkowski	Humphrey		Breaux ⁻²	
Bumpers	Levin	Cochran	Nickles	Symms		Chiles ⁻²	
Burdick	Matsunaga	Cohen	Packwood			Cranston ⁻²	
Byrd	Melcher	D'Amato	Quayle			Inouye ⁻²	
Conrad	Mikulski	Danforth	Roth			Metzenbaum ⁻²	
Daschle	Mitchell	Dole	Rudman			Movnihan ⁻²	
DeConcini	Nunn	Domenici	Simpson			Pryor ⁻²	
Dion	Pell	Durenberger	Specter			Stennis ⁻²	
Dodd	Proxmire	Evans	Stafford				
Evan	Reid	Garn	Stevens				
Ford	Riegle	Gramm	Thurmond				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Grassley	Trible				
Glenn	Sanford	Hatfield	Wallop				
Gore	Sarbanes	Karnes	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby	Kasten	Wilson				
Heflin	Simon						
Heilings	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats—43 or 53%
Republicans—38 or 47%

Against (5)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 155

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 25, 1988, 4:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6573

INF TREATY (COMPLIANCE)

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

AMENDMENT NO.: 2295

SUBJECT: Helms amendment which amends the Treaty to allow either party to terminate the Treaty with 15 days notice if the other party has provided materially misleading and false data or there has been any material breach of the Treaty or its protocols; requires the President to submit to the Senate quarterly Soviet compliance reports; and permits the Senate, at any time after the receipt of the first report, to give notice to the Soviet Union that the Treaty is terminated if a majority of the Senate finds that there has been any material breach of this Treaty.

NOTE: Proponents contended that the Treaty does not provide a recourse to protect U.S. interests in the event of Soviet violations. The amendment outlines some of the specific violations that would warrant U.S. withdrawal.

Opponents noted that international law clearly permits the U.S. to terminate or suspend the Treaty's operation, in whole or in part, immediately in the event of a material breach of its provisions. In addition, the executive branch and the Senate have a shared responsibility for determining if a treaty is being enforced. This amendment would arrogate to the Senate full authority to make that decision regardless of the President's determination. Termination of a treaty would occur by a majority Senate vote, although a two-thirds vote is required for treaty approval. The Senate would be required to communicate directly with the Soviets—in violation of the Logan Act. Since the amendment is being offered to the text of the Treaty, its adoption would require renegotiation with the Soviet Union. Some objected to the inflexibility of the amendment, noting that it would mandate termination even for inadvertently mistaken data exchanged between the two governments.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (9)		NAYS (89)				NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (7 or 15%)	Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (39 or 85%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Hollings Shelby	Gramm Hecht Helms Humphrey McClure Pressler Symms	Adams Baucus Bentsen Bingaman Boren Bradley Breaux Bumpers Burdick Byrd Conrad Cranston Daschle DeConcini Dixon Dodd Exon Ford Fowler Glenn Gore Graham Harkin Heflin Inouye	Johnston Kennedy Kerry Lautenberg Leahy Levin Matsunaga Melcher Metzenbaum Mikulski Mitchell Moynihan Nunn Pell Proxmire Pryor Reid Riegle Rockefeller Sanford Sarbanes Sasser Simon Stennis Wirth	Armstrong Bond Boschwitz Chafee Cochran Cohen D'Amato Danforth Dole Domenici Durenberger Evans Garn Grassley Hatch Hatfield Heinz Karnes Kassebaum Kasten	Lugar McCain McConnell Murkowski Nickles Packwood Quayle Roth Rudman Simpson Specter Stafford Stevens Thurmond Trible Wallop Warner Weicker Wilson	Biden— ³ Chiles— ²	
EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:							
1—Official Business							
2—Necessarily Absent							
3—Illness							
4—Other							
SYMBOLS:							
AY—Announced Yea							
AN—Announced Nay							
PY—Paired Yea							
PN—Paired Nay							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (9)
Democrats—2 or 22%
Republicans—7 or 78%

Against (89)
Democrats—50 or 56%
Republicans—39 or 44%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 156

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 25, 1988, 9:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6610

INF TREATY (CONVENTIONAL GLCM'S)

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2104

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Hollings, et al., amendment which provides that the Senate's advice and consent to ratification of the Treaty is subject to the condition that the President shall obtain the agreement of the USSR to the following reservation: references in the Treaty to ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) shall be deemed to be references only to GLCMs which are equipped with nuclear warheads.

NOTE: Proponents contended the amendment would correct a serious mistake made by U.S. negotiators by helping eliminate the overwhelming superiority that the Soviets and the Warsaw Pact nations hold over the NATO alliance in conventional forces. As now written, the INF Treaty will result in the U.S. divesting itself of any chance of hitting any target on the Soviet mainland with conventional weapons. With the conventional response by a NATO alliance eliminated with the removal of intermediate range missiles in Europe, the U.S. has been decoupled from Europe and solely must make the decision to respond, upon attack, with nuclear force. As a reservation to the resolution of ratification, and not to the Treaty, the amendment would not require renegotiating. If the objective is to prevent nuclear war, then retention of conventional GLCMs is essential since they are accurate, mobile, inexpensive, and can destroy key targets which otherwise would require nuclear weapons. They disagreed that verification could not be overcome by the same routine being suggested for chemical weapons. Since this is a treaty dealing with nuclear weapons, this conventional weapon should not be included. The Soviets,
(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (28)		NAYS (69)				NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (10 or 20%)	Republicans (18 or 39%)	Democrats (41 or 80%)		Republicans (28 or 61%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Breaux	Garn	Adams	Lautenberg	Armstrong	Karnes	Biden-3	
Byrd	Gramm	Baucus	Leahy	Bond	Kassebaum	Chiles-2	
DeConcini	Grassley	Bentsen	Levin	Boschwitz	Lugar	Sanford-2	
Dixon	Hatch	Bingaman	Matsunaga	Chafee	McConnell		
Ford	Hecht	Boren	Melcher	Cochran	Packwood		
Heflin	Helms	Bradley	Metzenbaum	Cohen	Roth		
Hollings	Humphrey	Bumpers	Mikulski	D'Amato	Simpson		
Johnston	Kasten	Burdick	Mitchell	Danforth	Specter		
Sasser	McCain	Conrad	Moynihan	Dole	Stafford		
Shelby	McClure	Cranston	Nunn	Domenici	Stevens		
	Murkowski	Daschle	Pell	Durenberger	Thurmond		
	Nickles	Dodd	Proxmire	Evans	Trible		
	Pressler	Fxon	Pryor	Hatfield	Warner		
	Quayle	Fowler	Reid	Heinz	Weicker		
	Rudman	Glenn	Riegle				
	Symms	Gore	Rockefeller				
	Wallop	Graham	Sarbanes				
	Wilson	Harkin	Simon				
		Inouye	Stennis				
		Kennedy	Wirth				
		Kerry					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—80%
Republicans—61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (28)
Democrats—10 or 36%
Republicans—18 or 64%

Against (69)
Democrats—41 or 59%
Republicans—28 or 41%

they emphasized, need this treaty and would agree to this change. Some contended that a ban on conventional GLCMs would set a terrible precedent for START, where the Soviets would strongly desire to ban U.S. conventional air- and sea-launched cruise missiles.

Opponents maintained that this was a killer amendment and contended that nowhere does the negotiating record indicate that the Soviets would accept this provision. The proposal, they argued, while providing a potentially promising option for NATO defense also would provide the USSR with a readily exploitable option for increasing its conventional and chemical threat to NATO countries. They also cited the magnitude of the verification problem that would be created if the Soviets were to deploy conventional GLCMs of INF range. It is a little late to try to change a position taken on an issue supported by the President, Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of Defense. This amendment would necessitate a Category III understanding that would make ratification of the Treaty contingent on Soviet acceptance of the reservation. Even if such acceptance were attained, European acceptance of GLCMs would still be questionable.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 157

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 26, 1988, 12:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6723

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2302

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Nunn-Warner-Boren, et al., amendment (as amended by the Helms perfecting amendment No. 2303) which clarifies that both the exchange of notes in Geneva and the agreed minute signed May 12 between the U.S. and the USSR (regarding the application of the Treaty to intermediate or shorter range missiles flight-tested or deployed to carry out or be used as weapons based on either current or future technology, the definition of a weapons delivery vehicle, and the parameters of on-site inspections) and the agreements signed on May 21, 1988, in Vienna and Moscow (correcting the site diagrams and certain technical errors in the Treaty) shall have the same force and effect as the conditions of the Treaty.

NOTE: Proponents noted that during the course of Senate hearings on the Treaty, certain inconsistencies were discovered in the negotiating record resulting in an exchange of letters between the U.S. and the USSR. These letters, and the agreements which resulted, should be an integral element of the treaty, given the same weight and stature as the memorandum of understanding on data and the protocols on inspections and elimination. A Category III understanding to the resolution of ratification—requiring the President to obtain a binding and formal assurance from the Soviet Union—would accomplish this without significantly delaying the Treaty from entering into force.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten			Biden ⁻³	Kassebaum ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar			Matsunaga ⁻²	Specter ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles			SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 158

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 26, 1988, 5:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6783

INF TREATY (TREATY INTERPRETATION)

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

AMENDMENT NO.: 2305

SUBJECT: Byrd perfecting amendment (to the Committee condition) which provides that the Senate's advice and consent to ratification of the INF Treaty is subject to the condition, based on the treaty clauses of the Constitution, that: (1) the U.S. shall interpret the Treaty in accordance with the common understanding of the Treaty shared by the President and the Senate at the time the Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification; (2) the common understanding is based on the Treaty's text, the provisions of the resolution of ratification, and the authoritative representations which were provided by the President and his representatives to the Senate, in seeking Senate consent to ratification, insofar as such representations were directed to the meaning and legal effect of the Treaty's text; (3) the U.S. shall not agree to or adopt an interpretation different from that common understanding except pursuant to Senate advice and consent to a subsequent treaty or protocol, or the enactment of a statute; and (4) if at a later time, a question arises as to the interpretation of a provision of the Treaty on which no common understanding was reached in accordance with item 2 above, that provision shall be interpreted in accordance with applicable U.S. law. (See also Vote Nos. 163 and 164.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the necessity for this amendment stems from efforts by certain Administration officials and the State Department's legal advisor, Judge Abraham Sofaer, to fundamentally alter the role of the Senate in the treaty-making process. The practical effect of the Sofaer doctrine, which provides for unilateral presidential interpretation of treaties, is to nullify the (OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (72)			NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (1)	
Democrats (52 or 98%)		Republicans (20 or 43%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (26 or 57%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Hollings	Armstrong	Biden-3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Cochran		Bond		
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen		Boschwitz		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato		Danforth		
Boren	Leahy	Dole		Evans		
Bradley	Levin	Domenici		Garn		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Durenberger		Gramm		
Bumpers	Melcher	Hatfield		Grassley		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Heinz		Hatch		
Byrd	Mikulski	Helms		Hecht		
Chiles	Mitchell	Kassebaum		Humphrey		
Conrad	Moynihan	Lugar		Karnes		
Cranston	Nunn	McConnell		Kasten		
Daschle	Pell	Packwood		McCain		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Simpson		McClure		
Dixon	Pryor	Stafford		Murkowski		
Dodd	Reid	Stevens		Nickles		
Exon	Riegle	Trible		Pressler		
Ford	Rockefeller	Warner		Quayle		
Fowler	Sanford	Weicker		Roth		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Rudman		
Gore	Sasser			Specter		
Graham	Shelby			Symms		
Harkin	Simon			Thurmond		
Heflin	Stennis			Wallop		
Inouye	Wirth			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats—52 or 72%
Republicans—20 or 28%

Against (27)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—26 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Senate's portion of the shared power inherent in the Treaty Clause of the Constitution. This amendment does not break any new constitutional ground, create any new constitutional roles, or attempt to resolve the dispute over the broad and narrow interpretation of the ABM Treaty. It simply upholds the Senate's treaty power under the Constitution and reestablishes the principle that a President cannot walk away from the shared understanding between the Executive and the Senate reached at the time of a treaty's ratification. The amendment does not preclude reference to the negotiating record where such reference can be useful in explaining the effect of contentious or ambiguous provisions. By ensuring that the representations of the executive branch regarding the meaning of the treaty are binding on future administrations, this amendment protects the Senate against the proposed presidential usurpment of its treaty-making powers.

Opponents contended that the intention of the amendment is to prejudice the Administration's interpretation of the ABM Treaty and cripple the President's Strategic Defense Initiative. It imposes an obligation on the U.S. under international law that is not matched by any corresponding obligation by the USSR, and it undermines the ability of the Senate to perform its advise and consent role by precluding resort to the treaty negotiating record. In addition, this amendment does not prescribe a course of conduct for the Senate with respect to future treaties, apart from stating that the Senate and the President shall interpret the treaty in accordance with the common understanding.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 159

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 26, 1988, 7:39 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6792

INF TREATY (START)

TREATY DOC

AMENDMENT NO.: 2317

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Bradley motion to table the Helms, et al., amendment which adds the declaration to the instruments of ratification that the U.S. declares that, as an integral factor in its decision to adhere to the Treaty, it intends to continue to negotiate with the USSR a treaty effecting reductions in strategic nuclear forces of the parties and, in conjunction with its NATO allies, to negotiate a treaty effecting reductions in the conventional forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and in so doing, that it shall be guided by the following: a main object shall be to obtain general equivalence in the parties' forces; the U.S. shall act in consultation with NATO allies; continual consultation with the U.S. Senate and that judgments and recommendations of the Senate shall be given plenary consideration; stringent verification and compliance regimes shall be sought; the U.S. shall not be bound to adhere to any contemplated treaty until verification and Senate approval; any joint negotiating framework for contemplated treaties shall only serve as a guide for the conduct of negotiations and shall not constrain any U.S. military programs unless otherwise provided for under the Arms Control and Disarmament Act; and the U.S. considers full and exact compliance with the present Treaty and with all other existing arms control agreements between the parties to be a major issue affecting any future treaties. (See also Vote No. 165 on the amendment as modified).

NOTE: Due to confusion regarding a second-degree amendment, the primary sponsor of the amendment made no statements in support of the amendment. Although the second-degree amendment was later withdrawn, many Senators voted against the tabling motion out of respect for a prior agreement between the sponsor of the amendment and the Majority and Minority Leaders calling for a freestanding vote on the Helms amendment.

(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (38)		NAYS (60)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (38 or 73%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (14 or 27%)	Republicans (46 or 100%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kerry	Baucus	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden ⁻¹
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Bentsen	Bond	Iugar	Stennis ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Boren	Boschwitz	McCain	
Bumpers	Levin	Breaux	Chafee	McClure	
Burdick	Matsunaga	Byrd	Cochran	McConnell	
Conrad	Metzenbaum	Chiles	Cohen	Murkowski	
Cranston	Mikulski	Daschle	D'Amato	Nickles	
Dodd	Mitchell	DeConcini	Danforth	Packwood	
Evan	Moynihan	Dixon	Dole	Pressler	
Ford	Proxmire	Heflin	Domenici	Quayle	
Fowler	Pryor	Melcher	Durenberger	Roth	
Glenn	Reid	Nunn	Evans	Rudman	
Gore	Riegle	Pell	Garn	Simpson	
Graham	Rockefeller	Shelby	Gramm	Specter	
Harkin	Sanford		Grassley	Stafford	
Hollings	Sarbanes		Hatch	Stevens	
Inouye	Sasser		Hatfield	Symms	
Johnston	Simon		Hecht	Thurmond	
Kennedy	Wirth		Heinz	Trible	
			Helms	Wallop	
			Humphrey	Warner	
			Karnes	Weicker	
			Kassebaum	Wilson	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—73%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (38)
Democrats—38 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (60)
Democrats—14 or 23%
Republicans—46 or 77%

Opponents of the amendment asserted that by requiring prenotification of the Senate for "all significant proposals" before proposing them to the Soviet Union and by forcing a Geneva plenary renegotiating session to convene whenever the Senate has proposals its wishes considered, the amendment would violate the separation of powers and intrude on the executive branch. A president should not be constrained in the midst of negotiations with being required first to notify the Senate. It tries to enforce a standard for strategic and conventional forces talks— "general equivalence"—which the NATO allies reject. In addition, it attempts to give the Senate the unilateral power to issue a declaration on behalf of Congress and directly contradicts the Vienna Convention on Treaties (1969). This amendment would impose unnecessary and complicating restraints on U.S. negotiators and would compromise the efforts of President Reagan, or the next president, to establish interim restraint pending final ratification of START. The overall impact of this measure would be to shackle President Reagan on the eve of the Moscow summit and to enforce a chilling effect on efforts to negotiate the START Treaty.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 160

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 26, 1988, 10:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6808

INF TREATY (TREATY INTERPRETATION)

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, 'Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987'

AMENDMENT NO.: 2325

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to table the Wilson, et al., amendment which provides that the Senate's advice and consent to ratification of the Treaty is subject to the condition that the U.S. shall not be bound to any interpretation of this Treaty that is not equally binding on the Soviet Union under applicable international law.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that it would ensure that the U.S. and USSR both operate under mutuality of obligation with respect to an interpretation of this treaty—a move fully supported by the Reagan Administration. It is a straightforward approach similar to the measure proposed by Senator Jackson during consideration of the SALT I Treaty.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that, by providing for international law to override domestic law, the amendment has the effect of undermining the Byrd amendment (Vote No. 158) which upholds the Senate's treaty power under the Constitution and reestablishes the principle that a President cannot walk away from the shared understanding between the Executive and the Senate reached at the time of a treaty's ratification. Approval of this amendment would dilute the Byrd amendment and would relegate the Senate and domestic law to a principle of international law that refers to a negotiating history to which the Senate is denied access during the advise and consent process.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)			NAYS (45)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)		Republicans (43 or 93%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Hatfield	DeConcini	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Stafford	Hollings	Bond	Lugar	Stennis—2	
Bentsen	Kerry	Weicker		Boschwitz	McCain		
Bingaman	Lautenberg			Chafee	McClure		
Boren	Leahy			Cochran	McConnell		
Bradley	Levin			Cohen	Murkowski		
Breaux	Matsunaga			D'Amato	Nickles		
Bumpers	Melcher			Danforth	Packwood		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Dole	Pressler		
Byrd	Mikulski			Domenici	Quayle		
Chiles	Mitchell			Durenberger	Roth		
Conrad	Moynihan			Evans	Rudman		
Cranston	Nunn			Garn	Simpson		
Daschle	Peli			Gramm	Specter		
Dixon	Proxmire			Grassley	Stevens		
Dodd	Pryor			Hatch	Symms		
Exon	Reid			Hecht	Thurmond		
Ford	Riegle			Heinz	Trible		
Fowler	Rockefeller			Helms	Wallop		
Fukushima	Sanford			Humphrey	Warner		
Gore	Sarbanes			Karnes	Wilson		
Graham	Sasser			Kassebaum			
Harkin	Shelby						
Helms	Simon						
Houder	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)	Against (45)
Democrats—50 or 94%	Democrats—2 or 4%
Republicans—3 or 6%	Republicans—43 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 161

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 27, 1988, 10:40 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6877

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2324

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Pell-Lugar motion to table the Wallop-Karnes, et al., amendment which requires the President to inform the Soviet Union, prior to exchanging the instruments of ratification, that the U.S. will consider any Soviet violation of the Treaty as grounds for withdrawing from the Treaty; requires the President to (1) agree to submit annually to the Senate a report which certifies whether the Soviet Union is in compliance, assesses the overall strategic balance and the effectiveness of this and other arms control treaties in ensuring a stable nuclear balance, and lists possible suspected violations, and (2) transmit to the Soviet Union the declaration that the Treaty should no longer remain in force if the Senate adopts a resolution by majority vote that disapproves the President's compliance certification; and requires the President, within 90 days of certifying a possible violation, to certify the appropriate response to the violation or that the Soviet Union has returned to compliance and how it has done so.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that although unprecedented strides have been made in the verification regime of the INF Treaty, it is not enough to merely detect violations. This amendment provides the necessary mechanism for effectively responding to Soviet violations of the treaty, and as a Category II reservation, it does not require renegotiation with the USSR. It is necessary because the U.S. has a poor record of response to Soviet violations of past arms control agreements. The record of (OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (66)			NAYS (30)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (48 or 96%)	Republicans (18 or 39%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (28 or 61%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Heflin	Armstrong	Biden—3	
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Shelby	Cochran	Glenn—4	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee		D'Amato	Matsunaga—2	
Bingaman	Kerry	Cohen		Dole	Metzenbaum—2	
Boren	Lautenberg	Danforth		Domenici		
Bradley	Leahy	Durenberger		Garn		
Breaux	Levin	Evans		Gramm		
Bumpers	Melcher	Hatfield		Grassley		
Burdick	Mikulski	Heinz		Hatch		
Byrd	Mitchell	Lugar		Hecht		
Chiles	Moynihan	Packwood		Helms		
Conrad	Nunn	Quayle		Humphrey		
Craxton	Pell	Roth		Karnes		
DeChile	Proxmire	Rudman		Kassebaum		
DeConcini	Pryor	Specter		Kasten		
Dixon	Reid	Stafford		McCain		
Dodd	Riegle	Stevens		McClure		
Eaton	Rockefeller	Weicker		McConnell		
Ford	Sanford			Murkowski		
Fowler	Sarbanes			Nickles		
Gore	Sasser			Pressler		
Graham	Simon			Simpson		
Harkin	Stennis			Symms		
Hollings	Wirth			Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		
				Warner		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats—48 or 73%
Republicans—18 or 27%

Against (30)
Democrats—2 or 7%
Republicans—28 or 93%

Soviet adherence to the ABM and SALT II Treaties, for instance, has been one of selective compliance, evasion, and violations. The amendment establishes that the U.S. will consider any Soviet violation as grounds for a proportionate response or for withdrawal from the Treaty, in accordance with generally recognized principles of international law. In addition, it establishes a procedure to keep the Senate informed of Soviet compliance and noncompliance.

Opponents of the amendment contended that they were equally concerned with the need to be vigilant in monitoring Soviet compliance with the INF Treaty's provisions and to continue to press for resolution of Soviet noncompliance with previous arms control agreements. The President, however, is already required to submit reports each year on Soviet compliance and noncompliance, rendering part of this amendment redundant. Further, the Treaty already has the most stringent verification provisions in history—using a combination of enhanced national technical means, cooperative measures, and on-site inspections. In addition, the Treaty contains clear incentives for Soviet compliance. This amendment, which is opposed by the Administration, would create a situation where it would take two-thirds of the Senate to advise and consent, yet allow at a later time a simple majority of the Senate to withdraw from that same Treaty. The Senate is unwisely given the unilateral right to withdraw from the Treaty—a significant abrogation of power to and by the Senate. This amendment would tie the President's hands in foreign policy in a way that would be harmful to fundamental U.S. interests.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 162

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 27, 1988, 11:29 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6881

INF TREATY (HELSINKI ACCORDS)

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

AMENDMENT NO.: 2101

SUBJECT: Pell-Lugar motion to table the Pressler amendment which prohibits the exchange of the instruments of ratification unless the President personally certifies to the Senate whether the Soviet Union is in full compliance with the Helsinki Accords regarding human rights.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the objective of this amendment is to highlight the Helsinki Final Act and to draw attention to human rights violations by the Soviet Union. By changing the key word "that" to "whether" in the text, the amendment would not delay treaty implementation since the President can certify that the Soviets are in noncompliance without forcing renegotiation of the Treaty. It is essential, on the eve of the summit, to reaffirm the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and to send a clear message to the Soviet Union regarding human rights.

Opponents of the amendment agreed that the U.S. must continue to seek improvements in human rights. This amendment, however, is not the instrument through which to pursue such progress. It could delay the ratification process at a crucial time and it unwisely moves the U.S. toward a formal linkage between arms control and human rights. Further, the DeConcini-Lautenberg amendment, previously adopted by the Senate, has already addressed the human rights issue in a constructive manner. There is no question that the Soviets are in violation of human rights—one of the three facets of the Helsinki Accords—but passage of this amendment could endanger ratification or render the Treaty inoperative.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (86)				NAYS (10)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (36 or 78%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (10 or 22%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Kasten		Armstrong	Biden—3	
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Lugar		Hatch	Glenn—4	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McCain		Hecht	Matsunaga—2	
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McConnell		Helms	Metzenbaum—2	
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Murkowski		Humphrey		
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Nickles		McClure		
Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Packwood		Pressler		
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Quayle		Symms		
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth		Thurmond		
Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman		Wallop		
Chiles	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Conrad	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
Cranston	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Daschle	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatfield	Trible				
Dixon	Reid	Heinz	Warner				
Dodd	Riegle	Karnes	Weicker				
Eaton	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Ford	Sanford						
Fowler	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats—50 or 58%
Republicans—36 or 42%

Against (10)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—10 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Boyd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 163

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 27, 1988, 12:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6890

INF TREATY (TREATY INTERPRETATION)

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

AMENDMENT NO.: 2328

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to table the Specter amendment which defines the term "common understanding" included in the Byrd perfecting amendment No. 2305 (Vote No. 158) as "a shared interpretation which is both authoritatively communicated to the Senate by the executive and clearly intended, generally understood, and relied upon by the Senate in its advice and consent to ratification." (See also Vote Nos. 158 and 164.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that there is a conflict between the provisions of the INF Treaty and conditions attached to this Treaty which would violate longstanding principles of international law, treaty interpretation, and constitutional law on ratification. This amendment incorporates provisions which are forcefully articulated in international law—that "common understanding" has to be both authoritatively communicated to the Senate by the executive and (1) clearly intended, (2) generally understood, and (3) relied upon by the Senate. By enforcing such a standard, a two-treaty problem as suggested by opponents would be avoided and the ambiguous term "common understanding" would be defined and amplified.

Opponents of the amendment contended that this amendment would seriously undermine the Byrd amendment which was overwhelmingly adopted by the Senate (Vote No. 158). It would, by
(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (67)			NAYS (30)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (16 or 35%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (30 or 65%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee		Armstrong	Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Cochran		Bond	Glenn—4	
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen		Boschwitz	Metzenbaum—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Dole		D'Amato		
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger		Danforth		
Bradley	Levin	Hatfield		Domenici		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Helms		Evans		
Bumpers	Melcher	Kassebaum		Garn		
Burdick	Mikulski	Lugar		Gramm		
Byrd	Mitchell	Murkowski		Grassley		
Chiles	Moynihan	Packwood		Hatch		
Conrad	Nunn	Roth		Hecht		
Cranston	Pell	Stafford		Heinz		
Daschle	Proxmire	Stevens		Humphrey		
DeConcini	Pryor	Warner		Karnes		
Dixon	Reid	Weicker		Kasten		
Dodd	Riegle			McCain		
Eaton	Rockefeller			McClure		
Ford	Sanford			McConnell		
Fowler	Sarbanes			Nickles		
Gore	Sasser			Pressler		
Graham	Shelby			Quayle		
Harkin	Simon			Rudman		
Heflin	Stennis			Simpson		
Hollings	Wirth			Specter		
Inouye				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—65%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats—51 or 76%
Republicans—16 or 24%

Against (30)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—30 or 100%

reestablishing the Sofaer doctrine, force the Senate to go to extraordinary lengths in order to prevent the President from reinterpreting a treaty. The Byrd amendment established that the criteria to be used for arriving at the common understanding are the text of the treaty, the provisions of the resolution of ratification, and the authoritative representations of the President and his representatives to the Senate and its committees. It improperly places the burden on the Senate when it should be with the executive branch—which negotiates the treaty and possesses the negotiating history. Passage of this amendment would void the action taken on the Byrd amendment and would create considerable delays in the ratification process.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 164

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 27, 1988, 1:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6893

INF TREATY (TREATY INTERPRETATION)

TREATY DOC.

AMENDMENT NO.: 2329

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to table the Specter amendment which overturns the Byrd amendment (Vote No. 158) by adding to the resolution of ratification the statement that: notwithstanding any provision in the resolution of ratification, the Biden Condition as amended by the Byrd Condition, or any statement in Senate Committee reports on the INF Treaty, there is no Senate intent to change the heretofore accepted Constitutional law of the U.S. on treaty ratification as interpreted by the Supreme Court or heretofore accepted international law on treaties as interpreted by the Supreme Court. (See also Vote Nos. 158 and 163.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that its intent is to obviate previous Senate action regarding treaty interpretation and mutuality of obligation. It inserts in categorical terms that since the Supreme Court establishes the law on treaties that applies to the intent of the parties and the meaning of the treaties, that these laws on international treaty interpretation still stand after what the Senate has done during the advise and consent process. Adoption of this amendment will ensure that the Senate's attempts to usurp the function of the courts and to overturn established laws and precedent governing treaty interpretation will not be successful.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that this would reopen the debate on the Sofaer doctrine, which has been a factor in bogging down consideration of the INF Treaty. Even the proponents concede that this

(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (64)			NAYS (33)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (13 or 28%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (33 or 72%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Armstrong	McClure	Biden ⁻³	
Baucus	Kennedy	Cochran	Bond	McConnell	Glenn ⁻⁴	
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Metzenbaum ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Dole	D'Amato	Nickles		
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger	Danforth	Packwood		
Bradley	Levin	Hatfield	Domenici	Pressler		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Helms	Evans	Quayle		
Bumpers	Melcher	Kassebaum	Garn	Rudman		
Burdick	Mikulski	Lugar	Gramm	Simpson		
Byrd	Mitchell	Roth	Grassley	Specter		
Chiles	Moynihan	Stafford	Hatch	Symms		
Conrad	Nunn	Stevens	Hecht	Thurmond		
Cranston	Pell	Weicker	Heinz	Trible		
Daschle	Proxmire		Humphrey	Wallop		
DeConcini	Pryor		Karnes	Warner		
Dixon	Reid		Kasten	Wilson		
Dodd	Riegle		McCain			
Exon	Rockefeller					
Ford	Sanford					
Fowler	Sarbanes					
Gore	Sasser					
Graham	Shelby					
Harkin	Simon					
Heflin	Stennis					
Hollings	Wirth					
Inouye						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats—51 or 80%
Republicans—13 or 20%

Against (33)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—33 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

amendment would undercut the Byrd amendment (Vote No. 158)—which was adopted by an overwhelming vote—and thereby empower the President to unilaterally interpret treaties. It is an effort to use accepted international law on treaties between the parties for ignoring what is accepted constitutional law and practice with respect to how the U.S. goes about making a treaty and the Senate's role in that process.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 165

May 27, 1988. 2:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6902

INF TREATY (START)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2317

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Helms, et al., modified amendment which adds the declaration to the instruments of ratification that the U.S. declares that, as an integral factor in its decision to adhere to the Treaty, it intends to continue to negotiate with the USSR a treaty effecting reductions in strategic nuclear forces of the parties and, in conjunction with its NATO allies, to negotiate a treaty establishing conventional stability in Europe, and in so doing, that it shall be guided by the following: a main object shall be to obtain general equivalence in the parties' strategic forces; the U.S. shall consult with its NATO allies; the U.S. Senate shall be fully apprised of all significant proposals made to the USSR and the judgments and recommendations of the Senate shall be given full and highest consideration; effective verification and compliance building on the present regime shall be sought; the U.S. shall not be bound to adhere to any contemplated treaty until ratification and Senate approval but nothing shall imply that the U.S. will take actions that will make a future treaty impossible; the U.S. considers full and exact compliance with the present Treaty and with all other existing arms control agreements between the parties to a major issue affecting any future treaties; any joint negotiating framework for contemplated treaties shall serve only as a guide for the conduct of negotiations and shall not constrain any U.S. military programs unless otherwise provided for under the Arms Control and Disarmament Act; and the U.S. shall strengthen its ability to monitor and detect violations of any future contemplated treaty. (See also Vote No. 159.)

(OVER)

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (94)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (45 or 98%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	Lugar	Bumpers	Hatfield	Biden—3	
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond	McCain	Hollings		Glenn—4	
Bentsen	Leahy	Boschwitz	McClure	Johnston			
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Matsunaga	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Melcher	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Mikulski	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole	Quayle				
Chiles	Moynihan	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Nunn	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Pell	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Proxmire	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Pryor	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Reid	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatch	Symms				
Evon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Gore	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker				
Harkin	Simon	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Heflin	Stennis	Kasten					
Inouye	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats—49 or 52%
Republicans—45 or 48%

Against (4)
Democrats—3 or 75%
Republicans—1 or 25%

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this modified amendment avoids the flaws of the original amendment (Vote No. 159). It no longer requires prenotification of the Senate for "all significant START proposals," no longer requires the convening of a Geneva plenary session when the Senate wishes to be considered, and no longer requires conveyance to the Soviet Union. In addition, it no longer makes a Senate declaration a definitive and binding statement of U.S. policy and no longer sets general equivalence or force symmetry as a goal for conventional force reduction talks. More importantly, this amendment allows President Reagan to discuss START during the impending Moscow summit. The chilling effect guaranteed by the original version is removed, and in its present form this amendment will not significantly affect ratification or implementation of the Treaty.

Opponents made no statements.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 166

100th Congress
2nd Session

May 27, 1988, 3:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6937

INF TREATY

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-11, "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, together with the Memorandum of Understanding and two Protocols, signed at Washington on December 8, 1987"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the Treaty Between the U.S. and the Soviet Union which calls for the elimination, over a three-year period, of all existing intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in the U.S. and Soviet arsenals, as well as the launchers and certain support facilities for the missiles; prohibits intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and equipment thereafter; and contains a condition to ratification which insures that future administrations cannot reinterpret the Treaty without Senate approval.

NOTE: The INF Treaty consists of a Treaty, a Memorandum of Understanding, a Protocol on Elimination, and a Protocol on Inspection with an Annex, all of which were transmitted to the Senate by the President on January 25, 1988. In addition to the resolution of ratification itself, these documents were the only documents before the Senate for amendment.

During Senate consideration of the Treaty, the President submitted a Diplomatic Note exchanged at Geneva (stating that all present and future intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles as defined by the Treaty are applicable to the Treaty's provision; defining the terms "weapon-delivery vehicle"; and stating the non-weapon-delivery vehicles are not covered by the Treaty), and an agreed to Minute on verification signed on May 12, 1988. These documents were subject to amendment.

Treaty Doc. 100-11: Vote Nos. 145-166.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO, 2/3RDS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE ADMINISTRATION POSITION YEA

YEAS (93)				NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)		Republicans (42 or 91%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten	Hollings	Helms	Biden—3	
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Lugar		Humphrey	Glenn—AY	
Benjamin	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McCain		McClure		
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McClure		Symms		
Boren	Levin	Cochran	McConnell		Wallop		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski				
Brezni	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Rudman				
Cranston	Pell	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Evan	Rockefeller	Hecht	Tinley				
Fore	Sanford	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harmon	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Inouye							
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats—51 or 55%
Republicans—42 or 45%

Against (5)
Democrats—1 or 20%
Republicans—4 or 80%

The INF Treaty consists of the following documents transmitted to the Senate by the President on January 25, 1988, all of which were signed at Washington on December 8, 1987:

1. A Treaty of unlimited duration with a preamble and 17 articles which requires the United States and the Soviet Union to: eliminate all intermediate-range (1,000-5,500 kilometers) missiles and launchers in phases over three years; eliminate all shorter-range (500-1,000 kilometers) missiles and launchers within 18 months; and not produce, flight test, or possess such systems for the indefinite duration of the Treaty.
2. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) regarding the establishment of a detailed data base on the locations of deployment areas, missile operating bases, and missile support facilities, as well as numbers of missiles, launchers, and support structures and equipment (the initial data exchange occurred on November 1, 1987).
3. A Protocol on Elimination setting forth detailed procedures governing elimination of missile systems subject to the Treaty.
4. A Protocol on Inspection setting forth the procedures under which the Treaty's on-site inspection provisions will be conducted with an Annex on the privileges and immunities to be accorded inspectors and aircrew members.

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Intermediate-Range Missiles: Requires, under the MOU, the United States to eliminate all of its Pershing II and Ground-Launched Cruise missiles (429 deployed and 260 nondeployed for a total of 689) and the Soviet Union to eliminate all of its SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles (470 deployed and 356 non-deployed for a total of 826).

Shorter-Range Missiles: Requires, under the MOU, the United States to eliminate all of its Pershing 1A missiles (0 deployed and 170 non-deployed for a total of 170) and the Soviet Union to eliminate all of its SS-12/22 and SS-23 missiles (387 deployed and 539 non-deployed for a total of 926). **NOTE:** Nuclear warheads and guidance systems for these missiles are retained by the owning Party and not accountable under the Treaty.

Elimination Process: Provides that intermediate-range missiles and launchers can be located only in designated deployment areas, support facilities, elimination facilities, or specified transit; requires that all deployed shorter-range missiles and launchers be moved to separate elimination facilities within 90 days after the Treaty has entered into force and that all non-deployed shorter-range missiles be moved within one year of entry into force; requires that all deployed and non-deployed intermediate-range missiles and launchers be reduced to common, specified ceilings, and that the ratio of deployed and non-deployed ballistic missiles to all deployed and non-deployed missiles not exceed the ratio reflected in the November 1, 1987, data exchange; requires that missile systems be reduced in complete organizational units, that key support structures be eliminated where they stand, and that destruction be carried out only at mutually agreed facilities.

Data Exchange: Requires that the data base established under the MOU be updated initially 30 days after the Treaty has entered into force and at six-month intervals thereafter; requires notifications of various activities including the origin and destination of missiles and launchers in transit, and, at specified intervals, information on their location; the dates for the elimination of deployment areas, bases, and support facilities; the date, place, number, and type of missiles and launchers to be destroyed at specified elimination sites; and the date, place, and type of missiles to be destroyed through launch.

Verification: Establishes a number of on-site inspection rights, including the following: (1) on-site inspections, permitted within three months after entry into force, at agreed locations as listed in the MOU; (2) inspections to observe that Treaty-prohibited activities have ceased at bases or missile support facilities that are eliminated; (3) the right of each side to observe the destruction of missiles and launchers at the elimination sites (unrestricted by quota); (4) a specific number of short-notice inspections per year, for a 13-year period after entry into force, at agreed locations (each side is given the right to conduct 20 short-notice inspections per year during the first three years of the Treaty at both currently active bases and facilities and those that will have been eliminated, 15 on-site inspections each year during the first five years after the complete elimination of INF missile systems, and 10 similar inspections each year for the next five years; and (5) the right on the part of the United States, for a 13-year period, to continuously monitor portions of the Soviet Votkinsk Machine Building Plant (where the final assembly of the SS-25 strategic missile occurs using a stage similar to that of the SS-20) and the same right on the part of the Soviets with regard to the U.S. Hercules Plant Number One at Magna, Utah (at which existing types of intermediate-range or shorter-range ballistic missiles were produced); terminates these monitoring rights if, after two years, the final assembly of SS-25 missiles at Votkinsk ceased for 12 months; and permits continuous monitoring for a 13-year period if SS-25 assembly resumes there or elsewhere.

Condition on Reinterpretation: Contains a condition to ratification, based on the treaty clauses of the U.S. Constitution, that: (1) the U.S. shall interpret the Treaty in accordance with the common understanding of the Treaty shared by the President and the Senate at the time the Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification; (2) the common understanding is based on the Treaty's text, the provisions of the resolution of ratification, and the authoritative representations which were provided by the President and his representatives to the Senate, in seeking Senate consent to ratification, insofar as such representations were directed to the meaning and legal effect of the Treaty's text; (3) the U.S. shall not agree to or adopt an interpretation different from that common understanding except pursuant to Senate advice and consent to a subsequent treaty or protocol, or the enactment of a statute; and (4) if at a later time, a question arises as to the interpretation of a provision of the Treaty on which no common understanding was reached in accordance with item 2 above, that provision shall be interpreted in accordance with applicable U.S. law.

Condition on GLBM's: Contains a second condition to ratification directing the President, prior to the exchange of the instrument of ratification, to certify that it is the common understanding of both parties that if either party produces a type of ground-launched ballistic missile (GLBM) not limited by the Treaty using a stage which is outwardly similar to, but not interchangeable with, a stage of an existing type of intermediate-range GLBM having more than one stage, it may not produce any other stage which is outwardly similar to, whether or not it is interchangeable with, any other stage of an existing type of intermediate-range GLBM.

Declaration: Adds to the instruments of ratification a declaration stating that the U.S., as an integral factor in its decision to adhere to the Treaty, intends to continue to negotiate with the USSR for a treaty effecting reductions in strategic nuclear forces and, in conjunction with its NATO allies, to negotiate a treaty establishing conventional stability in Europe, and delineates factors which will guide the U.S. in these negotiations.

Diplomatic Note/Minute: Specifies that both the exchange of notes in Geneva and the agreed minute signed May 12 between the U.S. and the USSR—regarding the application of the Treaty to intermediate or shorter range missiles flight-tested or deployed to carry out or be used as weapons based on either current or future technology, the definition of a weapons delivery vehicle, and the parameters of on-site inspections—and the agreements signed on May 21, 1988, in Vienna and Moscow—correcting the site diagram and certain technical errors in the Treaty—shall have the same force and effect as the conditions of the Treaty.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 167

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 6, 1988, 3:15 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7164

FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1989 (CONFERENCE REPORT)

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 268 (S. Con. Res. 113)

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the concurrent resolution which sets forth recommended levels of total new budget authority, outlays, and revenues for FY 1989-91 resulting in a deficit of \$135.3 billion—which is \$700 million below the \$136.0 billion deficit target established by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings—as follows (in billions of dollars):

	FY 1989	FY 1990	FY 1991
Budget Authority	\$1,231.70	\$1,305.40	\$1,389.50
Outlays	1,099.70	1,160.10	1,218.30
Revenues	964.40	1,042.90	1,123.00
Deficit	135.30	117.20	95.30
Public Debt Limit	2,824.70	3,066.90	3,293.90

Contains \$299.5 billion in budget authority and \$294 billion in outlays for defense programs, \$18.1 billion in budget authority and \$16.1 billion in outlays for discretionary international affairs programs, and \$148.10 billion in budget authority and \$169.20 billion in domestic discretionary spending—in conformance with the budget summit agreement for FY 1989.

H. Con. Res. 268 (S. Con. Res. 113): Vote Nos. 85-95, 167.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (58)			NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (37 or 80%)	Republicans (21 or 51%)		Democrats (9 or 20%)	Republicans (20 or 49%)	Democrats (8)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Leahy	Boschwitz	Baucus	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga	Chafee	Burdick	Bond	Biden ⁻³	Karnes ^{-2AN}
Breaux	Melcher	Cohen	Conrad	Cochran	Bingaman ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Heflin	Durenberger	Bradley ⁻²	Simpson ⁻²
Bird	Mikulski	Dole	Hollings	Garn	Cranston ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Levin	Gramm	DeConcini ^{-2AY}	
Daschle	Moynihan	Evans	Proxmire	Hatch	Exon ⁻²	
Dixon	Nunn	Grassley	Pryor	Hecht	Inouye ⁻²	
Dodd	Pell	Hatfield	Reid	Helms		
Ford	Riegle	Heinz		Humphrey		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Kassebaum		Kasten		
Glenn	Sanford	Lugar		McClure		
Gore	Sarbanes	McCain		McConnell		
Graham	Sasser	Packwood		Nickles		
Harkin	Shelby	Quayle		Pressler		
Johnston	Simon	Rudman		Roth		
Kennedy	Stennis	Specter		Symms		
Kerry	Wirth	Stafford		Trible		
Lautenberg		Stevens		Wallop		
		Thurmond		Warner		
		Weicker				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—80%
Republicans—51%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats—37 or 64%
Republicans—21 or 36%

Against (29)
Democrats—9 or 31%
Republicans—20 or 69%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Revenues: Provides a revenue level of \$964.40 billion in FY 1989, including a revenue loss of \$350 million, relative to the current law baseline, to accommodate enactment of the Omnibus Trade bill and the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Defense: Includes \$299.5 billion in BA and \$294.0 billion in outlays in FY 1989, as set forth in the budget summit agreement; assumes that \$100 million in Federal funding will be made available to assist SEMATECH in its start-up efforts and that sufficient funding will be made available for the Defense Waste and Transportation Management Program to provide for cleanup at affected sites, including Hanford and Savannah River.

Domestic Programs: Includes \$148.1 billion in BA and \$169.2 billion in outlays for domestic discretionary spending in FY 1989 as set forth in the budget summit agreement; assumes a split between House and Senate funding levels for DOE's Superconducting Super Collider and full funding for the National Science Foundation's proposed research and education programs; does not assume the sale of the Naval Petroleum Reserves or the privatization of the Federal Power Marketing Administrations; assumes using available funds for the airport and airway improvement program to provide for critical capacity expansion projects, that sufficient Coast Guard funding will be available to allow the reopening, as appropriate, of any stations closed as a result of the FY 1988 appropriations, and that adequate funds will be provided to assure sufficient Social Security staff levels so that beneficiary inquiries and claims are efficiently processed; assumes enactment of pending legislation to broaden Medicaid coverage for pregnant women and children, protect families during the transition period from welfare to work, protect low-income elderly against spousal impoverishment and Medicare cost-sharing amounts; assumes rejection of the Medicaid regulatory savings assumed in the House-passed resolution; includes \$275 million in FY 1989, \$525 million in 1990, and \$575 million in 1991 for expanded nutrition assistance to low-income populations; assumes a 4 percent pay raise for military and civilian Federal workers in 1989; includes \$4.2 billion in unspecified asset sales; assumes unspecified new entitlement authority of \$125 million in FY 1989, \$325 million in FY 1990, and \$350 million in 1991 for high priority low-income programs; contains report language stating that programs serving low-income households and individuals should be high priority and urging that \$1.45 billion be provided for Federal programs to combat AIDS.

Credit Budget: Includes non-binding credit levels of \$28.3 billion in FY 1989, \$27.0 billion in 1990, and \$26.7 billion in 1991 for new direct loan obligations, and \$110.95 billion in FY 1989, \$122.7 billion in 1990, and \$132.2 billion in 1991 for new primary loan guarantee commitments.

Anti-Drug Initiatives: Allows up to \$2.6 billion in new budget authority and \$1.4 billion in outlays for funding anti-drug initiatives in FY 1989, if the appropriate congressional committees report deficit-neutral legislation making funds available and the President and Congress agree, through the normal legislative process, that a state of dire emergency exists to justify increasing spending levels; expresses the sense of the Congress that anti-narcotics activities should be among the top funding priorities in FY 1989, and urges all committees to make it a top priority in allocating funds.

Coast Guard Drug Interdiction: Expresses the sense of the Congress that the authorizing committees of jurisdiction should consider enacting legislation allowing the private sector to perform nonemergency, nonessential Coast Guard functions.

Welfare Reform/Catastrophic Health Insurance: Assumes the allocation of BA and outlays in FY 1988 and/or 1989 to the Senate Finance Committee for deficit neutral welfare reform and Medicare catastrophic health insurance initiatives and provides for adjustment of the aggregates for FY 1989-91 when legislation is reported making funds available for these initiatives; provides authority to adjust section 302 allocations to reflect technical changes in BA and outlays as necessary.

Trust Funds: Expresses the sense of the Congress that the National Economic Commission should study the budgetary treatment of the social security, airport and highway, and other trust funds as well as self-supporting public enterprise funds, including the Postal Service, to determine if they should be removed from the Federal budget; directs the Commission to consider the effects of setting trust fund surpluses aside as additional savings; and calls for a final report on the Commission's recommendation and reports on the means of achieving a balance in the remaining budget and the economic effects of a unified budget surplus.

Sale of Government Assets: Contains sense of the Congress language that would prevent the allocation to committees in FY 1989 of the proceeds from asset sales and loan prepayments.

FUNCTIONAL BREAKDOWN FOR FY 1989-91

(In billions of dollars)

FUNCTION	FY 1989		FY 1990		FY 1991	
	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O
050: National defense	\$299.5	\$294.0	\$312.9	\$304.6	\$325.6	\$316.6
150: International affairs	16.6	16.2	17.6	16.0	17.5	15.9
250: General science, space & technology	13.0	12.6	13.5	13.5	14.0	13.9
270: Energy	4.8	4.4	5.2	4.1	5.0	3.5
300: Natural resources & environment	15.8	16.3	16.5	17.0	17.2	17.3
350: Agriculture	25.5	21.6	24.3	21.0	21.4	19.1
370: Commerce & housing credit	13.6	9.3	15.4	8.4	9.4	3.9
400: Transportation	28.6	27.9	29.1	28.5	29.9	29.4
450: Community & regional development	7.3	6.6	7.1	6.9	7.3	6.5
500: Education, training, employment, & social services	37.2	35.4	38.6	37.5	39.5	38.5
550: Health	49.8	48.9	54.3	54.1	59.4	58.6
570: Medicare	103.7	86.9	113.2	97.5	124.1	108.4
600: Income Security	176.5	138.1	181.4	145.3	213.3	152.4
650: Social Security	278.1	233.5	306.3	249.0	332.8	263.5
700: Veterans' benefits & services	28.8	28.4	31.0	30.0	31.5	30.6
750: Administration of justice	8.9	8.7	9.2	9.1	10.4	10.3
800: General government	9.5	9.4	10.1	10.2	10.5	10.3
900: Net interest	152.0	152.0	158.5	158.5	160.3	160.3
920: Allowances	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
950: Undistributed offsetting receipts	37.5	-50.5	-38.8	-51.1	-39.6	-40.7
TOTAL SPENDING	1,231.7	1,099.7	1,305.4	1,160.1	1,389.5	1,218.3
TOTAL REVENUES	964.4		1,042.9		1,123.0	
TOTAL DEFICIT	-135.3		-117.2		-95.3	

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 168

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 6, 1988, 5:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7177

PERSIAN GULF/WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 305

TITLE: "The Persian Gulf Policy Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd point of order that the joint resolution (which states the congressional determination that the requirements of section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution became operative on April 14, 1988, specifically authorizes the continued use of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, and requires that U.S. escorting and conveying of Kuwaiti reflagged vessels be terminated by September 18, 1988) is not a privileged measure under the War Powers Resolution (P.L. 93-148). The question is: "Shall the point of order be sustained?" (See also Vote No. 134.)

NOTE: Proponents of the joint resolution (voting nay) asserted that U.S. forces have been involved in hostilities in the Persian Gulf for over a year and that the Senate is therefore required under the law to invoke the War Powers Resolution. Since January, 1987, the U.S. has steadily increased its direct military involvement in the Gulf, beginning with increased U.S. presence, then progressing to the escorting of Kuwaiti tankers. Now the President has made a commitment to defend all neutral shipping against attack by belligerents in the Gulf. Hostilities have occurred on eight occasions, American military personnel have been killed or wounded, and most recently, helicopter personnel were killed during offensive actions against the Iranian fleet. By refusing to adhere to a law that it passed over a presidential veto, the Senate is ignoring its constitutional responsibilities. If the Senate continues to refuse to take any action, it runs the risk of repeating the situations that existed in Vietnam and, initially, in Lebanon, where U.S. troops became involved with policies that Congress had not sanctioned. Opposing the point of order does not necessarily mean that support is being expressed for this joint resolution or the removal of the U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf, since the law provides for 72 hours of debate, during which time the joint resolution is open for amendment.

(OVER)

S.J. Res. 305: Vote No. 168.

RESULT: POINT OF ORDER SUSTAINED

YEAS (54)			NAYS (31)		NOT VOTING (15)	
Democrats (19 or 40%)	Republicans (35 or 92%)		Democrats (28 or 60%)	Republicans (3 or 8%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (8)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Adams	Hatfield	Biden ⁻¹	Danforth ⁻²
Boren	Bond	Kasten	Baucus	Packwood	Bingaman ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Breaux	Boschwitz	Lugar	Bradley	Weicker	Chiles ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Byrd	Chafee	McCain	Bumpers		Cranston ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
DeConcini	Cochran	McClure	Burdick		Inouye ⁻²	Simpson ⁻²
Dixon	Cohen	McConnell	Conrad		Kennedy ⁻²	Specter ⁻²
Ford	D'Amato	Nickles	Daschle		Metzenbaum ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Graham	Dole	Pressler	Dodd			Wilson ⁻²
Heflin	Domenici	Quayle	Exon		EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Johnston	Durenberger	Roth	Fowler			
Meicher	Garn	Rudman	Glenn			
Mitchell	Gramm	Stevens	Gore			
Moynihan	Grassley	Symms	Harkin		SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Nunn	Hatch	Thurmond	Hollings			
Rudd	Hecht	Trible	Kerry			
Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop	Lautenberg			
Sasser	Helms	Warner	Leahy			
Stennis	Humphrey		Levin			
			Matsunaga			
			Mikulski			
			Pell			
			Proxmire			
			Pryor			
			Riegle			
			Sanford			
			Sarbanes			
			Simon			
			Wirth			

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion		Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
Democrats—60%		For (54)	Against (31)
Republicans—92%		Democrats—19 or 35%	Democrats—28 or 90%
		Republicans—35 or 65%	Republicans—3 or 10%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of the joint resolution (voting yea) pointed out that the Senate already has reached the conclusion that the circumstances in the Persian Gulf meet the conditions established in section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution: it failed to table an amendment to the DOD authorization to this effect (Vote No. 292, 100-1), and passed S.J. Res. 194 (by voice vote, 10/21/87) which is currently before the House. While opposing the Administration's policy in the Persian Gulf, some argued that the removal of U.S. ships from the Gulf now would create a bad perception regarding U.S. credibility, and highlight the unworkability of the War Powers Resolution. Under this law the President cannot give assurances to other countries that they can rely on U.S. troops. Even if the situation is in the best interest of the country, a filibuster can block Congress from taking action, and if Congress does not act, the troops have to be withdrawn at the end of 60 days. Since Congress has 60 days to come to a decision, the strength of the troops during that period is weakened because their long-term presence would be in doubt. The Foreign Relations Committee has formed a special panel to review these problems with the law and to recommend changes. Some defended the President's policy in the Persian Gulf, while others pointed out that sustaining the point of order would tie up the Senate with 72 hours of debate, during which time it is not likely that the Senate would resolve anything.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 169

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 8, 1988, 4:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7385

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (VETO OVERRIDE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 3 (S. 1420)

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Reconsideration of the vetoed bill which modifies U.S. trade law and establishes training and education programs to enhance American competitiveness; requires advance notice of plant closings and mass layoffs; establishes demonstration programs to address the needs of displaced U.S. workers; and repeals the windfall profits tax. (See Vote No. 110 on the conference report for a summary of the major provisions of the bill.)

NOTE: On May 24, 1988, the President vetoed H.R. 3, citing his objection to the requirement for the advance notification of closings and layoffs. The President stated: "I object to the idea that the Federal government would arbitrarily mandate, for all conditions and under all circumstances, exactly when and in what form that notification should take place. There are many circumstances under which such mandatory notification would actually force a faltering business to close—by driving away creditors, suppliers, customers, and—in the process destroying outcome, its 'faltering business' exemption is too ambiguous to be workable and invites untold litigation." (These provisions were subsequently reintroduced as a separate bill, S. 2527, which passed the Senate on July 6, 1988 [Vote No. 225] and became P.L. 100-379 without the President's signature.

The President also cited other provisions which, in his opinion, provided disincentives to sustained economic growth or which served a narrow special interest, including the provisions restricting Alaskan oil, establishing an international debt authority, and expanding ethanol imports.

The House overrode the President's veto by a vote of 308 to 113 on May 24, 1988. A motion to reconsider this vote by which the Senate sustained the veto is pending.

H.R. 3 (S. 1420): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208 (100th-1st); 110, 169 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: VETO SUSTAINED, 2/3RDS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (61)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (51 or 96%)		Republicans (10 or 22%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)		Republicans (35 or 78%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Byrd	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden— ³	Specter— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Proxmire	Boschwitz	McCain		
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen		Cochran	McClure		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth		D'Amato	McConnell		
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger		Dole	Murkowski		
Bradley	Levin	Heinz		Domenici	Pressler		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Nickles		Evans	Quayle		
Bumpers	Melcher	Packwood		Garn	Rudman		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Roth		Gramm	Simpson		
Chiles	Mikulski	Weicker		Grassley	Stafford		
Conrad	Mitchell			Hatch	Stevens		
Cranston	Moynihan			Hatfield	Symms		
Daschle	Nunn			Hecht	Thurmond		
DeConcini	Pell			Helms	Trible		
Dixon	Pryor			Humphrey	Wallop		
Dodd	Reid			Karnes	Warner		
Exon	Riegle			Kassebaum	Wilson		
Ford	Rockefeller			Kasten			
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—78%

For (61)
Democrats—51 or 84%
Republicans—10 or 16%

Against (37)
Democrats—2 or 5%
Republicans—35 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 170

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 8, 1988, 5:46 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7414

MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS COVERAGE (CONFERENCE REPORT)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2470 (S. 1127)

TITLE: "Medicare Catastrophic Loss Prevention Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report for the bill which provides protection for medicare beneficiaries from catastrophic expenses associated with covered medicare services; automatically enrolls all medicare part B participants in the catastrophic insurance program; establishes an annual limit on out-of-pocket expenses incurred under part A or B individually or combined for medicare-covered services (\$2,146 in 1990); phases in medicare prescription drug coverage; indexes the out-of-pocket expenses cap and the prescription drug coverage to maintain a constant level of beneficiaries; finances the catastrophic benefits through a combination of an increase in the basic monthly part B premium and an income-related supplemental premium based on tax liability; and requires State medicaid programs to (1) pay medicare premiums, deductibles, and coinsurance for elderly and disabled individuals with incomes below the Federal poverty line who do not qualify for medicaid and (2) extend medicaid coverage to pregnant women and infants up to one year of age with incomes below the Federal poverty line.

NOTE: H.R. 2470 became Public Law 100-360, approved July 1, 1988.

H.R. 2470 (S. 1127): Vote Nos. 350-353 (100th-1st); 170 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (86)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (34 or 76%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (11 or 24%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Kasten		Armstrong	Biden— ³	Specter— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar		Garn	Chiles— ² AY	
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell		Gramm		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski		Helms		
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Packwood		Humphrey		
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Pressler		Kassebaum		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Quayle		McCain		
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Rudman		McClure		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Simpson		Nickles		
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Stafford		Roth		
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Stevens		Symms		
Cranston	Moynihan	Grassley	Thurmond				
Daschle	Nunn	Hatch	Tribie				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatfield	Wallop				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hecht	Warner				
Dodd	Pryor	Heinz	Weicker				
Exon	Reid	Karnes	Wilson				
Ford	Riegle						
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Holings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats—52 or 60%
Republicans—34 or 40%

Against (11)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—11 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Part A Benefits: Eliminates all hospital coinsurance and the current limit on the number of hospital days; limits beneficiary liability to one hospital deductible annually (\$564 in 1989) and maintains the indexation of the deductible; increases medicare coverage of skilled nursing facility (SNF) days from 100 days per benefit period to 150 days per calendar year; modifies the SNF coinsurance to require beneficiaries to pay coinsurance equal to 20 percent of the national average per diem reasonable costs of extended care services for the first eight days of covered services each year (set at \$20.50 per day in 1989); eliminates the three-day prior hospitalization requirement for SNF care; increases, from five times per week for 21 days to seven days per week for 38 days, medicare coverage of home health care, and allows an extension if a physician certifies that exceptional circumstances exist; allows extension beyond the current 210 day limit of hospice care benefits if the beneficiary is recertified as terminally ill.

Part B Benefits: Limits patient cost for medicare part B physician and outpatient services to \$1,370 per year in 1990; indexes the out-of-pocket limitation on beneficiary costs (exclusive of extra billing by physicians of amounts in excess of medicare payment levels) to maintain a constant seven percent share of individuals who will receive catastrophic protection; and provides coverage of screening mammograms every other year for women age 65 and over.

Prescription Drugs: Phases in, from January 1991 to January 1993, medicare prescription drug coverage; establishes a \$600 deductible for prescription drug coverage in 1991, after which it will be indexed to maintain a constant 16.8 percent share of individuals who will benefit annually; provides for medicare payments of 50 percent of drug costs above the deductible in 1991, 60 percent in 1992, and 80 percent in 1993 and subsequent years; beginning in 1990, provides medicare coverage of (1) 80 percent of the costs of intravenous drugs provided in the home and 100 percent of the costs for the home health aids and equipment to administer the drugs, and (2) extends medicare coverage to immunosuppressive drugs provided for the second year and beyond after organ transplant surgery (currently only the first year after surgery is covered); limits medicare reimbursements for single source prescription drugs to the lower of the actual pharmacy charge, the 90th percentile of pharmacy charges nationwide, or the average wholesale price plus a dispensing fee and for multiple source drugs (where generics are available) to the lower of the actual charge or the median of the average wholesale prices plus a dispensing fee.

Respite Care: Provides respite care services of up to 80 hours annually for chronically dependent homebound persons who incur costs in excess of the part B catastrophic limit or the prescription drug deductible.

Financing: Finances the catastrophic benefits through a combination of an increase in the basic monthly part B premium (\$4.00 in 1990, increasing with the phase-in of new benefits to \$10.20 in 1993, and adjusted thereafter based on program costs and revenues), and an income-related supplemental premium collected by the IKS which is based on tax liability; sets the supplemental premium at \$22.50 per \$150 of tax liability in 1989, increasing to \$42.00 in 1993; indexes the supplemental premium thereafter to reflect program costs and revenues but limits the increase in any one year to \$1.50 for every \$150 in tax liability and offsets any shortfalls resulting from the cap by further increases in the flat-rate part B premium; caps the supplemental premium at \$800 in 1989, increasing \$50 annually to \$1,050 in 1993, after which the premium will be adjusted on the basis of program costs.

Spousal Protection: Gradually increases the amounts of income and resources protected for the community spouse of a medicaid-eligible nursing home resident in order to prevent spousal impoverishment; allows the spouse remaining in the community to retain up to 122 percent of the Federal poverty level (\$786 monthly) for a two-person family for October 1, 1989 to June 30, 1991, increasing to 133 percent from July 1, 1991 to June 30, 1992, and 150 percent thereafter (in addition to \$12,000 in liquid assets); requires States to delay eligibility for medicaid in the case of transfers of assets for less than fair market value that occur within 30 months of application for medicaid by nursing home or hospital patients.

Annual Medicare Benefits Notification: Requires the Secretary of HHS to notify medicare beneficiaries annually of available medicare benefits, coinsurance, and deductibles and categories of health care not covered under medicare.

Medigap: Makes any revisions to the Medigap policy standards adopted by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners within 90 days of enactment the new standards for Federal certification and requires the Secretary of HHS to issue revised standards for Federal certification if the National Association of Insurance Commissioners does not do so within the 90-day period; requires Medigap insurers to issue to policyholders a one-time mailing by January 31, 1989, which explains the effect of catastrophic health benefits on the Medigap policy and premiums; and requires Medigap insurers to submit their advertisements to State insurance commissioners for review of compliance with State law.

Medicaid: Phases in a requirement that State medicaid programs pay the medicare premiums, deductibles, and coinsurance for elderly and disabled individuals with incomes below the Federal poverty line who do not qualify for medicaid; requires States to make payments for individuals with incomes below 85 percent of the poverty line in 1989 and raises the income threshold five percent until full coverage of those with income below the poverty line is implemented in 1992; and phases in over two years the requirement that State medicaid programs extend medicaid coverage to pregnant women and infants up to one year of age with incomes below the Federal poverty line (requires coverage of women and children with incomes below 75 percent of the poverty line by July 1, 1989, and full coverage by July 1, 1990); funds medicaid benefits improvements funding provided in the FY 1989 budget resolution and with medicaid savings resulting from medicare catastrophic coverage.

"Maintenance of Effort": Requires employers who provide benefits that duplicate at least 50 percent of the new medicare coverage to provide additional benefits or refunds which are equal in value to the duplicated benefits.

Long-Term and Adult Day Care Studies: Authorizes \$5 million for each of the next five years for HHS to support research on long-term care; requires the Treasury Secretary to study tax incentives for long-term care insurance; and requires HHS to conduct a study on the feasibility of covering adult day care services under medicare.

Case Management Demonstration Projects: Authorizes \$2 million for four one-year case management demonstration projects to evaluate the appropriateness and the most effective method of providing case management services for medicare beneficiaries.

Repeal of Authority to Administer Proficiency Exams: Repeals the Secretary of HHS' authority to administer proficiency exams to qualify certain technicians and technologists for purposes of medicare reimbursement, effective October 1, 1987.

Benefits and Appeals Counseling: Authorizes the Secretary to establish a three-year demonstration project with a private or public nonprofit organization to train volunteers to provide benefits and appeals counseling and assistance to medicare beneficiaries.

Commission on Comprehensive Health Care: Establishes a Bipartisan Commission on Comprehensive Health Care to develop legislative recommendations regarding long-term care for the elderly and disabled and comprehensive health care for all Americans.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 171

June 9, 1988, 3:35 p.m.

Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7498

DEATH PENALTY/DRUG-RELATED KILLINGS (LIFE SENTENCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2455

AMENDMENT NO.: 2339

TITLE: "Death Penalty in Case of Drug-Related Killings"

SUBJECT: D'Amato motion to table the Levin-Evans-Danforth modified amendment (as a substitute for the bill) which requires a mandatory life sentence without possibility of release for the drug-related murder of a law enforcement officer or other innocent person (in lieu of the death penalty); imposes a sentence of 20 years to life imprisonment for the drug-related murder of persons involved in a continuing criminal enterprise; and prohibits the imposition of a mandatory life sentence without parole on any person who was under 18 years of age when the crime was committed.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that there were problems with the bill that should be addressed: first, there is uncertainty with regard to sentencing, since a convicted murderer could be released in as little as 17 years; second, by permitting the use of the death penalty, it is impossible to correct a mistake when an individual is wrongfully sentenced; and third, it establishes the same penalty for the murder of a law enforcement official or innocent citizen as it does for a drug dealer, which, they argued, "violates common sense." The amendment would correct these problems by making a life sentence without parole mandatory for the murder of a law enforcement official or innocent citizen, and by excluding the use of the death penalty, which, they claimed, has no value as a deterrent.

Opponents of the amendment countered that there are a number of protections in the bill to guard against the misuse of the death penalty. Not only must a jury unanimously decide that the death penalty is warranted, but the bill includes all the constitutional guarantees and takes into account the defendant's age and mental competence. Sentencing a murderer to life without parole does not necessarily protect society, they argued, citing two drug-related murders in New York this year that were ordered by persons in prison. While the death penalty is essential to deter drug-related murders, they emphasized, it alone will not solve the drug problem; society will have to become more involved in fighting the problem.

S. 2455: Vote Nos. 171, 172, 174, 175.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (65)		NAYS (31)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (27 or 53%)	Republicans (38 or 84%)	Democrats (24 or 47%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Armstrong	McCain	Burdick	Biden-3	Specter-2
Baucus	Bond	McClure	Conrad	Chiles-2	
Bentsen	Boschwitz	McConnell	Cranston	Kerry-2AN	
Bingaman	Cochran	Murkowski	Fowler		
Boren	D'Amato	Nickles	Glenn		
Bradley	Dole	Packwood	Gore		
Breaux	Domeneici	Pressler	Harkin		
Bumpers	Garn	Quayle	Inouye		
Byrd	Cramm	Roth	Kennedy		
Daschle	Grassley	Rudman	Lautenberg		
DeConcini	Hatch	Simpson	Leahy		
Dixon	Hecht	Stafford	Levin		
Dodd	Heinz	Stevens	Matsunaga		
Evan	Helms	Symms	Melcher		
Ford	Humphrey	Thurmond	Mikulski		
Graham	Karnes	Trible	Mitchell		
Healin	Kassebaum	Wallon	Moynihan		
Hollings	Kasten	Warner	Pell		
Johnston	Lugar	Wilson	Proxmire		
Metzenbaum			Sarbanes		
Nunn			Sasser		
Pryor			Simon		
Reid			Stennis		
Riegle			Wirth		
Rockefeller					
Sanford					
Shelby					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—53%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats—27 or 42%
Republicans—38 or 58%

Against (31)
Democrats—24 or 77%
Republicans—7 or 23%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 172

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 9, 1988, 3:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7500

DEATH PENALTY/DRUG-RELATED KILLINGS (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2455

TITLE: "Death Penalty in Case of Drug-Related Killings"

SUBJECT: Dole, et al., motion to close further debate on the bill which authorizes the imposition of the death penalty for drug-related killings of innocent persons and law enforcement officers.

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 8, 1988, was signed by Senators Dole, Nickles, Cochran, Stevens, Bond, Thurmond, Exon, Kasten, Helms, Gramm, Karnes, Kassebaum, Tribble, Murkowski, Wilson, Quayle, Garn, Humphrey, Domenici, Hecht, Simpson, McConnell, Rudman, Symms, D'Amato, McCain, Hatch, Armstrong, Wallop, and Boschwitz. By unanimous consent, the Senate agreed to vote on the motion on the following day.

S. 2455: Vote Nos. 171, 172, 174, 175.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.

YEAS (70)				NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (31 or 61%)		Republicans (39 or 87%)		Democrats (20 or 39%)	Republicans (6 or 13%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Heflin	Armstrong	McClure	Burdick	Chafee	Biden ⁻¹	Specter ⁻²
Baucus	Hollings	Bond	McConnell	Conrad	Cohen	Chiles ⁻²	
Bentsen	Inouye	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Cranston	Danforth	Kerry ^{-2AN}	
Bingaman	Johnston	Cochran	Nickles	Fowler	Durenberger		
Boren	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Packwood	Glenn	Evans		
Bradley	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler	Gore	Hatfield		
Breaux	Moynihan	Domenici	Quayle	Harkin			
Bumpers	Nunn	Garn	Roth	Kennedy			
Byrd	Pell	Gramm	Rudman	Leahy			
Daschle	Pryor	Grassley	Simpson	Levin			
DeConcini	Reid	Hatch	Stafford	Matsunaga			
Dixon	Riegle	Hecht	Stevens	Melcher			
Dodd	Rockefeller	Heinz	Symms	Mikulski			
Exon	Shelby	Helms	Thurmond	Mitchell			
Ford	Wirth	Humphrey	Tribble	Proxmire			
Graham		Karnes	Wallop	Sanford			
		Kassebaum	Warner	Sarbanes			
		Kasten	Weicker	Sasser			
		Lugar	Wilson	Simon			
		McCain		Stennis			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

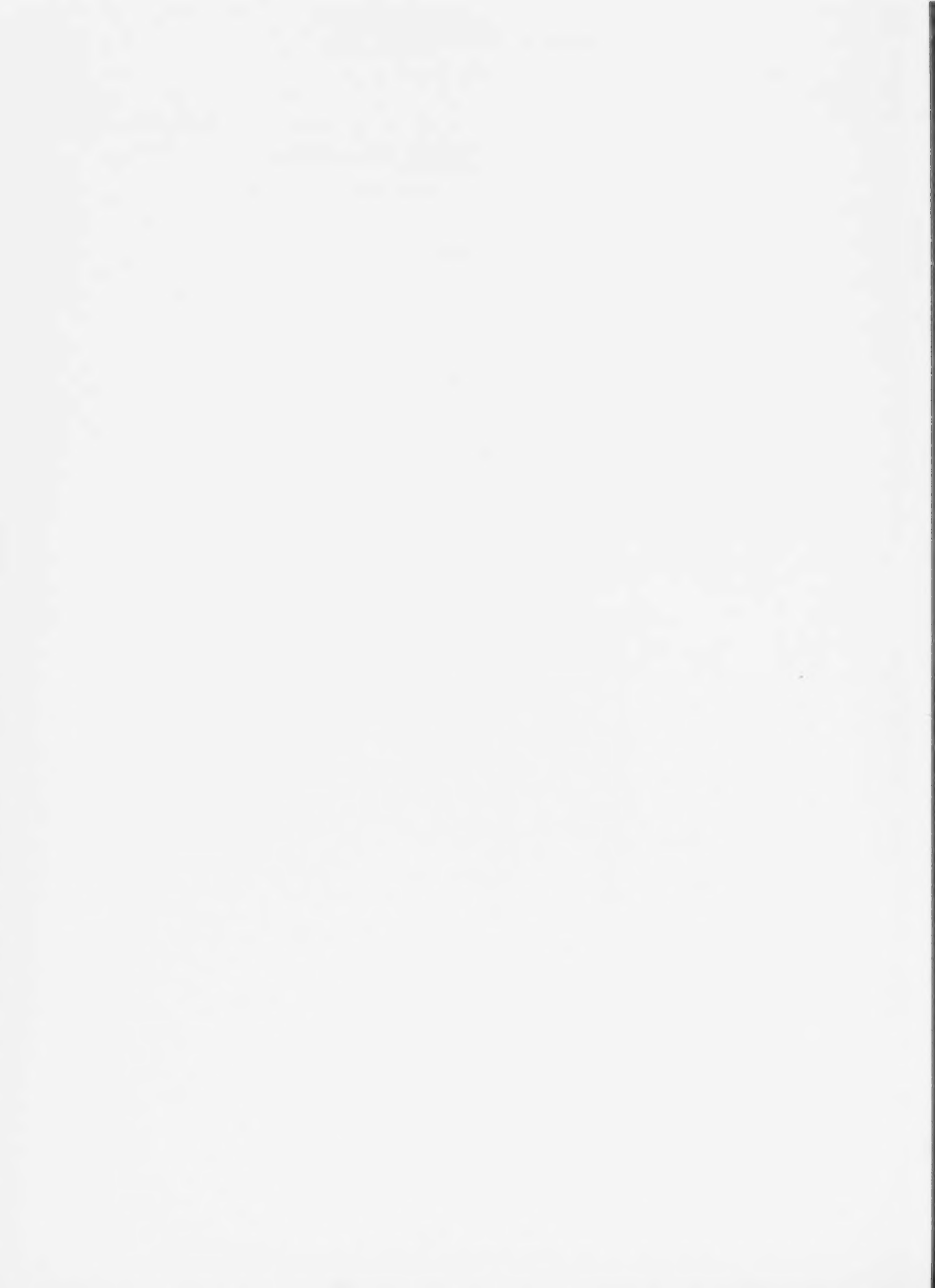
Democrats—61%
Republicans—87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats—31 or 44%
Republicans—39 or 56%

Against (26)
Democrats—20 or 77%
Republicans—6 or 23%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 173

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 9, 1988, 5:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7505

POLYGRAPH PROTECTION (CONFERENCE REPORT)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1212 (S. 1904)

TITLE: "Polygraph Protection Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report for the bill which prohibits polygraph examinations by the private sector, except under limited specified circumstances.

NOTE: H.R. 1212 became Public Law 100-347, approved June 27, 1988.

H.R. 1212 (S. 1904): Vote Nos. 33-43, 173.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (68)			NAYS (24)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)	Republicans (20 or 47%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (23 or 53%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Graham	Bond	Biden—3	Cohen—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz		Cochran	Chiles—2	Domenici—2
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee		Garn	Gore—2AY	Specter—2
Bingaman	Leahy	D'Amato		Gramm	Kerry—2AY	
Boren	Levin	Danforth		Grassley	Metzenbaum—2	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Dole		Hecht		
Breaux	Melcher	Durenberger		Helms		
Bumpers	Mikulski	Evans		Karnes		
Burdick	Mitchell	Hatch		Kassebaum		
Byrd	Moynihan	Hatfield		McCain		
Conrad	Nunn	Heinz		McClure		
Cranston	Pell	Humphrey		McConnell		
Daschle	Proxmire	Kasten		Nickles		
DeConcini	Pryor	Lugar		Pressler		
Dixon	Reid	Murkowski		Quayle		
Dodd	Riegle	Packwood		Roth		
Exon	Rockefeller	Simpson		Rudman		
Ford	Sanford	Stafford		Symms		
Fowler	Sarbanes	Stevens		Thurmond		
Glenn	Sasser	Weicker		Trible		
Harkin	Shelby			Wallop		
Heflin	Simon			Warner		
Hollings	Stennis			Wilson		
Inouye	Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats—48 or 71%
Republicans—20 or 29%

Against (24)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—23 or 96%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Lie Detector Use Prohibition: Prohibits, except as provided in this Act, employers from (1) requiring or requesting any employee or applicant to submit to a lie detector test, (2) using or referring to the results of lie detector tests, or (3) threatening or taking adverse employment action against any individual who refuses or fails a polygraph test, or exercises any right granted under this Act; requires the Secretary of Labor to issue regulations to carry out these provisions within 90 days of enactment, and to prepare and distribute a notice summarizing the Act's protections which must be posted by employers.

Enforcement: Permits the Secretary to assess civil penalties of up to \$10,000 for employer violations; allows the Secretary to bring an action for injunctive or other legal or equitable relief incident thereto; permits employees to bring an action within three years of the alleged violation; specifies that the rights and procedures afforded under the Act may not be waived unless the waiver is part of a written settlement agreed to and signed by all the parties to the pending action or complaint.

Exemptions: Exempts Federal, State, and local governments; applicants, employees, and private contractors to the National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, CIA, and FBI who are subject to intelligence or counterintelligence investigations; individuals who require a security clearance to perform their job; and private contractors to DOD and DOE.

Permits the use of a polygraph on prospective employees by private employers whose primary business is providing armored car personnel, security systems or personnel used in the protection of electric or nuclear power facilities, public water supplies, toxic or nuclear waste shipment or storage, public transportation, or currency, negotiable securities, precious commodities or instruments, or proprietary information.

Permits an employer to request an employee to submit to a polygraph test as part of an ongoing investigation involving an economic loss or injury if the employee had access to the property under investigation, there is reasonable suspicion that the employee was involved, and the employer executes a statement setting forth the specific incident or activity investigated and the basis for testing a particular employee; requires that the statement be signed by a person authorized by law to bind the employer and retained by the employer for three years; specifies that at a minimum, the statement must identify the specific loss or injury to the employer and describe the reasonable suspicion that led the employer to believe that the employee was involved in the incident or activity; requires that the employee be provided with a copy of the statement before the test is administered.

Restrictions: Makes the exemption for ongoing investigations inapplicable if an employee is discharged, disciplined, denied employment or promotion, or otherwise discriminated against on the basis of the analysis of a polygraph or the refusal to take a polygraph without additional supporting evidence, and the exemptions for security personnel or controlled substances inapplicable if the results of an analysis of the polygraph are used as the sole basis for an adverse employment action.

Permits an employee to terminate the test at any time; prohibits certain questions from being asked during the test, including those concerning religion, racial matters, politics, and sexual behavior; prohibits harassing interrogation techniques; prohibits polygraph testing upon written evidence by a physician that the examinee is suffering from a medical or psychological condition or undergoing treatment that might cause abnormal responses.

Requires that an employee be given reasonable notice of the date, time, and location of the test and of his/her right to consult with legal counsel or an employee representative before each phase of the test; requires that the examinee be informed in writing of the nature and characteristics of the tests and the instruments involved as well as whether the testing area contains a two-way mirror, camera, or other observation or recording device; permits the employer or the examinee to make a recording of the test; requires that the examinee read and sign a written notice which states that he/she is not required to take the test as a condition of employment, that any statement made during the test may constitute additional supporting evidence for an adverse employment action, and of all rights afforded under the Act to the examinee and the employer; prohibits questions during the actual test that were not presented in advance in writing for review to the examinee.

Requires the employer, before taking any adverse employment action, to further interview the employee on the basis of the test results and provide him/her with a written copy of the questions asked during the test along with the corresponding charted responses and any opinions or conclusions.

Prohibits an examiner from conducting a test of less than 90 minutes duration or more than 5 tests in one day.

Disclosure of Information: Limits disclosure of information obtained during the examination to the employee or his/her designee, the employer who lawfully requested the test or any court, government agency, arbitrator, or mediator pursuant to court order; also permits disclosure of criminal conduct made by the examinee to any appropriate governmental agency.

Effect on Other Laws: Specifies that this Act does not preempt a more restrictive State or local law or collective bargaining agreement.

Effective Date: Makes the Act effective six months after enactment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 174

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 10, 1988, 11:23 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7564

DEATH PENALTY/DRUG-RELATED KILLINGS

BILL NO.: S. 2455

AMENDMENT NO.: 2341

TITLE: "Death Penalty in Case of Drug-Related Killings"

SUBJECT: D'Amato motion to table the Simon amendment which restricts the use of the death penalty to the drug-related killing of a law enforcement officer.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that if the death penalty is actually a deterrent to drug related murders (an assertion that they questioned), then its use should be applied exclusively to protecting law enforcement officials. The bill is a "drug dealers' protection act" because it would make it a Federal offense to kill a drug dealer. Over 90 percent of those killed in drug related murders are other drug dealers, it was claimed, and the balance is largely law enforcement officials. The amendment would focus the use of the death penalty on the group whose deaths are the most tragic—law enforcement officials, whose murders are premeditated and cold blooded.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the amendment would not permit the use of the death penalty for the murder of innocent civilians who are the targets of drug-related murders, or are caught in a shoot-out. Moreover, allowing the use of the death penalty for the killing of a drug dealer is not a form of protection for that person, as alleged by the proponents. Some opposed the amendment (and the bill) on the grounds that the death penalty is fundamentally wrong.

S. 2455: Vote Nos. 171, 172, 174, 175.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (66)			NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (26 or 52%)	Republicans (40 or 91%)		Democrats (24 or 48%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Armstrong	McCain	Boren	Chafee	Adams ²	Cohen ²
Bentsen	Bond	McClure	Burdick	Danforth	Biden ³	Gramm ²
Bingaman	Boschwitz	McConnell	Conrad	Evans	Chiles ²	
Bradley	Cochran	Murkowski	Cranston	Weicker	Mikulski ^{2AN}	
Breaux	D'Amato	Nickles	Dodd			
Bumpers	Dole	Packwood	Fowler			
Byrd	Domenici	Pressler	Glenn			
Daschle	Durenberger	Quayle	Gore			
DeConcini	Garn	Roth	Inouye			
Dixon	Grassley	Rudman	Johnston			
Exon	Hatch	Simpson	Kennedy			
Ford	Hatfield	Specter	Kerry			
Graham	Hecht	Stafford	Lautenberg			
Harkin	Heinz	Stevens	Levin			
Heflin	Helms	Symms	Matsunaga			
Hollings	Humphrey	Thurmond	Melcher			
Leahy	Karnes	Trible	Mitchell			
Metzenbaum	Kassebaum	Wallop	Moynihan			
Nunn	Kasten	Warner	Pell			
Pryor	Lugar	Wilson	Proxmire			
Reid			Sanford			
Riegle			Sasser			
Rockefeller			Simon			
Sarbanes			Wirth			
Shelby						
Stennis						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 52%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats— 26 or 39%
Republicans— 40 or 61%

Against (28)
Democrats— 24 or 86%
Republicans— 4 or 14%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 175

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 10, 1988, 12:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7579

DEATH PENALTY/DRUG-RELATED KILLINGS

BILL NO.: S. 2455

TITLE: "Death Penalty in Case of Drug-Related Killings"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which authorizes the imposition of the death penalty for drug-related killings of innocent persons and law enforcement officers.

S. 2455: Vote Nos. 171, 172, 174, 175.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (65)			NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (28 or 55%)	Republicans (37 or 86%)		Democrats (23 or 45%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Armstrong	McConnell	Burdick	Chafee	Adams ²	Cohen ²
Bentsen	Bond	Murkowski	Conrad	Danforth	Biden ³	Gramm ^{2AY}
Bingaman	Boschwitz	Nickles	Cranston	Durenberger	Chiles ²	Humphrey ²
Boren	Cochran	Packwood	Fowler	Evans		
Bradley	D'Amato	Pressler	Glenn	Hatfield		
Breaux	Dole	Quayle	Gore	Weicker		
Bumpers	Domenici	Roth	Harkin			
Byrd	Garn	Rudman	Inouye			
Daschle	Grassley	Simpson	Kennedy			
DeConcini	Hatch	Specter	Kerry			
Dixon	Hecht	Stafford	Lautenberg			
Dodd	Heinz	Stevens	Leahy			
Eaton	Helms	Symms	Levin			
Ford	Karnes	Thurmond	Matsunaga			
Graham	Kassebaum	Trible	Melcher			
Heflin	Kasten	Wallop	Mikulski			
Hollings	Lugar	Warner	Mitchell			
Johnston	McCain	Wilson	Pell			
Metzenbaum	McClure		Proxmire			
Moynihan			Sanford			
Nunn			Simon			
Pryor			Stennis			
Reid			Wirth			
Riegle						
Rockefeller						
Sarbanes						
Sasser						
Shelby						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 55%
Republicans— 86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 28 or 43%
Republicans— 37 or 57%

Against (29)
Democrats— 23 or 79%
Republicans— 6 or 21%

authorizes the death penalty to be imposed in the following two circumstances, upon anyone who:

In a "continuing criminal enterprise" under the Controlled Substances Act, intentionally or with reckless indifference, kills or participates substantially in the killing of any person. **NOTE:** Under the Controlled Substances Act, one engaged in a "continuing criminal enterprise" must have: (a) been involved in a continuing series of felony violations of the Act undertaken with five or more persons, (b) been the organizer, supervisor, or in another management position in the drug enterprise, and (c) obtained substantial income or resources from the drug enterprise.

Intentionally or with reckless indifference, kills or substantially participates in the killing of a law enforcement officer, while the individual was committing, or attempting to avoid prosecution or service of a prison sentence for, a felony violation of the Controlled Substances Act.

forth procedures to be followed before the death penalty may be imposed, which include: (1) a separate sentencing hearing before a jury, or before a judge if the defendant so requests and the government agrees; (2) consideration by the jury (or judge) of a series of aggravating and mitigating factors; (3) prohibition of the death penalty against a defendant who was under age 18 at the time of the offense, or against a defendant who cannot understand his/her impending death or the reasons therefor because of a mental disability or defect; (4) requirement that the sentencing jury be instructed that it shall not recommend the death penalty for the offense in question, unless it has concluded that it would recommend the death penalty no matter what race the defendant or victim may be; (5) review of the sentence by the Court of Appeals upon appeal by the defendant; (6) appointment of counsel to an indigent defendant in a post-conviction proceeding to vacate the death sentence.

requires the General Accounting Office to study the capital sentencing procedures used by the various States and report to Congress, within one year of enactment, whether or not any or all of the various procedures create a significant risk that the race of a defendant or victim influence the likelihood that defendants in those cases will be sentenced to death.

requires that executions be carried out in public and grants employees of State and Federal correctional institutions, charged with carrying out Federal death sentences, the right to refuse to participate in executions if participation would violate the individuals' moral or religious convictions.

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 14, 1988, 4:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7758

VIETNAM WOMEN VETERANS MEMORIAL

BILL NO.: S. 2042

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which authorizes the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., a nonprofit corporation, to construct and erect a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran at the 2.3 acre Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., in honor and recognition of the women of the U.S. who served in the Vietnam conflict.

NOTE: The bill was cleared for the President after the Senate receded from its amendments. S. 2042 became Public Law 100-660, approved November 15, 1988.

S. 2042: Vote No. 176.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (96)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 98%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar		Evans	Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Chiles—2	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Nunn—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Wallop				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Gore	Sasser	Karnes	Weicker				
Graham	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Simon	Kasten					
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

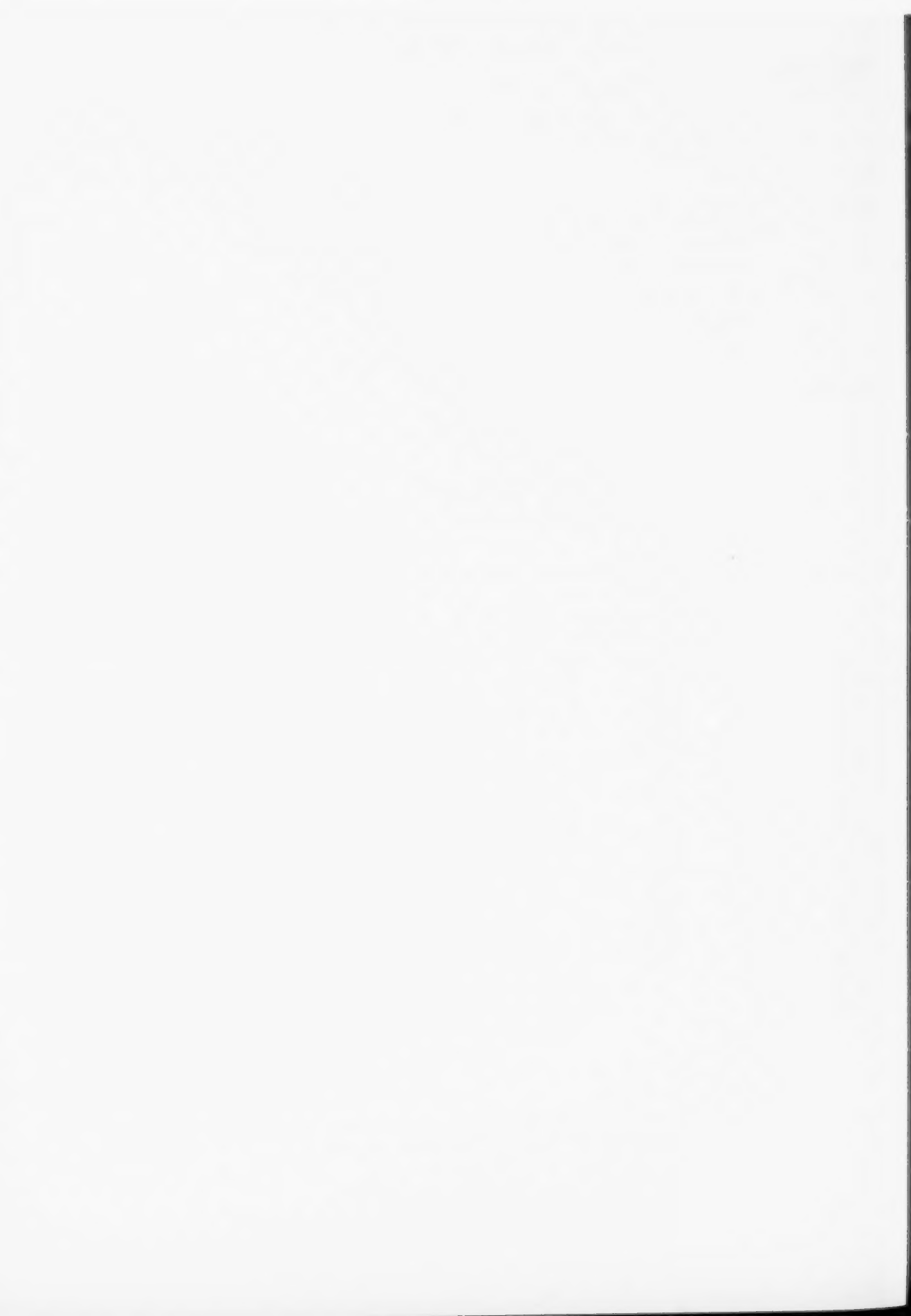
Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats—51 or 53%
Republicans—45 or 47%

Against (1)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—1 or 100%



100th Congress
2nd Session

June 14, 1988, 4:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7759

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4587

TITLE: "Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for FY 1989.

NOTE: In order to highlight the cuts to the science technology budget (which includes the space shuttle and space station), Senator Garn announced he would object to taking up each appropriation measure and ask for a vote thereon. (See also Vote Nos. 179 and 182.)

H.R. 4587: Vote Nos. 177, 178.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (89)				NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (38 or 83%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (8 or 17%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Kasten		Armstrong	Biden-1	
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Lugar		Boschwitz	Chiles-2	
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran	McCain		Garn	Nunn-2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	McClure		Helms		
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	McConnell		Murkowski		
Bradley	Levin	Danforth	Nickles		Symms		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Dole	Packwood		Wallop		
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Pressler		Wilson		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Gramm	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Grassley	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Hatch	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatfield	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Thurmond				
Eaton	Riegle	Humphrey	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Karnes	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats—51 or 57%
Republicans—38 or 43%

Against (8)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—8 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 178

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 14, 1988, 4:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7772

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4587

TITLE: "Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$1,777,831,200 in new budget authority for the legislative branch in FY 1989 which includes the Senate, House, and joint items; the Office of Technology Assessment; CBO; Congressional Research Service; Government Printing Office; Library of Congress; GAO; and the Copyright Royalty Tribunal.

Note: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 30, 1988. H.R. 4587 became Public Law 100-458, approved October 1, 1988.

H.R. 4587: Vote Nos. 177, 178.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (78)				NAYS (18)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (47 or 94%)		Republicans (31 or 67%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (15 or 33%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kennedy	Bond	Kasten	Baucus	Armstrong	Biden ³	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar	Conrad	Garn	Chiles ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McCain	Heflin	Gramm	Nunn ²	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McClure		Hatch	Stennis ²	
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	McConnell		Hecht		
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Murkowski		Helms		
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood		Humphrey		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Rudman		Nickles		
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Specter		Pressler		
Cranston	Mitchell	Durenberger	Stafford		Quayle		
Daschle	Moynihan	Evans	Stevens		Roth		
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Thurmond		Simpson		
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatfield	Trible		Symms		
Dodd	Pryor	Heinz	Warner		Wallop		
Eaton	Reid	Karnes	Weicker		Wilson		
Ford	Riegle	Kassebaum					
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (78)
Democrats—47 or 60%
Republicans—31 or 40%

Against (18)
Democrats—3 or 17%
Republicans—15 or 83%

Appropriates \$1,777,831,200 in new budget authority for the legislative branch for FY 1989 of which \$1.196 billion is for the Senate, House, and joint items, as well as the Office of Technology Assessment, CBO, CRS, and congressional printing done by GPO, and \$572 million is for other agencies which includes the Botanic Garden, Library of Congress, GAO, and the Copyright Royalty Tribunal.

Provides funding in the "Senate Office Buildings" account of the Architect of the Capitol for the demolition of the Plaza Hotel, now housing the Capitol Police, once those personnel have been moved into the renovated Immigration Building, and provides that the space occupied by the Plaza Hotel be used solely for additional Senate Parking to accommodate those vehicles currently parked on the Capitol plaza.

Contains \$325,000 for the U.S. Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control.

Provides that the operations of the U.S. Capitol Police force be funded within joint items under the "Capitol Police Board" to be maintained and disbursed by the Architect of the Capitol and calls for the establishment of a Technical Security Countermeasures Office under the Capitol Police Board responsible for the administration and operation of wiretap detection device systems within the Capitol complex to ensure the security of classified information.

Contains, within the Senate Office Buildings account, \$150,000 for the asbestos abatement program.

Defers appropriations for the Senate subway system until a decision is made on the specific type of system to be installed; calls for various reports on the status of action taken to improve the safety of elevators in the Senate office buildings.

Requires an affirmative vote of Congress before any pay raise for members of Congress can take effect.

Allows committees to employ consultants to study and advise with respect to improved operational effectiveness and efficiency of a committee.

Contains \$10 million to provide for the establishment of the John C. Stennis Center for Public Service Training and Development at Mississippi State University.

Contains several administrative provisions relating to the Senate and House of Representatives.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$1,745,501,500
1989 Budget Estimate	1,966,329,200
Approved by House	1,400,152,000
Approved by Senate	1,778,331,200
Enacted.....	1,804,624,000

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4567

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of the bill making appropriations for energy and water development in FY 1989.

NOTE: In order to highlight the cuts to the science technology budget (which includes the space shuttle and space station), Senator Garn announced he would object to taking up each appropriation measure and ask for a vote thereon. (See also Vote Nos. 177 and 182.)

H.R. 4567: Vote Nos. 179-181, 226.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (96)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)		Republicans (45 or 98%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Lugar	Conrad	Boschwitz	Biden-1	
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McCain			Chiles-2	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Eaton	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Glenn	Sanford	Helms	Wallop				
Gore	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Karnes	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Heflin	Simon	Kasten					
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats—51 or 53%
Republicans—45 or 47%

Against (2)
Democrats—1 or 50%
Republicans—1 or 50%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 180

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 14, 1988, 5:57 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7782

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4567

AMENDMENT NO.: 2354

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Reid appeal of the Chair's ruling that the Reid-Hecht amendment (which increases from \$11 million to \$18 million the appropriation to Nevada for the conduct of its oversight responsibilities pursuant to the Nuclear Waste Policy Act, as deemed necessary to protect the health and safety of Nevada's citizens) violates rule XVI (which prohibits legislation on an appropriation bill) and is out of order. The question is: "Shall the Chair's decision stand as the judgment of the Senate?"

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that Nevada must have adequate resources to monitor the activities of the Department of Energy in characterizing the Yucca mountain site, or else the Nation runs the risk of allowing potential problems to escape notice until the waste site is completed, at which point the State would be forced to confront the Federal government in court. This could create an even more severe waste storage problem if the State is successful in court, since the Yucca mountain site is the only location in the U.S. that is being fully characterized as a high level waste repository. The funds in the amendment would enable Nevada to carry out the necessary level of oversight of DOE's activities, which would assure that any problems are identified early in the project. It was pointed out that the Appropriations Committee would have appropriated more funds for the State if it had known that DOE intended to proceed with full characterization of only one site.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) claimed that additional funds were not needed because DOE is already mandated to provide the highest levels of safety, full public participation and oversight, public hearings, full procedures under the National Environmental Policy Act, and full licensing under the NRC laws. The funds would only be used to duplicate these efforts. Moreover, the amendment expands the fund beyond its original purpose.

H.R. 4567: Vote Nos. 179-181, 226.

RESULT: DECISION OF THE CHAIR SUSTAINED

YEAS (68)		NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (29 or 57%)	Republicans (39 or 85%)	Democrats (22 or 43%)	Republicans (7 or 15%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Bond	McCain	Boren	Armstrong	Adams—2
Bentsen	Boschwitz	McClure	Bumpers	Garn	Biden—3
Bingaman	Chafee	McConnell	Conrad	Grassley	Chiles—2
Bradley	Cochran	Murkowski	Cranston	Hatch	
Breaux	Cohen	Nickles	DeConcini	Hecht	
Burdick	D'Amato	Packwood	Dodd	Thurmond	
Byrd	Danforth	Pressler	Exon	Wilson	
Daschle	Dole	Quayle	Glenn		
Dixon	Domenici	Roth	Gore		
Ford	Durenberger	Rudman	Heflin		
Fowler	Evans	Simpson	Inouye		
Graham	Gramm	Specter	Kennedy		
Harkin	Hatfield	Stafford	Leahy		
Hollings	Heinz	Stevens	Matsunaga		
Johnston	Helms	Symms	Mikulski		
Kerry	Humphrey	Trible	Mitchell		
Lautenberg	Karnes	Wallop	Proxmire		
Levin	Kassebaum	Warner	Pryor		
Melcher	Kasten	Weicker	Reid		
Metzenbaum	Lugar		Riegle		
Moynihan			Sanford		
Nunn			Sarbanes		
Peil					
Rockefeller					
Sasser					
Shelby					
Simon					
Stennis					
Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

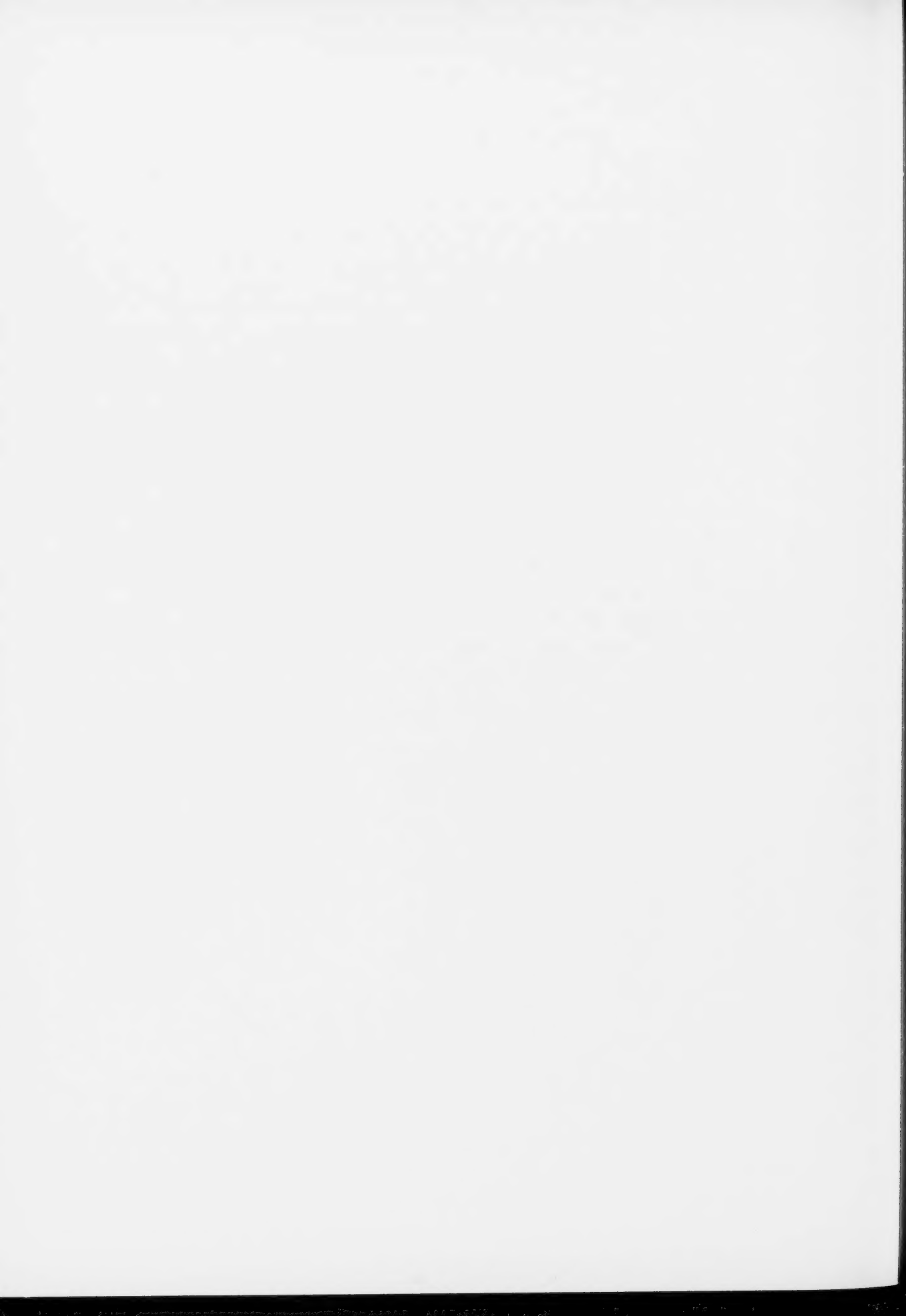
Party Cohesion

Democrats—57%
Republicans—85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats—29 or 43%
Republicans—39 or 57%

Against (29)
Democrats—22 or 76%
Republicans—7 or 24%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 181

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 15, 1988, 10:04 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7833

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4567

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$17,956,901,000 in new budget authority for energy and water development in FY 1989.

H.R. 4567: Vote Nos. 179-181, 226.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (92)				NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (42 or 91%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	Lugar	Proxmire	Chafee	Biden— ³	
Baucus	Inouye	Bond	McCain		Hecht	Matsunaga— ²	
Bentsen	Johnston	Boschwitz	McClure		Humphrey	Pell— ² AY	
Bingaman	Kennedy	Cochran	McConnell		Roth		
Boren	Kerry	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bradley	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Nickles				
Breaux	Leahy	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Levin	Dole	Pressler				
Burdick	Melcher	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Rudman				
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans	Simpson				
Conrad	Mitchell	Garn	Specter				
Cranston	Moynihan	Gramm	Stafford				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dixon	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Dodd	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Eaton	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Ford	Sanford	Karnes	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Sasser	Kasten	Wilson				
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 42 or 46%

Against (5)
Democrats— 1 or 20%
Republicans— 4 or 80%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates \$17,956,901,000 in new budget authority for energy and water development for FY 1989; requires that agencies funded under this Act absorb any pay raise within their appropriated amounts.

Contains \$4.2 billion for Federal water resources development programs, including projects and related activities of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers-Civil and the Bureau of Reclamation; \$8.1 billion for atomic energy defense activities which includes \$3.8 billion for weapons activities and \$2.0 billion for nuclear materials production; \$255 million for SDI research; and a total of \$976.5 million for defense nuclear waste and environmental restoration activities which includes \$43 million for road improvements associated with construction of the waste isolation pilot plant.

Contains \$2.21 billion for energy supply, R&D, and demonstration programs which includes \$98.8 million for solar energy, \$264.0 million for biological and environmental research, \$369.2 million for nuclear fission R&D, \$356.0 million for magnetic fusion, and \$569.7 million for basic energy sciences.

Contains \$934.6 million for general science and research activities in life sciences, high energy physics, and nuclear physics; \$325.7 million for the various power marketing administrations; and \$451.5 million for various regulatory and independent agencies including the Appalachian Regional Commission, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Delaware, Potomac, and Susquehanna River Basin Commissions.

Contains \$369.8 million for DOE's Nuclear Waste-Fund of which \$1 million is for studies and an assessment of transportation needs and requirements in connection with movement of nuclear waste within Nevada; authorizes, at an annualized rate, not to exceed \$11 million to Nevada for the period July 1, 1988-June 30, 1989, for its oversight responsibilities pursuant to the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 as amended, and not to exceed \$5 million to affected local governments as defined in that Act to conduct appropriate activities pursuant to the Act; makes \$6 million available to initiate computerized licensing support and records management systems at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, to handle applications to receive and process high level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel.

Provides that funds received as restitution for certain petroleum pricing violations, when appropriated or expended by a State, be deemed consistent with the restitutionary purposes for which they were received.

Prohibits the use of funds for Power Marketing Administrations or the TVA to pay procurement costs of extra high voltage power equipment not produced in the United States.

Prohibits the use of funds to preclude the Bonneville Power Administration from creating obligations in excess of available cash plus borrowing authority for all authorized purposes, whether or not the obligations are mandated by prior law, unless specifically approved by Congress.

Directs the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the head of each Federal agency for which funds are appropriated under this Act to comply with the instructions and specific allocations and earmarks contained in the joint statement of managers accompanying the conference report.

Prohibits the use of funds for construction projects that use the services of a contractor or subcontractor of a foreign government that denies the U.S. fair and equitable access to its construction projects.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$16,914,598,000
1989 Budget Estimate.....	18,144,547,000
Approved by House.....	17,787,500,000
Approved by Senate	17,956,901,000
Enacted.....	17,831,995,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 182

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 15, 1988, 10:22 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7834

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4586

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill making appropriations for the military construction functions administered by the Department of Defense in FY 1989.

NOTE: In order to highlight the cuts to the science technology budget (which includes the space shuttle and space station), Senator Garn announced he would object to taking up each appropriation measure and ask for a vote thereon. (See also Vote Nos. 177 and 179.)

H.R. 4586: Vote Nos. 182-184.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (97)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)		Republicans (46 or 100%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten	Dixon		Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Pell—2AY	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain				
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Egon	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Gore	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker				
Harkin	Simon	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 51 or 53%
Republicans— 46 or 47%

Against (1)
Democrats— 1 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 183

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 15, 1988, 1:15 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7850

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4586

AMENDMENT NO.: 2367

SUBJECT: Sasser-Bradley-Graham amendment stating the sense of the Senate that, during the Toronto Economic Summit, the President should consult with the leaders of allied countries on the impact on western security of tied and untied loans, trade credits, direct investments, joint ventures, lines of credit, and guarantees or other subsidies to the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba, Vietnam, Libya, or Nicaragua.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that banks in the West should cease lending billions of dollars to the Soviet Union in the form of untied loans (i.e., loans made in cash for no specific purpose). The Soviet Union generates barely enough hard currency to cover the cost of its imports and to service its external debt; consequently, it depends on these untied loans to provide economic and military aid to Cuba, and to fund its "adventurism" in various parts of the world and the activities of the KGB. While the Soviet Union is beginning to initiate reforms in its government, the West should not continue to make untied loans until there is evidence that these reforms will lead to a shift of resources away from military pursuits and toward improving the standards of living of the Soviet people. They stressed that the amendment should not be construed as initiating economic warfare on the Soviet Union, but as simply an effort to stop a process that adds to the defense burden of the U.S.

H.R. 4586: Vote Nos. 182-184.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum			Biden ⁻³	McCain ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Kasten			Pell ^{-2AY}	Stafford ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar				
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Faxon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

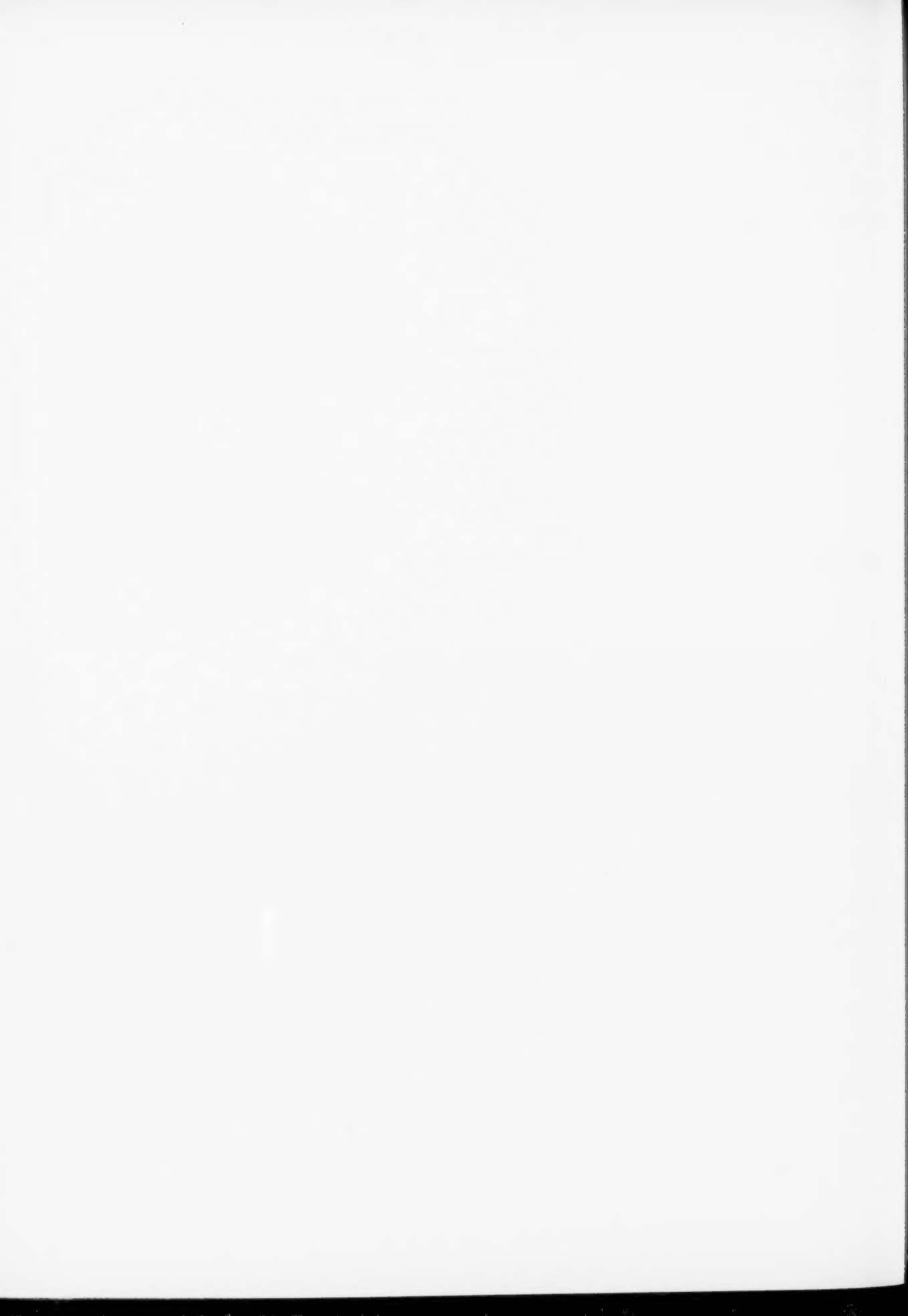
Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats—52 or 54%
Republicans—44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 184

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 15, 1988, 1:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7852

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4586

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$8,582,359,000 in new budget authority for the military construction functions administered by the Department of Defense in FY 1989.

Note: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 14, 1988. H.R. 4586 became Public Law 100-447, approved September 27, 1988.

H.R. 4586: Vote Nos. 182-184.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (93)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (43 or 98%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	Kasten	Proxmire	Humphrey	Biden—3	McCain—2AY
Baucus	Inouye	Bond	Lugar			Johnston—2	Wilson—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McClure			Pell—2AY	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Sanford	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sasser	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats—50 or 54%
Republicans—43 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats—1 or 50%
Republicans—1 or 50%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of \$8,582,359,000 in new budget authority for the military construction functions administered by the Department of Defense in FY 1989; requires that the agencies funded under this Act absorb any pay raise within their appropriated amounts.

Family Housing: Contains \$3.2 billion for family housing; provides for a pilot program in FY 1990 authorizing the installment purchase of not to exceed 3,000 family housing units; prohibits the use of funds for contract cleaning of family housing units.

Guard and Reserves: Contains \$658.2 million for projects for the Guard and Reserve components.

New Bases and Installations: Prohibits the use of funds to initiate construction of new bases inside the continental U.S. unless specifically appropriated or to initiate a new installation overseas without prior notification of the Appropriations Committees.

NATO: Contains \$492 million for the NATO infrastructure program; prohibits funds appropriated to the Air Force for facility construction to support a relocation of the 401st Tactical Fighter Wing based in Spain to another country; requires the Secretary of Defense to report by February 15, 1989, specific actions that will be taken during the fiscal year to encourage improved burden sharing by member NATO nations and Japan.

Philippines/Korea: Defers most funding for projects in the Philippines and Korea; specifically prohibits use of funds for new family housing units in Korea or to expand accompanied tours in Korea pending a review of future U.S. base and force structure in that country.

Soviet Bloc Loans: Prohibits the obligation of funds to contractors from countries which permit untied, general purpose loans to the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, or Libya, and permits the Secretary of Defense to waive this prohibition upon certification to the Appropriations Committees that individual projects are vital to U.S. security interests; and states the sense of the Congress that the President should consult with the leaders of allied countries at the impending economic summit in Toronto on the impact on western security of these loans and other forms of credit and subsidies to these countries.

Foreign Currency Fluctuation: Includes \$142 million to transfer into the foreign currency fluctuation account to help alleviate the immediate currency fluctuation problem.

Rail Garrison MX: Includes the full budget request for construction of facilities at Warren Air Force Base, Wyoming, to support the Rail Garrison basing mode for the MX missile system, but prohibits obligation of the funds until the Secretary has provided a report to the Committee after February 15, 1989, indicating that the rail garrison basing mode has been certified by the President as the policy of the U.S. government.

TACAMO: Provides \$38.08 million for military construction in connection with the basing of the Navy's new E-6A (TACAMO) squadrons, but prohibits expenditure of the funds before October 15, 1988, pending a final determination of the basing site.

Premobilization Construction: Requires notification of the Appropriations Committees within 24 hours of a determination by the President or the Secretary of Defense to utilize premobilization construction authority.

Split Funding: Restores the ability to split fund construction projects during FY 1989 only.

Pentagon Annex: Prohibits the use of funds to initiate design on the proposed Pentagon II complex.

Edgewood Arsenal: Prohibits expenditure of funds to transfer functions from the Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, to any other facility during FY 1989.

Foreign Services: Prohibits the use of funds for construction projects that use the services of a contractor or subcontractor of a foreign government that denies the U.S. fair and equitable access to its construction projects.

National Test Facility: Places restrictions on the expenditure of funds for construction of the National Test Facility, Falcon Air Force Station, Colorado, that would provide an early deployment capability for a ballistic missile defense system.

474th Tactical Fighter Wing: Prohibits the use of funds to remove or relocate the 474th Tactical Fighter Wing from Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada.

Naval Agricultural Leases: Prohibits the Navy from entering into agricultural leases of longer than one year at the Naval Air Station at Fallon, Nevada.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$8,500,000,000
1989 Budget Estimate	8,797,900,000
Approved by House	8,795,895,000
Approved by Senate	8,582,359,000
Enacted.....	8,797,000,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 185

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 15, 1988, 4:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7867

BICENTENNIAL COIN/FSLIC

BILL NO.: H.R. 3251

AMENDMENT NO.: 2370

TITLE: "Bicentennial of the United States Congress Commemorative Coin Act"

SUBJECT: Proxmire motion to table the Graham perfecting amendment (to the Proxmire amendment No. 2369) which permits the Federal Savings and Loan Corporation (FSLIC) to establish criteria for measuring the degree to which any insured institution poses a risk to the FSLIC's reserves and to assess an additional premium against any insured institution in accordance with the risk determination.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that FSLIC should be given the authority to adopt a risk-based premium approach to insuring deposits. According to hearings before the Banking Committee, both FDIC and FSLIC testified that they wanted to consider the use of risk-based premiums, since under the current system there is no relationship between an institution's payments for insurance, and its investment activities; however, the corporations were not certain that they had the authority. By providing FSLIC with the authority, the Corporation would be permitted to establish criteria for measuring and determining the degree to which any insured institution poses a risk to the reserves of FSLIC. Such an approach would help stabilize the savings and loan industry, rebuild public confidence, and end a practice that "privatizes profits and socializes losses."

Opponents of the amendment agreed that a risk-based premium system has merit but countered that hearings should be held first on such an approach. Among the many problems that need to be addressed is determining an appropriate way to measure risk with respect to an S&L's investments. In addition, the amendment would make it more difficult to pass the bill and establish the one-year moratorium on thrift institutions leaving the FSLIC.

H.R. 3251: Vote Nos. 185, 186.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (80)				NAYS (15)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (38 or 75%)		Republicans (42 or 95%)		Democrats (13 or 25%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Leahy	Bond	Kasten	Bradley	Armstrong	Biden ³	McCain ²
Baucus	Levin	Boschwitz	Lugar	Chiles	Helms	Gore ²	Wilson ²
Bentsen	Matsunaga	Chafee	McClure	Conrad		Kennedy ²	
Bingaman	Melcher	Cochran	McConnell	Dodd			
Boren	Metzenbaum	Cohen	Murkowski	Ford			
Breaux	Mikulski	D'Amato	Nickles	Graham			
Bumpers	Moynihan	Danforth	Packwood	Hollings			
Burdick	Nunn	Dole	Pressler	Johnston			
Byrd	Pell	Domenici	Quayle	Kerry			
Cranston	Proxmire	Durenberger	Roth	Lautenberg			
Daschle	Reid	Evans	Rudman	Mitchell			
DeConcini	Riegle	Garn	Simpson	Pryor			
Dixon	Rockefeller	Gramm	Specter	Sasser			
Eaton	Sanford	Grassley	Stafford				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Hatch	Stevens				
Glenn	Shelby	Hatfield	Symms				
Harkin	Simon	Hecht	Thurmond				
Heflin	Stennis	Heinz	Trible				
Inouye	Wirth	Humphrey	Wallop				
		Karnes	Warner				
		Kassebaum	Weicker				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 75%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)
Democrats— 38 or 47.5%
Republicans— 42 or 52.5%

Against (15)
Democrats— 13 or 87%
Republicans— 2 or 13%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 186

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 15, 1988, 5:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7872

BICENTENNIAL COIN/FSLIC

BILL NO.: H.R. 3251

TITLE: "Bicentennial of the United States Congress Commemorative Coin Act"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which authorizes the Treasury Department to mint up to \$8 million in U.S. coins to commemorate the bicentennial of Congress and makes the income from the sale of the coins available to the U.S. Capitol Restoration Commission for improvements to or acquisitions for the U.S. Capitol; extends for one year, from August 10, 1988, to August 10, 1989, the moratorium on thrift institutions leaving the Federal Savings and Loan Corporation; and provides for the minting of coins to commemorate the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dwight David Eisenhower, and the 100th anniversaries of Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming.

NOTE: A House-Senate compromise of the bill was cleared for the President on July 13, 1988. H.R. 3251 became Public Law 100-378, approved August 1, 1988.

H.R. 3251: Vote Nos. 185, 186.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (96)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kassebaum			Biden— ³	McCain— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Kasten			Chiles— ²	Wilson— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar				
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Exon	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Glenn	Sanford	Helms	Wallop				
Gore	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Karnes	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats—52 or 54%
Republicans—44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 187

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 16, 1988, 10:03 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7923

CORPORATE TAKEOVERS

BILL NO.: S. 1323

TITLE: "Tender Offer Disclosure and Fairness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill which expands the existing requirements for disclosure of major stock acquisitions and strengthens the ability of the Securities and Exchange Commission to deter tender offer abuses and insider trading.

S. 1323: Vote No. 187, 193, 194.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (79)				NAYS (12)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (43 or 93%)		Republicans (36 or 80%)		Democrats (3 or 7%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (8)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten	Bentsen	Boschwitz	Biden- ³	McCain- ²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Lugar	Shelby	Garn	Breaux- ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure	Wirth	Gramm	Dodd- ²	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell		Hecht	Gore- ²	
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski		Helms	Heflin- ²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles		Quayle	Inouye- ²	
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood		Roth	Nunn- ²	
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler		Symms	Stennis- ²	
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman		Wallop		
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Eaton	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Humphrey	Warner				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Karnes	Weicker				
Glenn	Sanford	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Hollings	Simon						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

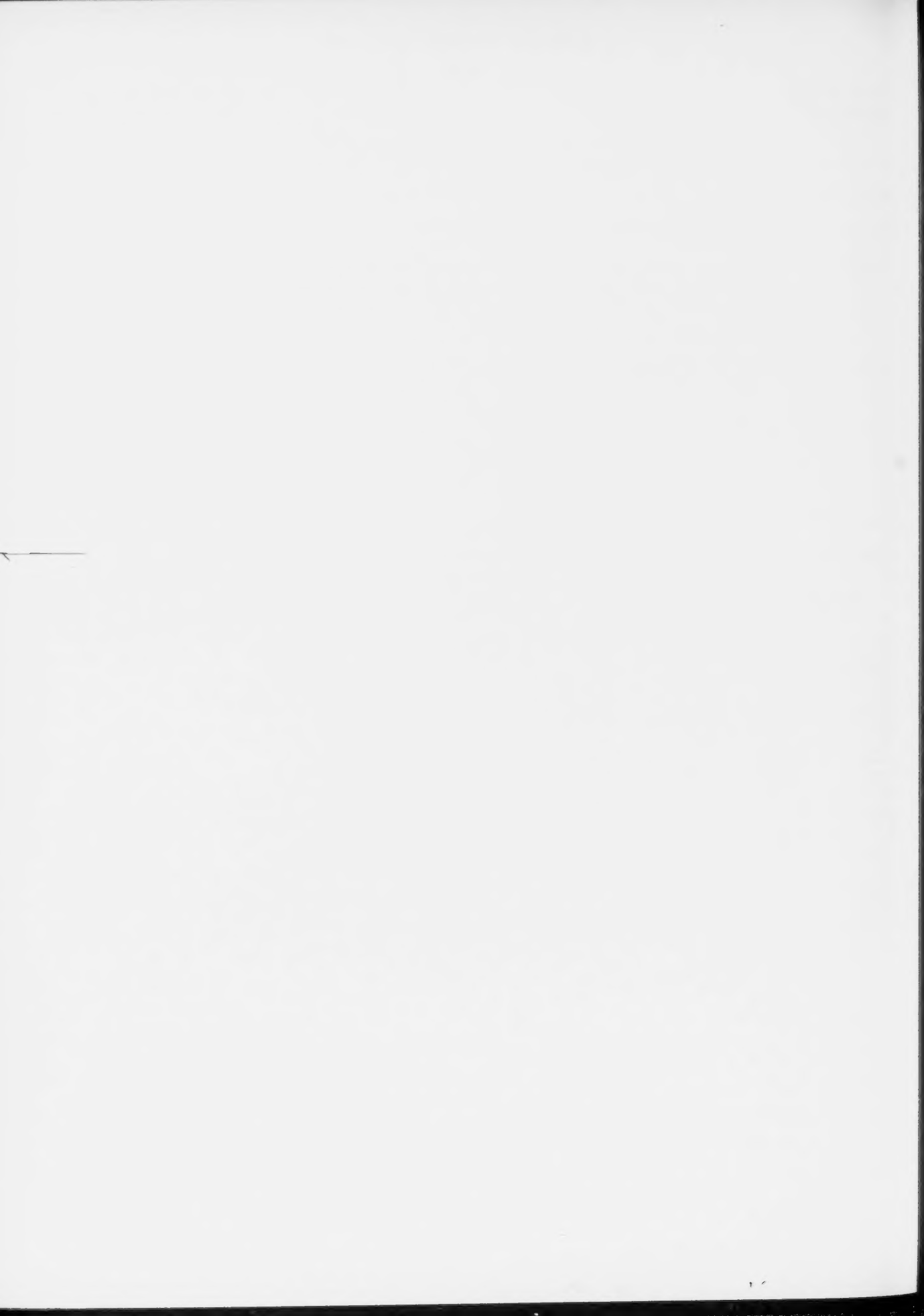
Party Cohesion

Democrats—93%
Republicans—80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (79)
Democrats—43 or 54%
Republicans—36 or 46%

Against (12)
Democrats—3 or 25%
Republicans—9 or 75%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 188

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 16, 1988, 6:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7992

WELFARE REFORM (WORK PROGRAM)

BILL NO.: S. 1511 (H.R. 1720)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2392

TITLE: "Family Security Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Moynihan motion to table the Dole-Armstrong amendment which requires that one parent in a two-parent AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) household participate for a minimum 16 hours a week in either a work supplementation or a community work experience program. (Any State with a current AFDC-UP program will not have complied with this requirement unless it has 50 percent participation from the present through September 30, 1994, and 100 percent participation thereafter; States without a current program will have until 1996 to achieve 100 percent participation.) (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that effective welfare reform requires increasing the responsibility not only of the Federal and State governments, but also of the welfare recipient. By establishing a work requirement, welfare recipients would be compensating the public in part for their benefits. Such a requirement is consistent with the attitudes of most working Americans who ultimately pay for welfare benefits. Since most welfare recipients would prefer to be working, they should be given the opportunity to do so. The amendment would require that one parent of a two-parent family receiving AFDC work 16 hours a week, leaving ample time to participate in job training or other programs. The bill provides States with almost four times the resources they currently receive to devise jobs programs to help break the cycle of dependency, and brings between 60,000 and 90,000 two-parent families into the welfare system. A strong work requirement would assure that the President does not veto the bill.

Opponents of the amendment countered that establishing a work requirement for two-parent AFDC families effectively amounts to requiring all States to initiate a Community Work Experience Program (CWEP). Currently, nine States have State-wide CWEP programs, and 28 States have only partial programs. The low level of State participation is due to the realization that CWEP is not effective. Most two-parent families seeking assistance need help finding a job, not welfare or literacy or skills

(OVER)

S. 1511 (H.R. 1720): Vote Nos. 188, 189.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (41)			NAYS (54)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (38 or 73%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)		Democrats (14 or 27%)	Republicans (40 or 93%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Bentsen	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden ⁻³	Durenberger ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Evans	Boren	Bond	McCain	Levin ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Weicker	Bumpers	Boschwitz	McConnell		McClure ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy		Byrd	Cochran	Murkowski		
Breaux	Matsunaga		DeConcini	Cohen	Nickles		
Burdick	Melcher		Dixon	D'Amato	Packwood		
Chiles	Metzenbaum		Exon	Danforth	Pressler		
Conrad	Mikulski		Gore	Dole	Quayle		
Cranston	Mitchell		Heflin	Domenici	Roth		
Daschle	Moynihan		Nunn	Garn	Rudman		
Dodd	Pell		Proxmire	Gramm	Simpson		
Ford	Pryor		Reid	Grassley	Specter		
Fowler	Riegle		Rockefeller	Hatch	Stafford		
Glenn	Sanford		Shelby	Hatfield	Stevens		
Graham	Sarbanes			Heinz	Symms		
Harkin	Sasser			Helms	Thurmond		
Hollings	Simon			Humphrey	Trible		
Inouye	Stennis			Karnes	Wallop		
Johnston	Wirth			Kassebaum	Warner		
				Kasten	Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 73%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (41)
Democrats— 38 or 93%
Republicans— 3 or 7%

Against (54)
Democrats— 14 or 26%
Republicans— 40 or 74%

training, and those who do participate in CWEP use it as a form of unemployment insurance while they look for new jobs. One-fourth of the program's participants are in the program for only six months. The amendment would force States to enroll in CWEP people who could be placed directly in jobs and would create a complex and costly administrative process. The Senate does not need to create an incentive for governors to get people off welfare because the States have to bear approximately half the cost of the benefits. Some argued that establishing a work requirement is inconsistent with requirements for recipients of other Federal funds, including prisoners, those in mental institutions, and the developmentally disabled. The governors—who urged passage of this welfare reform bill—strongly oppose the amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 189

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 16, 1988, 7:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8008

WELFARE REFORM

BILL NO.: H.R. 1720 (S. 1511)

TITLE: "Family Security Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends Title IV of the Social Security Act to replace the AFDC program with a comprehensive program of mandatory child support and work training which provides for transitional child care and medical assistance, benefits improvement, and mandatory extension of coverage to two-parent families.

H.R. 1720 (S. 1511): Vote Nos. 188, 189.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (93)				NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (52 or 98%)		Republicans (41 or 95%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	McCain	Proxmire	Helms	Biden ⁻³	Durenberger ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McConnell		Humphrey		Hecht ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Murkowski				McClure ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	Nickles				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Packwood				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Pressler				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Quayle				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Roth				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Rudman				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Simpson				
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans	Specter				
Conrad	Mitchell	Garn	Stafford				
Cranston	Moynihan	Gramm	Stevens				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Symms				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Trible				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Wallop				
Exon	Riegle	Karnes	Warner				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Fowler	Sanford	Kasten	Wilson				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Lugar					
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 52 or 56%
Republicans— 41 or 44%

Against (3)
Democrats— 1 or 33%
Republicans— 2 or 67%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Child Support Enforcement: Requires States to (1) establish, and review every five years, guidelines for child support awards that are binding on judges and other officials, unless there is good cause, and (2) within one year of enactment, provide for the periodic review and adjustment of child support awards and, within five years, provide biennial review of all child support awards being enforced by the child support agency, upon either parent's request.

Requires States to implement immediate wage withholding (without waiting for arrearage) for all child support orders entered into on or after January 1, 1994, unless the State finds good cause or both parties agree to an alternative arrangement; makes immediate wage withholding applicable to old orders, if requested by the custodial parent and granted by the State; allows State child support agencies to request immediate withholding for orders being enforced on behalf of welfare recipient families, regardless of any alternative arrangement agreement; requires the Secretary of HHS to report on the feasibility and effects of requiring immediate wage withholding for orders not being enforced by State agencies; and authorizes States to allow or require absent parents unable to pay court-ordered child support because of unemployment to participate in the new JOBS program.

Requires States to develop a Federally-approved Statewide system to monitor child support cases being enforced by the child support enforcement agency; allows waiver of the requirement if a State demonstrates that it has alternative system(s) in substantial compliance; mandates that States require parents to furnish their social security numbers upon the birth of a child and make the information available to child support enforcement agencies; requires the Secretaries of Labor and HHS to give the Federal Parent Locator Service prompt access to wage and unemployment claims information that may help in locating an absent parent or his/her employer through the State "INTERNET" arrangement or other procedures and requires States to participate in order to receive unemployment compensation administration grants; authorizes \$2 million for a Commission on Interstate Child Support to make recommendations for revising and improving the interstate enforcement system.

Requires the Secretary of HHS, after consulting with an advisory committee, to establish time limits within which States must (1) respond to requests for assistance in establishing and enforcing support orders and (2) distribute child support collected by State agencies; and requires CBO to study the implementation of a national minimum payment standard under the child support supplement program.

Provides 90 percent Federal matching for lab tests to establish paternity, and requires States to meet paternity establishment standards for children born out of wedlock who receive child support enforcement program services.

Education, Employment, and Training: Replaces the Work Incentive (WIN) program with a new Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS); requires each State to establish a JOBS program under an approved plan and to make it available State-wide within three years of enactment, unless the State demonstrates to the Secretary that it is not feasible; requires all States to include among the program components basic education and skills training and at least two of the following activities: job search, grant diversion, and a community work experience or other approved work program; requires States to coordinate Job Training Partnership Act and JOBS programs.

Provides Federal funding for the JOBS program as a capped entitlement limited to \$500 million for FY 1989, \$650 million in 1990, \$800 million in 1991, and \$1 billion in 1992 and thereafter; establishes a Federal matching rate of 90 percent; allocates the first \$126 million among the States in an amount equal to each State's 1987 WIN allocation and additional funds in proportion to a State's adult welfare population; funds child care costs on an open-ended basis at the matching rate of 50/80 depending on State per capita income; reduces Federal JOBS funding to States which fail to devote at least 50 percent of JOBS funds to specific target groups; contains provisions governing the operation of the new JOBS Program including provisions to assure fair hearings before the imposition of any sanctions.

Establishes JOBS participation rates and, beginning in 1991, penalizes States for failing to meet the requirements; authorizes the Secretary to waive all or part of the penalty in certain circumstances; makes participation generally mandatory for able-bodied, adult welfare recipients except those caring for children under age three (with States permitted to lower the threshold to age one); limits mandatory participation, except for school attendance, to part-time for parents caring for children under age six; makes school attendance mandatory for parents under age 22 who have not graduated from high school, regardless of the age of their children; guarantees child care when necessary for participation; requires States to allow voluntary participation; generally retains current law sanctions for failure to participate in the JOBS program; and requires an individual to accept employment under the JOBS program only if the individual's family will not experience a net cash income loss.

Establishes a new Assistant Secretary of HHS to be responsible for the Federal administration of welfare programs; requires States to involve the private sector in program planning and design; directs the Secretary to evaluate the new JOBS program and to recommend to Congress a set of program performance standards, including participation rates, within five years of enactment.

Work Transition Benefits: Requires States to provide child care necessary for a parent's employment for nine months in cases where the parent has lost assistance because of increased employment hours or income or the loss of earnings disregards; limits transitional care to a total of nine months in any 36-month period; requires families to contribute to the cost, according to a State-established fee schedule, and provides Federal matching funds to States on an open-ended entitlement basis at the Medicaid matching rate for costs up to State-established amounts which do not exceed local market rates.

Requires States to continue Medicaid benefits for a succeeding six-month period for families that lose eligibility for cash assistance because of increased employment hours or income, or the loss of earnings disregards; makes eligible for transitional child care and Medicaid benefits families that received assistance under the State's child support supplement program in at least three of the six months immediately preceding the month of ineligibility; requires States to offer affected families the option of continuing their Medicaid coverage for an additional six months for which families with income above the poverty level must pay a premium of up to three percent of the family's gross monthly income.

Requires the Secretary of HHS to report by January 1, 1993, on the impact of the transitional Medicaid and child care benefits on reducing welfare dependence; and sunsets the benefits on December 1, 1993.

Cash Benefits: Renames the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC) as the Child Support Supplement (CSS) program; extends the moratorium on the collection of penalties or sanctions on error rates in the program through FY 1988; requires each State to reevaluate its need and payment standards at least every five years; directs the Secretary to issue regulations requiring States to institute pre-eligibility screening procedures designed to provide early detection of fraudulent applications.

Requires States to provide cash assistance to two-parent intact families in which the principal earner is unemployed; permits States to (1) require participation in JOBS education, employment, and training activities (not to exceed a combined total of 40 hours a week), (2) provide for payment after performance, (3) provide for the participation of both spouses, subject to the JOBS child care requirements, and (4) limit cash assistance to a six-month period in any 12 months; allows States to provide benefits for longer than six months and to modify the rules governing these programs (within allowable limits) without Federal approval.

Requires that one parent in a two-parent AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) household participate for a minimum 16 hours a week in either a work supplementation or a community work experience program; establishes participation requirements for States with a current AFDC-UP program and gives States without a current program until 1996 to achieve 100 percent participation.

Requires States which provide assistance for a limited time period to provide Medicaid for all children up to age 18 for as long as the family is otherwise eligible for assistance and to actively assist the parents to prepare for and find employment; allows States to provide Medicaid for the entire family; requires, except in specified circumstances, that a minor under age 18 who has never married and is pregnant or has a child must reside with a parent or other adult guardian or adult-supervised supportive living arrangement to be eligible for assistance.

Demonstration Authority: Authorizes several demonstration projects including programs to provide permanent housing for families receiving emergency assistance for temporary housing; develop innovative education and training programs for children receiving child support supplements; expand child care availability; employ welfare recipients as child care providers; and to assist States in financing projects to develop and use computer "credit" benefit cards in payment of AFDC benefits and Medicaid.

Revenue Provisions: Extends through December 31, 1993, the Refund Offset Program which authorizes the IRS to withhold the tax refunds of persons owing delinquent debts to the Federal government; and phases out, beginning in tax year 1989, the deduction for meals and entertainment costs for individuals with adjusted gross income over \$360,000.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 190

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 17, 1988, 10:58 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8097

BIOTECHNOLOGY COMPETITIVENESS

BILL NO.: S. 1966

TITLE: "Biotechnology Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends the Public Health Service Act to establish a National Center for Biotechnology Information, a National Biotechnology Policy Board with an Advisory Panel on the Human Genome and an Advisory Panel on Agricultural Biotechnology; authorizes a 20-year agricultural research program focusing on the development and production of new marketable industrial and commercial products; and reauthorizes the Congressional Biomedical Ethics Board for three years, through FY 1991.

S. 1966: Vote No. 190.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (88)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)		Republicans (40 or 100%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Proxmire		Biden— ³	Durenberger— ²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Kasten			Breaux— ²	Hecht— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar			Gore— ²	McClure— ²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McCain			Kennedy— ²	Simpson— ²
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Matsunaga— ²	Symms— ²
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				Wallop— ² AY
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Roth				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Rudman				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Egon	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Glenn	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—48 or 55%
Republicans—40 or 45%

Against (1)
Democrats—1 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

National Center for Biotechnology Information: Authorizes \$10 million in each FY 1989-93 for the establishment of a National Center for Biotechnology Information, located in the National Library of Medicine of the National Institutes of Health, to be responsible for: coordinating the design, development, and management of automated systems for information on human, animal, and plant molecular biology, biochemistry, and genetics; conducting research into advanced methods of information processing using the capabilities of the Center and university, private, and Federal research laboratories; coordinating access to computer databases in the U.S. and other countries and developing computer databases from existing hard copy information; coordinating the input and access to information regarding biotechnology from Federal and State government agencies and agency grantees and contractors; and encouraging cooperation between government and private sector sources of biotechnology information, including professional scientific societies, foundations, and companies.

National Biotechnology Policy Board: Establishes a 20-member National Biotechnology Policy Board to review and appraise various Federal programs and activities involving biotechnology and to make recommendations on issues related to biotechnology including technology transfer, U.S. competitiveness, personnel training in the field, regulatory policies, and promotion of biotechnology-related research; directs that the Board be composed of representatives from the Federal government, the biotechnology industry, university research community, and foundations engaged in biotechnology research; requires the Board to submit its reports to the Biomedical Ethics Board for comment and review and to report to the President and Congress by January 31, 1990, and biannually thereafter.

National Advisory Panel on the Human Genome: Creates an Advisory Panel on the Human Genome to the National Biotechnology Policy Board which shall examine and make recommendations to the Board on subjects related to mapping and sequencing the human genome including the appropriate strategy needed to map and sequence, research and development objectives to assure the U.S. leadership status in human genome research, issues related to information ownership, and interagency cooperation; directs the Panel to review the ethical and social implications of human genome research; and requires the Panel to report to the Board within 18 months after enactment and thereafter as the Panel deems necessary or at the Board's direction.

National Advisory Panel on Agricultural Biotechnology: Establishes a National Advisory Panel on Agricultural Biotechnology, which closely parallels the National Advisory Panel on the Human Genome, to report to the National Biotechnology Policy Board policies and research priorities for biotechnology in the agricultural sector and, among other things, to coordinate the development of risk assessment methods to better understand the implications of field releases of genetically engineered plants.

Alternative Agricultural Products Research: Establishes a New Products Research Board in the Department of Agriculture to recommend funding for research and development proposals for new crops or modification of existing crops in order to develop and produce marketable products, other than food or traditional fiber products, and to review funded projects and recommend their continued funding; and authorizes therefor \$75 million annually for a 20-year period beginning with FY 1988.

Congressional Biomedical Ethics Board: Reauthorizes the Congressional Biomedical Ethics Board at \$2 million in FY 1989, \$2.5 million in 1990, and \$3 million in 1991.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 191

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 17, 1988, 11:16 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8101

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 4418

TITLE: "National Science Foundation Authorization Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which reauthorizes the National Science Foundation for five years, through FY 1993 at a level of \$2.050 billion in FY 1989, \$2.158 billion in 1990, \$2.474 billion in 1991, \$2.831 billion in 1992, and \$3.245 billion in 1993; expands the function of NSF to foster and support efforts by those academic institutions and States which historically have received little Federal research funding to improve their research and research infrastructure; and increases funding for basic research to help preserve the U.S. lead in science, engineering, and technology.

NOTE: A House-Senate compromise of the bill was cleared for the President on October 14, 1988. H.R. 4418 became Public Law 100-570, approved October 31, 1988.

H.R. 4418: Vote No. 191.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (88)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)		Republicans (40 or 100%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Proxmire		Biden ³	Durenberger ²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Kasten			Breaux ²	Hecht ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar			Gore ²	McClure ²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McCain			Kennedy ²	Simpson ²
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Matsunaga ²	Symms ²
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				Wallop ^{2AY}
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Roth			SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Rudman				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Glenn	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—48 or 55%
Republicans—40 or 45%

Against (1)
Democrats—1 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Authorizes \$2.050 billion for the National Science Foundation (NSF) in FY 1989, \$2.158 billion in 1990, \$2.474 billion in 1991, \$2.831 billion in 1992, and \$3.245 billion in 1993.

Amends the National Science Foundation Act by adding a new provision stating that one function of NSF is to foster and support efforts by those academic institutions and States which historically have received little Federal research funding to improve their research and research infrastructures.

Establishes a new NSF Academic Research Facilities Modernization Program to help universities and colleges renovate obsolete laboratories and other research facilities.

Establishes a new NSF Undergraduate Science and Engineering Improvement Program to improve equipment and research support at predominately undergraduate institutions.

Establishes a new NSF College and University Innovation Research Program to assist academic researchers at a wide range of colleges and universities to pursue high-quality research of economic potential.

Extends the existing NSF Experimental Program to Stimulate Competitive Research to assist those States which have historically received little Federal research funding to build their research capabilities.

Directs the National Academy of Sciences to conduct a study of earthquake engineering research efforts, and directs NSF to ensure that its evaluation of the National Center for Earthquake Engineering Research be conducted by an independent review panel.

Directs the Office of Science and Technology Policy to prepare and submit a report to Congress by November 1, 1988, on desalination research and technology which should include its recommendations on a lead agency, ways to spur research to decrease the cost of desalination, and how desalination research and technology can be used as a component of the U.S. foreign assistance program.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 192

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 20, 1988, 12:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8196

GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS WILDERNESS (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1495

TITLE: "Great Smoky Mountains Wilderness Act"

SUBJECT: Sasser, et al., motion to close further debate on the bill. (See also Vote No. 195 on a second cloture motion.

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 16, 1988, was signed by Senators Sasser, Riegle, Hollings, Glenn, Simon, Matsunaga, Ford, Dixon, Johnston, Pryor, Bumpers, Dodd, Sanford, Shelby, Lugar, Melcher, and Leahy.

H.R. 1495: Vote Nos. 192, 195.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.

YEAS (49)			NAYS (35)			NOT VOTING (16)		
Democrats (44 or 100%)		Republicans (5 or 13%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)		Republicans (35 or 88%)	Democrats (10)		Republicans (6)
Adams	Kerry	Chafee	Armstrong	Kasten	Baucus ⁻²	Baucus ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AN}	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cohen	Bond	McCain	Biden ⁻¹	Biden ⁻¹	Karnes ⁻²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Durenberger	Boschwitz	McClure	Boren ⁻²	Boren ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Lugar	Cochran	McConnell	Bradley ⁻²	Bradley ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Roth	D'Amato	Murkowski	Cranston ⁻²	Cranston ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²	
Burdick	Melcher		Danforth	Packwood	Exon ⁻²	Exon ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²	
Burd	Metzenbaum		Dole	Pressler	Gore ^{-2AY}	Gore ^{-2AY}		
Chiles	Mikulski		Domenici	Rudman	Harkin ⁻²	Harkin ⁻²		
Conrad	Mitchell		Evans	Simpson	Pryor ⁻²	Pryor ⁻²		
Daschle	Moynihan		Garn	Specter	Riegle ⁻⁴	Riegle ⁻⁴		
DeConcini	Nunn		Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Pell		Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Proxmire		Hatch	Symms				
Ford	Reid		Hatfield	Thurmond				
Fowler	Rockefeller		Hecht	Trible				
Glenn	Sanford		Helms	Wallop				
Graham	Sarbanes		Humphrey	Warner				
Heflin	Sasser		Kassebaum					
Hollings	Shelby							
Inouye	Simon							
Johnston	Stennis							
Kennedy	Wirth							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats—44 or 90%
Republicans—5 or 10%

Against (35)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—35 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 193

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 21, 1988, 10:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8273

CORPORATE TAKEOVERS (GOLDEN PARACHUTES)

BILL NO.: S. 1323

AMENDMENT NO.: 2374

TITLE: "Tender Offer Disclosure and Fairness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Division I-A of the Armstrong-Metzenbaum-Shelby-Gramm amendment which prohibits golden parachutes (severance packages for top corporate executives that take effect after a takeover) unless approved in advance by shareholders and requires that existing golden parachutes be approved by shareholders within two years to remain in effect.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment would not ban golden parachutes but would allow shareholders to exercise their authority as owners of the corporation to put a check on one of the worst abuses of corporate assets. When severance pay arrangements are conditioned on a takeover, and when the amounts grow to be truly abusive—as high as \$35 million—something must be done to give stockholders a chance to protect themselves. Although the use of golden parachutes can be regulated by the States, some noted, it would not be a gross infringement on States' rights and the State chartering of corporations to adopt legislation regulating the use of this tactic. This amendment, by bringing the glare of public scrutiny to bear on golden parachute arrangements, will help restore public confidence in corporate management.

Opponents argued that there is no need for the Federal government to instruct the States on the law of fiduciary duties. As the committee report documents, State law already precludes corporate managers from adopting defensive tactics solely or primarily to perpetuate themselves in office. More importantly, State law also recognizes that defensive practices may be part of a strategy to cause tender offerors to raise their prices and thereby benefit shareholders. Therefore, the use of golden parachutes should be judged on a case-by-case basis. The pending amendment, which is a breach of federalist principles, lacks such precision and is inferior to current law.

S. 1323: Vote Nos. 187, 193, 194.

RESULT: DIVISION I-A OF AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (98)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (1)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 98%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten		Roth	Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar				
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain				
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Eaton	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (98)
Democrats—53 or 54%
Republicans—45 or 46%

Against (1)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—1 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 194

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 21, 1988, 11:56 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8283

CORPORATE TAKEOVERS (POISON PILLS)

BILL NO.: S. 1323

AMENDMENT NO.: 2374

TITLE: "Tender Offer Disclosure and Fairness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Proxmire motion to table Division I-B of the Armstrong-Metzenbaum-Shelby-Gramm amendment which prohibits "poison pills" (a special issue of preferred stock which is triggered upon a takeover that has the effect of diluting the ownership of all other stock) unless approved by shareholders and requires that existing poison pills be approved by shareholders within two years to remain in effect.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that this measure does not preclude the use of poison pills if shareholders approve. Shareholders must be given the opportunity to decide whether a poison pill defense—the issuance of a security at a bargain price or with special voting rights contingent on transfer of corporate control, and redeemable at a premium—is best for them and for their investment. The decision should not be left to management, which has an inherent conflict of interest in preserving its own position. If it is not unreasonable to interfere in State's rights with respect to golden parachutes (Vote No. 193), it surely is not an unreasonable extension of that principle to take similar action against poison pills.

Opponents of the amendment contended that it takes issue with what has traditionally been handled at the State level, seeks to impose a Federal rule on corporate governance, and eliminates the ability for a case-by-case determination which exists under State law. The issue is not poison pills and corporate takeovers, but who regulates corporations. This amendment represents a radical departure from the traditional balance between the Federal and State role in corporate governance. To regulate shareholders rights would be a gross infringement on the role of States in chartering corporations and reviewing their fiduciary obligations to shareholders. In addition, studies have shown that poison pill defenses not only protect shareholders from unwanted takeovers but often enable companies to win substantially higher takeover premiums. This amendment, which is opposed by the Securities and Exchange Commission, as well as many of the Nation's governors and attorneys general, should be defeated, so that States can continue to regulate the internal workings of the corporations they charter.

S. 1323: Vote Nos. 187, 193, 194.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (40)			NAYS (57)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (33 or 63%)		Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (19 or 37%)		Republicans (38 or 84%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Baucus	Matsunaga	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden— ³	Durenberger— ²
Bingaman	Melcher	Chafee	Bentsen	Boschwitz	McCain	Boren— ³	
Burdick	Mikulski	Heinz	Bradley	Cochran	McConnell		
Byrd	Mitchell	Kassebaum	Breaux	Cohen	Murkowski		
Chiles	Moynihan	McClure	Bumpers	D'Amato	Packwood		
Cranston	Proxmire	Nickles	Conrad	Danforth	Pressler		
Daschle	Pryor	Roth	Fowler	Dole	Quayle		
DeConcini	Reid		Harkin	Domenici	Rudman		
Dixon	Riegle		Hollings	Evans	Simpson		
Dodd	Rockefeller		Inouye	Garn	Specter		
Faxon	Sanford		Johnston	Gramm	Stafford		
Ford	Sarbanes		Kennedy	Grassley	Stevens		
Glenn	Sasser		Kerry	Hatch	Symms		
Gore	Simon		Lautenberg	Hatfield	Thurmond		
Graham	Stennis		Leahy	Hecht	Trible		
Hellin	Wirth		Metzenbaum	Helms	Wallop		
Levin			Nunn	Humphrey	Warner		
			Pell	Karnes	Weicker		
			Shelby	Kasten	Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—63%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (40)
Democrats—33 or 82.5%
Republicans—7 or 17.5%

Against (57)
Democrats—19 or 33%
Republicans—38 or 67%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 195

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 21, 1988, 2:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. 8292

GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS WILDERNESS (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1495

TITLE: "Great Smoky Mountains Wilderness Act"

SUBJECT: Sanford, et al., second motion to close further debate on the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill. (See also Vote No. 192 on the first cloture motion.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 17, 1988, was signed by Senators Sanford, Bingaman, Graham, Mikulski, Fowler, Melcher, Levin, Riegle, Sasser, Sarbanes, Harkin, Baucus, Bradley, Rockefeller, Inouye, DeConcini, and Daschle.

H.R. 1495: Vote Nos. 192, 195.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (54)			NAYS (42)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (42 or 93%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee		Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Durenberger ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Cohen		Bond	Boren ⁻³	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Roth		Boschwitz	Johnston ⁻²	
Bingaman	Leahy			Cochran		
Bradley	Levin			D'Amato		
Breaux	Matsunaga			Danforth		
Bumpers	Melcher			Dole		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Domenici		
Byrd	Mikulski			Evans		
Chiles	Mitchell			Garn		
Conrad	Moynihan			Gramm		
Cranston	Nunn			Grassley		
Daschle	Pell			Hatch		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Hatfield		
Dixon	Pryor			Hecht		
Dodd	Reid			Heinz		
Exon	Riegle			Helm		
Ford	Rockefeller			Humphrey		
Fowler	Sanford			Karnes		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Kassebaum		
Gore	Sasser			Kasten		
Graham	Shelby					
Harkin	Simon					
Heflin	Stennis					
Hollings	Wirth					
Inouye						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats—51 or 94%
Republicans—3 or 6%

Against (42)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—42 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 196

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 21, 1988, 5:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8308

RETAIL COMPETITION ENFORCEMENT

BILL NO.: S. 430

TITLE: "The Retail Competition Enforcement Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill which amends the Sherman Antitrust Act to codify the current judicial presumption that vertical price-fixing (where the manufacturer and the retailer agree to set prices) is *per se* illegal and to clarify the evidence needed to permit a trier of fact to determine if there has been a violation of the Act.

S. 430: Vote No. 196.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (62)			NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (43 or 96%)	Republicans (19 or 42%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (26 or 58%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Heflin	Armstrong	Biden— ³	Durenberger— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Hollings	Bond	Boren— ³	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cohen		Cochran	Bradley— ²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Domenici		D'Amato	Inouye— ²	
Breaux	Levin	Grassley		Danforth	Kerry— ²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Hatfield		Dole	Mitchell— ²	
Burdick	Melcher	Hecht		Evans	Moynihan— ²	
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Heinz		Garn	Nunn— ²	
Chiles	Mikulski	Humphrey		Gramm	Sanford— ²	
Conrad	Pell	Karnes		Hatch		
Cranston	Proxmire	Lugar		Helms		
Daschle	Pryor	Pressler		Kassebaum		
DeConcini	Reid	Roth		Kasten		
Dixon	Riegle	Rudman		McCain		
Dodd	Rockefeller	Specter		McClure		
Exon	Sarbanes	Stafford		McConnell		
Ford	Sasser	Stevens		Murkowski		
Fowler	Shelby	Weicker		Nickles		
Glenn	Simon	Wilson		Packwood		
Gore	Stennis			Quayle		
Graham	Wirth			Simpson		
Harkin				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		
				Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats— 43 or 69%
Republicans— 19 or 31%

Against (28)
Democrats— 2 or 7%
Republicans— 26 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 197

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 22, 1988, 11:38 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8373

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Dole motion to table the Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill which requires advance notification of plant closings and mass layoffs.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE THE MOTION TO PROCEED FAILED

YEAS (30)		NAYS (61)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (30 or 70%)	Democrats (48 or 100%)	Republicans (13 or 30%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (3)
Armstrong	Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz	Biden ⁻³	Danforth ⁻²
Bond	Baucus	Johnston	Chafee	Boren ⁻³	Durenberger ⁻²
Cochran	Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen	Fowler ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Dole	Bingaman	Kerry	D'Amato	Mikulski ^{-2AN}	
Domenici	Bradley	Lautenberg	Hatfield	Nunn ⁻²	
Evans	Breaux	Leahy	Heinz	Stennis ⁻²	
Garn	Bumpers	Levin	Karnes		
Gramm	Burdick	Matsunaga	McCain		
Grassley	Byrd	Melcher	Packwood		
Hatch	Chiles	Metzenbaum	Roth		
Hecht	Conrad	Mitchell	Specter		
Helms	Cranston	Moynihan	Stafford		
Humphrey	Daschle	Pell	Weicker		
Kasten	DeConcini	Proxmire			
Lugar	Dixon	Pryor			
McClure	Dodd	Reid			
McConnell	Exon	Riegle			
Murkowski	Ford	Rockefeller			
Nickles	Glenn	Sanford			
Pressler	Gore	Sarbanes			
Quayle	Graham	Sasser			
Rudman	Harkin	Shelby			
Simpson	Heflin	Simon			
Stevens	Hollings	Wirth			
Symms					
Thurmond					
Trible					
Wallop					
Warner					
Wilson					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—70%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (30)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—30 or 100%

Against (61)
Democrats—48 or 79%
Republicans—13 or 21%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 198

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 22, 1988, 11:55 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8373

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill which requires advance notification of plant closings and mass layoffs.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (64)		NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)	Republicans (15 or 34%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (29 or 66%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz	Armstrong	Biden—3	Danforth—2
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee	Bond	Boren—3	Murkowski—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen	Cochran	Mikulski—2AY	
Bingaman	Kerry	D'Amato	Dole	Nunn—2	
Bradley	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Domenici	Stennis—2	
Breaux	Leahy	Hatfield	Evans		
Bumpers	Levin	Heinz	Garn		
Burdick	Matsunaga	Karnes	Gramm		
Byrd	Melcher	Kassebaum	Grassley		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	McCain	Hatch		
Conrad	Mitchell	Packwood	Hecht		
Cranston	Moynihan	Roth	Helms		
Daschle	Pell	Specter	Humphrey		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Stafford	Kasten		
Dixon	Pryor	Weicker	Lugar		
Dodd	Reid		McClure		
Exon	Riegle		McConnell		
Ford	Rockefeller		Nickles		
Fowler	Sanford		Pressler		
Glenn	Sarbanes		Quayle		
Gore	Sasser		Rudman		
Graham	Shelby		Simpson		
Harkin	Simon		Stevens		
Heflin	Wirth		Symms		
Hollings			Thurmond		
			Trible		
			Wallop		
			Warner		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats—49 or 77%
Republicans—15 or 23%

Against (29)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—29 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 199

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 23, 1988, 10:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8448

ANTI-DRUG SUMMIT

BILL NO.: S. Res. 442

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution stating the sense of the Senate that the President should convene, as soon as possible, an International Conference on Combatting Illegal Drug Production, Trafficking, and Use in the Western Hemisphere composed of the heads of State, highest-ranking law enforcement officers, and other appropriate officials from every Western Hemisphere government willing to participate and whose cooperation the President determines is essential toward achieving the goal; and specifies that the conference should focus exclusively on combatting the drug trade and, in particular, emphasize enhancing cooperative efforts among Western Hemisphere countries to (1) substantially reduce the production, cultivation, and processing of illicit drugs; (2) eliminate transshipment through Western Hemisphere countries; (3) curb the demand for and use of such drugs in every Western Hemisphere country; (4) combat the problems of drug-related corruption and drug money laundering; and (5) share intelligence information, extradite drug traffickers, and take other steps necessary to improve law enforcement efforts against the drug trade.

S. Res. 442: Vote No. 199.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (94)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden—3	Evans—2
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond	McCain			Boren—3	
Bentsen	Leahy	Boschwitz	McClure			Chiles—2	
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	McConnell			Fowler—2	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cochran	Murkowski			Johnston—2	
Breaux	Melcher	Cohen	Nickles				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Mikulski	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole	Quayle				
Conrad	Moynihan	Domenici	Roth				
Cranston	Nunn	Durenberger	Rudman				
Daschle	Pell	Gara	Simpson				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Eaton	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Glenn	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Gore	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Graham	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Harkin	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker				
Heflin	Simon	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Hollings	Stennis	Kasten					
Inouye	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats—49 or 52%
Republicans—45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 200

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 23, 1988, 4:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8472

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2527

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (72)			NAYS (20)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (48 or 100%)	Republicans (24 or 55%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (20 or 45%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz		Armstrong	Biden— ³	Chafee— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Cochran		Bond	Boren— ³	Evans— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	D'Amato		Cohen	Gore— ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth		Garn	Inouye— ²	
Bradley	Leahy	Dole		Gramm	Sasser— ²	
Breaux	Levin	Domenici		Hecht	Stennis— ²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Durenberger		Helms		
Burdick	Melcher	Grassley		Humphrey		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Hatch		Kasten		
Chiles	Mikulski	Hatfield		McCain		
Conrad	Mitchell	Heinz		McClure		
Cranston	Moynihan	Karnes		McConnell		
Daschle	Nunn	Kassebaum		Murkowski		
DeConcini	Pell	Lugar		Quayle		
Dixon	Proxmire	Nickles		Specter		
Dodd	Pryor	Packwood		Stevens		
Exon	Reid	Pressler		Symms		
Ford	Riegle	Roth		Wallop		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Rudman		Weicker		
Glenn	Sanford	Simpson		Wilson		
Graham	Sarbanes	Stafford				
Harkin	Shelby	Thurmond				
Heflin	Simon	Trible				
Hollings	Wirth	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats—48 or 67%
Republicans—24 or 33%

Against (20)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—20 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 201

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 24, 1988, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8536

IRAQI CHEMICAL WEAPONS USE

BILL NO.: S. Res. 408

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which condemns the use of chemical weapons by Iraq and expresses concern about reported Iranian use of these weapons; calls upon Iraq to stop using chemical weapons and urges the President to make appropriate diplomatic efforts to prevent Iran from developing or using these weapons; and urges the President to seek allied cooperation to tighten export controls on chemical compounds to countries seeking to develop a chemical weapons capability, and urges the President to pursue American efforts at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to reach an arms control agreement banning such weapons.

S. Res. 408: Vote No. 201.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (42 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Boren ⁻³	Heinz ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Dodd ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure			Matsunaga ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Stennis ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Rudman				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Simpson				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Specter				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Stafford				
Faxon	Reid	Hatfield	Stevens				
Ford	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Wallop				
Gore	Sarbanes	Karnes	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby						
Hellin	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 49 or 54%
Republicans— 42 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 202

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 24, 1988, 11:40 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8547

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2430

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Quayle modified amendment which provides a complete defense for any action brought for noncompliance with the plant closing notification provision if the employer has paid, within three weeks of the shutdown or layoff, an amount equal to the higher of the employee's final rate of pay or final three-year average for each day for which notice was not provided.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it provides the flexibility that the bill lacks. An employer who does not give notice can provide 60 days severance pay in lieu of that notice as long as it is paid within three weeks after plant shutdown. This would give an employee more time for education, retraining, and more time for a job search since it is easier to interview for a job during working hours. Most employees would rather have the pay than the notice, and this amendment would give employers the opportunity to provide severance pay in lieu of notice.

Opponents of the amendment contended that the principal object of this bill is to give employees notice—not to win money for employees. It is a mandatory notice bill—not a mandatory severance pay bill. It is notice that gives the employees the chance to get counseling and retraining, and if employers wait to inform employees that they are losing their jobs until the day of the job loss, it is likely that most employees will never get the essential retraining which could get them back into the job market. Further, adoption of this amendment would be seen as imposing an extra financial burden on employers at precisely the time when they should not be faced with such an added responsibility. Employees already may be entitled to severance pay and benefits under a collective bargaining agreement or as part of an employment contract. This amendment would allow employers who already owe severance pay to escape the notice requirement simply by paying the severance they already owed. The pending amendment would undermine successful worker adjustment and deprive employees of money to which they already are entitled.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (59)		NAYS (31)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (8 or 21%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (31 or 79%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Johnston	Cohen	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Durenberger	Bond	Boren ⁻³	Gramm ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Hatfield	Boschwitz	Stennis ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Heinz	Chafee		Symms ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Roth	Cochran		Wallop ^{-2AN}
Breaux	Levin	Specter	D'Amato		Warner ⁻²
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Stafford	Danforth		Wilson ^{-2AN}
Burdick	Melcher	Weicker	Dole		
Byrd	Metzenbaum		Domenici		
Chiles	Mikulski		Garn		
Conrad	Mitchell		Grassley		
Cranston	Moynihan		Hatch		
Daschle	Nunn		Hecht		
DeConcini	Pell		Helms		
Dixon	Proxmire		Humphrey		
Dodd	Pryor		Karnes		
Exon	Reid				
Ford	Riegle				
Fowler	Rockefeller				
Glenn	Sanford				
Gore	Sarbanes				
Graham	Sasser				
Harkin	Shelby				
Heflin	Simon				
Hollings	Wirth				
Inouye					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—79%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats—51 or 86%
Republicans—8 or 14%

Against (31)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—31 or 100%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 203

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 24, 1988, 12:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8553

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (HOBBS ACT)

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2431

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Thurmond-Hatch, et al., amendment which applies the Hobbs Act (the Federal extortion statute) to cases of labor violence.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it is needed to address a long-term problem caused by the Supreme Court decision in U.S. v. Enmons, which deprived the Federal government of the ability to punish significant acts of extortionate violence when they occur in a labor-management context. This amendment would make clear that the Hobbs Act is intended to punish the actual or threatened use of force or violence to obtain property irrespective of the extortionist's claim to such property and of the existence of a labor-management dispute. Similar legislation was passed by the Senate in 1976, but died in the House. This amendment applies to violent acts committed by both labor and management and will ensure the peaceful resolution of future labor disputes.

Opponents of the amendment contended that, by amending the Hobbs Act, it would overrule the Supreme Court's decision and expand Federal jurisdiction into an area which has traditionally been effectively covered by State and local law. No showing has been made of the States' inability to address these cases. In fact, extensive hearings before the Judiciary Committee on specific cases revealed that State action under existing procedures is sufficient to handle such matters. The Federal government should not be in the business of policing picket lines since this action can greatly interfere with the collective bargaining process and thereby delay resolution of disputes. In addition, since the right to picket is recognized by the courts as a first amendment right emanating from freedom of speech, the introduction of Federal marshals and the U.S. attorney into a labor-management dispute could have a chilling effect on first amendment rights. This amendment represents a dangerous step toward Federal usurpment of States' rights and should be rejected.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)		NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (48 or 98%)	Republicans (12 or 32%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (26 or 68%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Inouye	Heflin	Armstrong	Biden ³	Danforth ²
Baucus	Johnston		Bond	Boren ³	Evans ²
Bentsen	Kennedy		Cochran	Mikulski ² AY	Gramm ²
Bingaman	Kerry		Cohen	Reid ²	Humphrey ²
Bradley	Lautenberg		Dole	Stennis ²	Kassebaum ²
Breaux	Leahy		Garn		Symms ² AN
Bumpers	Levin		Grassley		Wallop ² AN
Burdick	Matsunaga		Hatch		Wilson ² AN
Byrd	Melcher		Hecht		
Chiles	Metzenbaum		Helms		
Conrad	Mitchell		Karnes		
Cranston	Moynihan		Kasten		
Daschle	Nunn		Lugar		
DeConcini	Pell		McCain		
Dixon	Proxmire		McClure		
Dodd	Pryor		McConnell		
Egon	Riegle		Murkowski		
Ford	Rockefeller		Nickles		
Fowler	Sanford		Pressler		
Glenn	Sarbanes		Quayle		
Gore	Sasser		Rudman		
Graham	Shelby		Simpson		
Harkin	Simon		Stevens		
Hollings	Wirth		Thurmond		
			Trible		
			Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

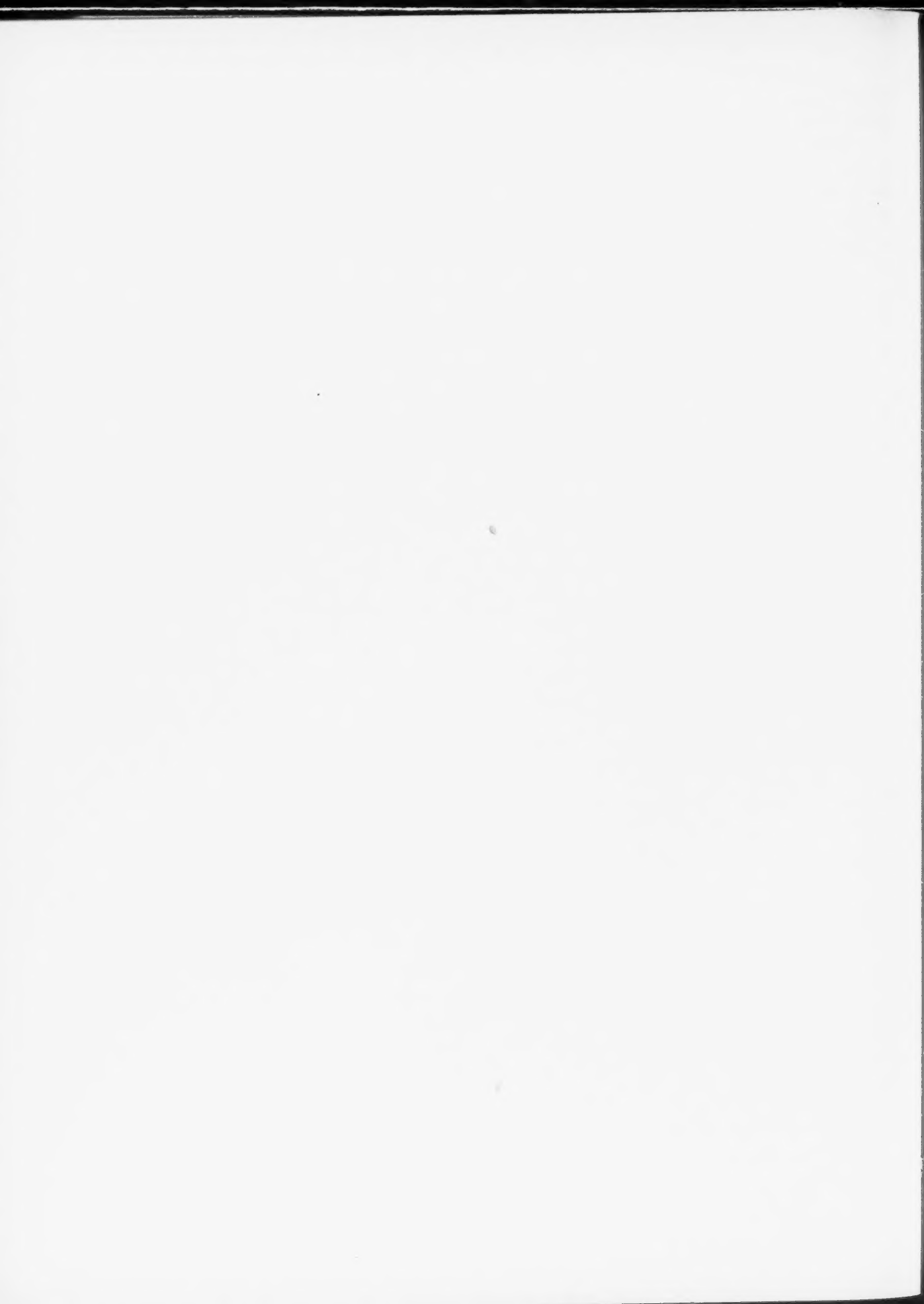
Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—68%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats—48 or 80%
Republicans—12 or 20%

Against (27)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—26 or 96%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 204

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 24, 1988, 2:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8558

TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (IRS FEE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4775

AMENDMENT NO.: 2427

TITLE: "Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Bentsen motion to table the Melcher amendment which exempts local, nonprofit senior citizen organizations that provide services under the Older Americans Act and have annual gross revenue of less than \$50,000 from the user fee that the IRS charges for certifying that an organization is nonprofit and deserving of tax-exempt status and requires the IRS to adjust the fees charged to the larger nonprofit organizations in order to maintain the revenue neutrality of this provision.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the fee required to certify an organization's nonprofit status is a significant drain on the limited resources of senior citizen centers and should be removed. As part of the 1987 budget reconciliation, a fee schedule was created for requests submitted to the IRS for various types of expert information, including exempt organization determination letters, which all nonprofit organizations must have. The cost of the letter for organizations with revenue below \$5,000 is \$150, an amount that is prohibitive for many senior citizen centers which rely on voluntary payments for meal services and have annual revenues far below \$5,000. The amendment would exempt senior citizen centers and other functions under the Older Americans Act with a gross revenue of less than \$50,000, and would raise the overall fee schedule to make the amendment revenue neutral. This would not create a burden on other nonprofit organizations, since a fee of a couple of hundred dollars is not significant for organizations that raise large amounts of money. While acknowledging that the amendment is legislation on an appropriations bill, proponents claimed that the availability of a better vehicle was uncertain.

(OVER)

H.R. 4775: Vote Nos. 204, 206, 207.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (63)			NAYS (21)		NOT VOTING (16)	
Democrats (37 or 77%)		Republicans (26 or 72%)	Democrats (11 or 23%)	Republicans (10 or 28%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (10)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Bumpers	D'Amato	Biden ⁻³	Danforth ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Burdick	Grassley	Boren ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Conrad	Hatch	Metzenbaum ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Gore	Hatfield	Reid ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Cochran	Graham	Kasten	Sanford ⁻²	Kassebaum ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Harkin	McClure	Stennis ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Heflin	Pressler		Roth ⁻²
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Johnston	Specter		Symms ⁻²
Cranston	Moynihan	Durenberger	Melcher	Thurmond		Wallop ^{-2AY}
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Sasser	Weicker		Wilson ⁻²
DeConcini	Pell	Hecht	Shelby			
Dixon	Proxmire	Helms				
Dodd	Pryor	Karnes				
Exon	Riegle	Lugar				
Ford	Rockefeller	McConnell				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Murkowski				
Glenn	Simon	Nickles				
Hollings	Wirth	Packwood				
Inouye		Quayle				
		Rudman				
		Simpson				
		Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Trible				
		Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—77%
Republicans—72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats—37 or 59%
Republicans—26 or 41%

Against (21)
Democrats—11 or 52%
Republicans—10 or 48%

Opponents of the amendment countered that the fee schedule was created as part of the budget summit agreement to offset the deficit and to lower the IRS' costs. The Senate should not weaken its commitment to that agreement; nor should it shift the burden of expense from one tax-exempt organization to another, since the case made for senior citizens also can be made for many other worthy organizations, including those dedicated to the homeless, children, the environment, etc. The amendment initiates a process of creating special exceptions for special interests. The law creating the fee schedule allows the fee to be waived in cases of hardship. Rather than trying to resolve a tax matter on an appropriations bill, senior citizen centers should attempt to use this waiver. The Senate will be taking up a technical corrections bill for the 1986 tax reform bill (currently in the House Ways and Means Committee) on which this concern can be properly addressed.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 205

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 27, 1988, 10:02 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8586

NOMINATION OF HENRY F. COOPER TO BE AN AMBASSADOR

POSITION: Ambassador

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of Henry F. Cooper, of Virginia, to the rank of Ambassador during his tenure as U.S. Negotiator for Defense and Space Arms.

Vote No. 205.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (71)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (29)	
Democrats (39 or 100%)		Republicans (32 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (15)	Republicans (14)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	McClure			Biden ⁻³	Bond ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McConnell			Bradley ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski			Burdick ⁻²	D'Amato ⁻²
Bingaman	Matsunaga	Cohen	Nickles			Chiles ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
Boren	Melcher	Dole	Packwood			Cranston ⁻²	Durenberger ^{-2AY}
Breaux	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle			Dodd ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Bumpers	Mitchell	Evans	Roth			Fowler ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Byrd	Moynihan	Garn	Rudman			Gore ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Conrad	Nunn	Gramm	Simpson			Inouye ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Daschle	Proxmire	Grassley	Specter			Kennedy ⁻²	Kasten ⁻²
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens			Levin ⁻²	Pressler ⁻²
Dixon	Reid	Hatfield	Symms			Metzenbaum ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Eaton	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond			Pell ^{-2AY}	Weicker ⁻²
Ford	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Trible			Sanford ⁻²	Wilson ^{-2AY}
Glenn	Sarbanes	Lugar	Wallop			Sasser ^{-2AY}	
Graham	Shelby	McCain	Warner				
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats—39 or 55%
Republicans—32 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 206

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 27, 1988, 11:41 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8594

TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4775

AMENDMENT NO.: 2433

TITLE: "Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: McClure appeal of the ruling of the Chair that the McClure amendment (which requires the President to consider the extent to which a nation [Soviet Union] has complied with humanitarian provisions in the Helsinki Accords before granting Most-Favored-Nation status to that nation) violates rule XVI (which prohibits legislation on an appropriation bill) and is out of order. The question is: "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate?"

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that the Senate should reinforce the connection between the granting of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status to the Soviet Union and achieving improvements in a broad range of human rights in that country. The amendment is necessary because there is pressure on the Administration to grant MFN status to the Soviet Union. Commerce Secretary Verity is critical of Jackson-Vanik and favors more open U.S.-Soviet trade. If MFN status is granted without obtaining an adequate commitment to human rights, the U.S. will lose one of its most important tools for promoting Soviet reform. In addition to the emigration requirements set forth in Jackson-Vanik for Jews and other minorities, the amendment holds the Soviets accountable for signing the Helsinki Act 13 years ago but never extending its civil, political, and religious rights to the Soviet people. The amendment does not mandate strict adherence to the Helsinki Act, nor does it set criteria for the granting of MFN or affect any other requirements of law.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) countered that there already are major barriers to granting MFN status to the Soviet Union. Jackson-Vanik requires emigration levels that the Soviet Union does not meet; the Trade Act of 1974 requires Congressional approval before the President can proclaim MFN status for a Communist country; and the recently vetoed trade bill (which has been revised and reintroduced with 70 cosponsors) provides that the Soviet Union cannot join GATT without first obtaining Congressional approval. The amendment, they noted, would not bring the Soviet Union closer to recognizing the United States' concepts of freedom and human rights, since that country has been totalitarian for hundreds of years. The Soviet Union is much more concerned about economic growth than civil rights, since even China will be growing at a faster rate than the Soviet Union by the end of the century. The objectives of this amendment will be realized only when the Soviet Union accepts that its future economic growth depends upon granting certain basic freedoms to its citizens.

H.R. 4775: Vote Nos. 204, 206, 207.

RESULT: DECISION OF CHAIR SUSTAINED

YEAS (57)			NAYS (24)		NOT VOTING (19)	
Democrats (37 or 86%)		Republicans (20 or 53%)	Democrats (6 or 14%)	Republicans (18 or 47%)	Democrats (11)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Bumpers	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Chafee ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Boschwitz	DeConcini	Cochran	Cranston ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cohen	Heflin	D'Amato	Dodd ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Danforth	Hollings	Garn	Fowler ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Boren	Levin	Dole	Melcher	Gramm	Gore ^{-2AY}	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Mikulski	Domenici	Riegle	Grassley	Kennedy ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Breaux	Mitchell	Evans		Hecht	Matsunaga ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
Burdick	Moynihan	Hatch		Humphrey	Metzenbaum ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Byrd	Nunn	Hatfield		McClure	Pell ^{-2AY}	
Chiles	Proxmire	Kassebaum		Nickles	Sanford ⁻²	
Conrad	Pryor	Kasten		Pressler	Sasser ⁻²	
Daschle	Reid	Lugar		Quayle	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Dixon	Rockefeller	McCain		Rudman		
Exon	Sarbanes	McConnell		Simpson		
Ford	Shelby	Murkowski		Stevens		
Glenn	Simon	Packwood		Symms	SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay	
Graham	Stennis	Roth		Thurmond		
Harkin	Wirth	Specter		Wallop		
Inouye		Trible				
		Warner				

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

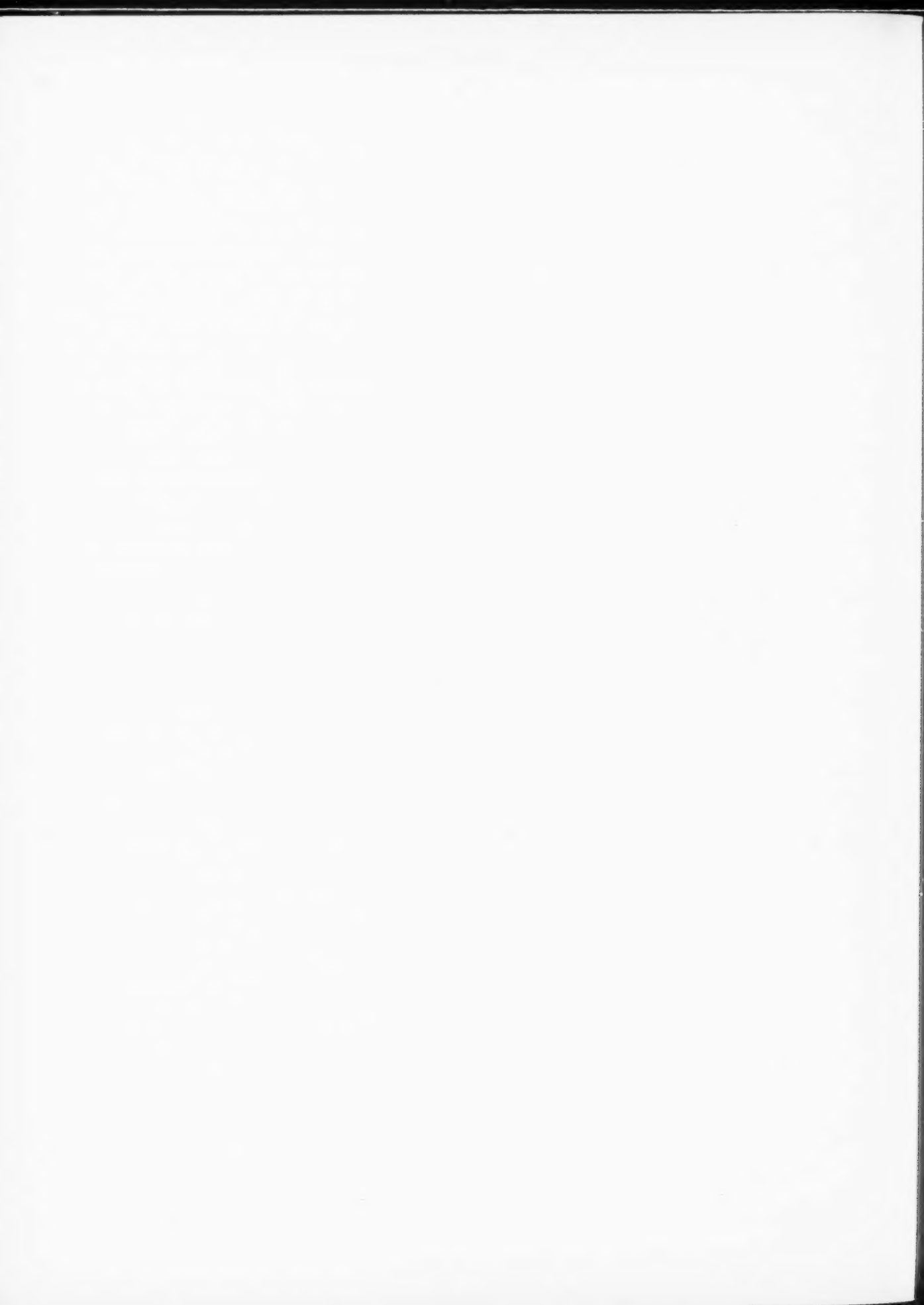
Party Cohesion

Democrats—86%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—37 or 65%
Republicans—20 or 35%

Against (24)
Democrats—6 or 25%
Republicans—18 or 75%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 207

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 27, 1988, 12:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8595

TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4775

TITLE: "Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates a total of \$15,917,514,000 in new budget authority for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies for FY 1989.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 8, 1988. H.R. 4775 became Public Law 100-440, approved September 22, 1988.

H.R. 4775: Vote Nos. 204, 206, 207.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (81)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (15)	
Democrats (45 or 98%)		Republicans (36 or 92%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (3 or 8%)	Democrats (8)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten	Proxmire	Humphrey	Biden—3	Chafee—2
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar		Roth	Dodd—2	Durenberger—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain		Symms	Fowler—2	Heinz—2
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McClure			Gore—2AY	Helms—2
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	McConnell			Metzenbaum—2	Stafford—2
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski			Pell—2AY	Weicker—2AY
Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Nickles			Sanford—2	Wilson—2AY
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Packwood			Sasser—2AY	
Burdick	Meicher	Domenici	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Garn	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Gramm	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Specter				
Daschle	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
DeConcini	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Dixon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Exon	Rockefeller	Karnes	Wallop				
Ford	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Warner				
Glenn	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—92%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats—45 or 56%
Republicans—36 or 44%

Against (4)
Democrats—1 or 25%
Republicans—3 or 75%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of \$15,917,514,000 in new budget authority for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies for FY 1989.

Includes \$240 million for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) of which \$20 million is for enforcement of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act; \$59.7 million for the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center; \$1.2 billion for the U.S. Customs Service of which \$142.3 million is for the Air Interdiction Program; \$219.4 million for the Bureau of the Public Debt; \$354.5 million for the U.S. Secret Service; \$5.1 billion for the IRS of which \$1.4 billion is for FY 1989 taxpayer services; \$436.4 million for payment to the Postal Service Fund; \$110.1 million for the Executive Office of the President of which \$39.5 million is for OMB; \$15.4 million for the Federal Election Commission; \$281.2 million for the General Services Administration (GSA); \$7.4 billion for Federal personnel activities of which \$7.3 billion is for the Office of Personnel Management (including \$4.9 billion for payment to the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund) and \$25.5 million is for the Merit Systems Protection Board.

Places an overall limitation of \$3.0 billion on expenditures from the GSA Federal Buildings Fund; includes \$2 million to fund a pilot project establishing safe areas of refuge from fire for the disabled and \$3 million for GSA expenses relating to the presidential transition.

Prohibits BATF from implementing regulations with regard to ingredient labeling; directs BATF to submit quarterly reports on the number of career criminals and repeat offenders apprehended, prosecuted, and convicted under the Armed Career Criminal Act, including a synopsis of the facts of each case.

Continues a multiyear effort to repair, alter, construct, and renovate Southwest border stations and other facilities at entry points from California to Texas.

Restates a number of general provisions contained in the FY 1988 bill relating to certain basic services within the Treasury Department: establishing codes of conduct for IRS employees in carrying out their tax collection duties; authorizing the transfer of up to two percent between appropriations accounts, with a one percent limitation on increases in any one account subject to Finance Committee approval; and precluding the use of funds to place the Secret Service, Customs Service, or BATF under the operational oversight or jurisdiction of the Treasury Department's Inspector General; restates the current requirement for Appropriations Committees approval of reprogrammings.

Includes provisions to assure that mail for overseas voting and for the blind will continue to be free, that 6-day delivery and rural delivery of mail will continue at the 1983 level, and that none of the funds provided shall be used to consolidate or close small rural and other small post offices in FY 1989.

Abolishes the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay.

Expresses the sense of the Senate that the Postal Service should not use any funds to implement Phase II of the contract with Perot Systems for 45 days after submission of a report by GAO on Perot System's sole-source contract which is due within 45 days after enactment.

Prohibits OMB from (1) acting with regard to USDA marketing orders, (2) interfering with the administration of the Federal Alcohol Administration as it relates to regulation of alcoholic beverage labeling, and (3) altering certain transcripts.

Provides a four percent pay raise for all Federal civilian employees in FY 1989 (except Members of Congress); requires both Houses of Congress to approve any increase in Members rates of pay by passage of a joint resolution before an increase can become effective.

Limits the amount of money that agencies funded under this bill may expend for consultant services and provides that the resulting savings would be used to pay for the 4 percent increase in Federal employees salary.

Directs GAO to report by March 1, 1989, on HHS guidelines and the recently finalized agency drug testing plans to determine if they comply with the requirements of P.L. 100-71, the FY 1987 Supplemental Appropriation bill.

Contains a Buy America provision for the procurement of hand or measuring tools and stainless steel flatware.

Restates the current prohibition on the use of Federal funds for abortions or administrative expenses in connection with any health plan under the Federal Health Benefit Program except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term.

Prohibits the use of funds to enter into contracts for construction services and supplies for Federally-funded public works projects with firms from a country that does not afford U.S. firms access to participate in similar projects in that country.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$15,115,699,000
1989 Budget Estimate	16,163,725,000
Approved by House	16,113,771,000
Approved by Senate	15,917,514,000
Enacted.....	16,019,910,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 208

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 27, 1988, 2:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8609

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (LAYOFFS)

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2429

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Kassebaum-Dole, et al., amendment (as a substitute for the bill) which requires 60 days notice prior to any plant closing involving the employment loss of at least 50 employees, narrows the definition of plant closing to exclude operating units and facilities within a single site of employment, and does not require any notice for plant layoffs regardless of the number of workers affected or the duration of the layoff.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that without this substitute, the bill is a true plant closing measure because it would force some plants to close. Since layoffs are often necessitated by unforeseen changes in market conditions, mandating 60 days' employment at full pay and benefits for employees who otherwise would have been laid off could create severe cash-flow problems for a faltering company and force the company to close. A company which must make a decision in one of its operating units to reduce and lay off employees for a period of time may pick up those employees elsewhere in their unit. Yet, under the bill, this company would be subject to the mandatory notification requirements, thereby binding its operations. Layoffs are not desirable, but they are sometimes necessary for companies to have flexibility. It is one of the principal ways business can adjust its variable costs according to its production needs. Many layoffs are caused by seasonal fluctuations, and if workers are going to get called back to their place of employment, the readjustment assistance is not necessary. By requiring 60-day notification for indefinite layoffs as well as plant closings, this legislation places a strait jacket on the private sector and removes essential flexibility for employers.

(OVER)

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (64)			NAYS (32)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (12 or 27%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)		Republicans (32 or 73%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Chafee	Armstrong	Lugar		Biden ¹	Helms ²
Baucus	Johnston	Cohen	Bond	McCain		Sasser ¹ AY	Wilson ² AN
Bentsen	Kennedy	D'Amato	Boschwitz	McClure			
Bingaman	Kerry	Danforth	Cochran	McConnell			
Boren	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Dole	Murkowski			
Bradley	Leahy	Hatfield	Domenici	Nickles			
Breaux	Levin	Heinz	Evans	Pressler			
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Packwood	Garn	Quayle			
Burdick	Melcher	Roth	Gramm	Rudman			
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Specter	Grassley	Simpson			
Chiles	Mikulski	Stafford	Hatch	Stevens			
Conrad	Mitchell	Weicker	Hecht	Symms			
Cranston	Moynihan		Humphrey	Thurmond			
Daschle	Nunn		Karnes	Trible			
DeConcini	Pell		Kassebaum	Wallop			
Dixon	Proxmire		Kasten	Warner			
Dodd	Pryor						
Exon	Reid						
Ford	Riegle						
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats—52 or 81%
Republicans—12 or 19%

Against (32)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—32 or 100%

Opponents of the amendment contended that by eliminating advance notice for mass layoffs, the substitute would allow employers to evade their advance notice obligations by whittling down their operations, rather than closing down entire facilities. This undermines the purpose of the bill: to help workers who have lost their jobs to adjust and retrain so they can move quickly back into the work force. There is often no distinction between a plant closing and a long-term layoff, and notification is essential in both cases. A series of studies on the plant closing provisions undertaken by the General Accounting Office, Office of Technology Assessment, and a task force under the former Secretary of Labor show that advance notice of job loss—whether by plant closing or indefinite layoff—enhances a worker's ability to find new employment. When only short notice (or none at all) is given, workers often are unable to receive adequate training and are lost to permanent dislocation. This amendment, by separating plant closings and layoffs, cripples the legislation.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 209

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 27, 1988, 4:14 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8612

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2435

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Hatch amendment which states that nothing in this Act shall require an employer to serve a written 60 day notice when permanently replacing a person who is deemed to be an economic striker under the National Labor Relations Act. (See also Vote No. 212.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that it would require notice in plant closing situations that would not interfere with traditional rights and obligations under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). Employers should not have to give 60 days' notice as well as provide pay and other benefits to people who have gone on strike voluntarily. This is an unjust imposition on an employer who did not cause the strike and represents a substantive change in the NLRA. The question of providing notice to economic strikers who have been replaced should be settled in this legislation and not left to the courts. Opponents of the amendment asserted that the underlying bill is neutral with respect to labor law—it makes no changes in the NLRA or any other labor law. The right to replace economic strikers shall be determined by the NLRA and court interpretations of the NLRA. There are a number of unresolved issues with respect to economic strikers, including what constitutes permanent replacement, what rates accrue to persons hired as permanent replacements, and whether striking employees may be permanently replaced. This plant closing bill is not the instrument through which these complex issues should be addressed. If, however, there is a determination by the court that there is a legitimate replacement under the NLRA, this bill would not impose a new obligation to give 60 days notice where the replacement fully complies with existing law under the NLRA.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (46 or 96%)	Republicans (7 or 17%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (35 or 83%)		Democrats (6)	Republicans (4)
Baucus	Johnston	Cohen	Heflin	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Adams ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Heinz	Nunn	Bond	Kasten	Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	McCain		Boschwitz	McClure	Cranston ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Packwood		Chafee	McConnell	Daschle ⁻²	Wilson ^{-2AN}
Bradley	Leahy			Cochran	Murkowski	Sasser ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Stafford		D'Amato	Nickles	Wirth ⁻²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Weicker		Danforth	Pressler		
Burdick	Melcher			Dole	Quayle		
Byrd	Metzenbaum			Domenici	Rudman		
Chiles	Mikulski			Durenberger	Simpson		
Conrad	Mitchell			Evans	Specter		
DeConcini	Moynihan			Garn	Stevens		
Dixon	Pell			Gramm	Symms		
Dodd	Proxmire			Grassley	Thurmond		
Exon	Pryor			Hatch	Trible		
Ford	Reid			Hatfield	Wallop		
Fowler	Riegle			Humphrey	Warner		
Glenn	Rockefeller			Karnes			
Gore	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—46 or 87%
Republicans—7 or 13%

Against (37)
Democrats—2 or 5%
Republicans—35 or 95%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 210

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 27, 1988, 6:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8625

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (BANK/S & I EXEMPTION)

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2437

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Proxmire motion to table the Gramm amendment which exempts from the definition of "employer," banks and savings and loans (S&Ls) that in the judgment of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or Federal Home Loan Bank Board, respectively, are in danger of closing.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the logic of this bill does not apply to the problems of banks and S&Ls which are in danger of closing. In the last year, troubled S&Ls lost \$11.5 billion, and there are currently 344 insolvent S&Ls in the Nation. A 60-day notice at a bank or S&L can create a deposit flight at that institution, thereby exacerbating the already serious financial problems. In addition, in a 60-day period troubled thrifts are losing approximately \$2.4 billion. By exempting troubled banks and S&Ls, the financial base of these institutions in the southwest and elsewhere can be saved and consolidated through cash assisted purchases and injections of new capital.

Opponents of the amendment contended that it was needless because section 3 of the bill provides that if an appropriate government agency, like the FDIC or FSLIC, rather than the employer bank, orders the closing and subsequent layoff of bank employees, then the plant closing provision does not apply. In situations where the banking regulator does not actually close a failing bank or S&L, but uses its authority and resources to arrange for a takeover by a healthy bank or S&L, the plant closing provision only applies if an employer lays off 50 or more employees at a single site of employment. The average number of employees at a single banking establishment is only 30, while the average S&L employs just 18. Therefore, the plant closing provision would not affect the overwhelming majority of FSLIC- or FDIC-assisted mergers. In those rare instances which might arise where 50 or more employees were laid off by a healthy bank during a takeover, however, the notification provision does apply. In these cases, employees are no less entitled to notice because their employer is a bank rather than an auto plant or steel mill.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (63)

Democrats
(49 or 98%)

Republicans
(14 or 33%)

Baucus	Johnston	Chafee
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen
Boren	Kerry	Danforth
Bradley	Lautenberg	Durenberger
Breaux	Leahy	Evans
Bumpers	I Levin	Hatfield
Burdick	Matsunaga	Kassebaum
Byrd	Melcher	McCain
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Packwood
Conrad	Mikulski	Roth
Cranston	Mitchell	Specter
Daschle	Moynihan	Stafford
DeConcini	Nunn	Warner
Dixon	Pell	Weicker
Dodd	Proxmire	
Exon	Pryor	
Ford	Reid	
Fowler	Riegle	
Glenn	Rockefeller	
Gore	Sanford	
Graham	Sarbanes	
Harkin	Sasser	
Heflin	Shelby	
Hollings	Simon	
Inouye		

NAYS (29)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Republicans
(28 or 67%)

Bingaman	Armstrong
	Bond
	Boschwitz
	Cochran
	D'Amato
	Dole
	Domenici
	Garn
	Gramm
	Grassley
	Hatch
	Humphrey
	Karnes
	Kasten
	Lugar
	McClure
	McConnell
	Murkowski
	Nickles
	Pressler
	Quayle
	Rudman
	Simpson
	Stevens
	Symms
	Thurmond
	Trible
	Wallop

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (4)

Republicans (4)

Adams ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Biden ⁻³	Heinz ⁻²
Stennis ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Wirth ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats—49 or 78%
Republicans—14 or 22%

Against (29)
Democrats—1 or 3%
Republicans—28 or 97%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 211

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988, 9:46 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8663

WORK INCENTIVE (WIN) PROGRAM EXTENSION

BILL NO.: H.R. 4731

TITLE: "WIN Demonstration Program Extension Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which extends the authority for the Work Incentive Demonstration Program from June 30, 1988, through September 30, 1990.

NOTE: H.R. 4731 became Public Law 100-364, approved July 11, 1988.

H.R. 4731: Vote No. 211.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Cranston ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure				
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Eaton	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Ford	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Gore	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby	Kasten					
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 45 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 212

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988, 10:25 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8666

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2439

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Hatch-Metzenbaum amendment which adds language that an employer is not required to serve written notice when permanently replacing a person who is deemed to be an economic striker under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), provided that nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate or invalidate any judicial or administrative ruling relating to the hiring of permanent replacements for economic strikers under the NLRA. (See also Vote No. 209.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this amendment explicitly preserves the delicate balance in labor-management relations reflected by the NLRA and resolves previous ambiguities in the language in the first Hatch amendment (Vote No. 209) and in the bill. It maintains current law, and neither grants new rights nor takes away old rights under the NLRA. Whatever the courts conclude about permitting or prohibiting replacements of economic strikers under the NLRA will be unaffected by this bill. (Essentially, the first part of this amendment is the same as the first Hatch amendment—with the important addition of a disclaimer about rulings.)

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (48 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Biden— ³	Helms— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Bumpers— ²	Stevens— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Cranston— ²	Wallop— ²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure			Dodd— ²	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Sanford— ²	
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski			Sasser— ²	
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Daschle	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
DeConcini	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Dixon	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Exon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Ford	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Fowler	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Glenn	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Gore	Rockefeller	Heinz	Warner				
Graham	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby	Karnes	Wilson				
Heflin	Simon	Kassebaum					
Hollings	Tennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats—48 or 53%
Republicans—43 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 213

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988, 11:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8669

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2438

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Quayle amendment which exempts an employer from the requirement to serve notice under the Act, if the plant closing or mass layoff is due, directly or indirectly, to a strike. (The bill already exempts strike situations.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that an employer who is being struck by a certain bargaining unit, and closes a plant or lays off nonstriking employees because of the strike, should not be required to give 60 days notice. The central focus of this legislation is to give training to workers when they have no chance of returning to their place of employment. If people are on strike or are laid off because of a strike, they have every reason to believe that the strike is going to be resolved, and that they will go back to work. In that case, they do not need the retraining and education, so the notification provisions should not apply. In addition, if a strike causes layoffs, giving 60 days notice when the employer is thinking about calling them back places a tremendous burden on the employer by forcing him/her to predict the length of a strike.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that the bill fully and fairly addresses the notice issue with respect to strikers. It already exempts from notice workers who are on strike and provides that strikers are not entitled to notice if they are permanently replaced under the NLRA. In addition, there is an exception for business circumstances that are not reasonably foreseeable. A strike that is sudden and unexpected may well qualify as unforeseeable under this bill. This amendment ignores these provisions and exempts from notice thousands of workers who are not on strike and who have nothing to do with the strike. It provides that notice need not be given to nonstriking employees even when it is known months in advance that the employees might lose their jobs due to a strike hundreds or thousands of miles away. It assumes that any effect of any strike, no matter how remote in time or distant in place, is enough to foreclose notice. Adoption of the amendment would needlessly penalize nonstriking employees who are not party to a strike and who have no intention of going on strike.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (11 or 24%)	Democrats (3 or 6%)		Republicans (34 or 76%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kerry	Chafee	DeConcini	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Cohen	Dixon	Bond	McCain	Cranston ⁻²	
Bentsen	Leahy	Danforth	Fowler	Boschwitz	McClure		
Bingaman	Levin	Durenberger		Cochran	McConnell		
Boren	Matsunaga	Hatfield		D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bradley	Melcher	Heinz		Dole	Nickles		
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Packwood		Domenici	Pressler		
Bumpers	Mikulski	Roth		Evans	Quayle		
Burdick	Mitchell	Specter		Garn	Rudman		
Byrd	Moynihan	Stafford		Gramm	Simpson		
Chiles	Nunn	Weicker		Grassley	Stevens		
Conrad	Pell			Hatch	Symms		
Daschle	Proxmire			Hecht	Thurmond		
Dodd	Pryor			Humphrey	Trible		
Exon	Reid			Karnes	Wallop		
Ford	Riegle			Kassebaum	Warner		
Glenn	Rockefeller			Kasten	Wilson		
Gore	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Helms	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

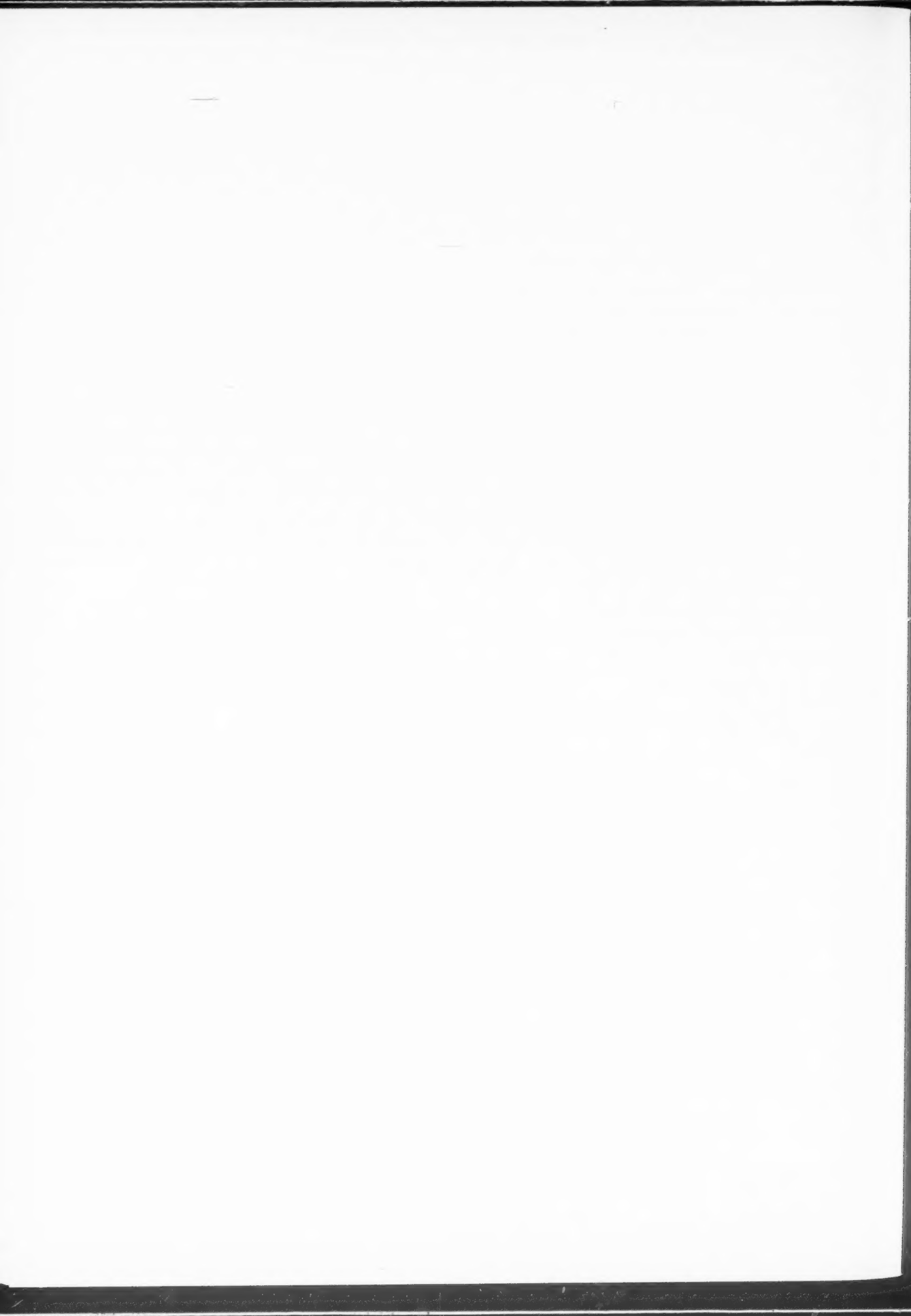
Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats—49 or 82%
Republicans—11 or 18%

Against (37)
Democrats—3 or 8%
Republicans—34 or 92%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 214

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988, 2:57 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8679

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2475

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Domenici amendment (as a substitute for the bill) which eliminates the requirement for 60 days notice for all mass layoffs except those caused by hostile takeovers.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that it leaves intact the 60-day notice of plant closures but offers a new approach to notification of layoffs. Requiring the advance notification of mass layoffs in the regular course of business would harm U.S. competitiveness. Workers are more concerned with the effects of corporate mergers and takeovers than layoffs that occur because of cyclical business activity and changing economic times. Workers who are the victims of such takeovers are particularly vulnerable as they are often unable to foresee hostile takeovers or to realize that their jobs may be sacrificed to finance a corporate raid. During such a takeover fight, it is raider versus management, shareholder versus management, and no one looks out for the employees or the communities. This amendment would help protect a vulnerable class of workers from a new management whose objective may be a lucrative hostile takeover instead of the long-term profitability of the company.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that they were equally concerned about the negative effect which hostile takeovers often have on the employees of the target companies. This amendment, however, by carving out a special provision for hostile takeovers, would limit notice for plant closing and layoffs to a very small group. It ignores the magnitude and the multitude of causes of worker dislocation. For instance, thousands of employees are laid off due to ordinary sales of assets, consolidation and reorganization, nonhostile takeovers, changes of technology, and relocations overseas. All of these workers need advance warning that they are going to be out of a job. Just like the victims of hostile takeovers, they need time to receive job training and adjustment assistance. This bill already covers layoffs and plant closings caused by hostile takeovers—it gives notice to all workers who lose jobs in plant closings and mass layoffs, regardless of the cause.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (62)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (11 or 24%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (34 or 76%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden—3	Helms—2
Baucus	Kerry	Cohen	Bond	McCain	Cranston—2	
Benisen	Lautenberg	Danforth	Boschwitz	McClure	Faxon—2	
Bingaman	Leahy	Durenberger	Cochran	McConnell		
Boren	Levin	Hatfield	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Heinz	Dole	Nickles		
Breaux	Melcher	Packwood	Domenici	Pressler		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Roth	Evans	Quayle		
Burdick	Mikulski	Specter	Garn	Rudman		
Byrd	Mitchell	Stafford	Gramm	Simpson		
Chiles	Moynihan	Weicker	Grassley	Stevens		
Conrad	Nunn		Hatch	Symms		
Daschle	Pell		Hecht	Thurmond		
DeConcini	Proxmire		Humphrey	Trible		
Dixon	Pryor		Karnes	Wallop		
Dodd	Reid		Kassebaum	Warner		
Ford	Riegle		Kasten	Wilson		
Fowler	Rockefeller					
Glenn	Sanford					
Gore	Sarbanes					
Graham	Sasser					
Harkin	Shelby					
Heflin	Simon					
Hollings	Stennis					
Inouye	Wirth					
Johnston						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats—51 or 82%
Republicans—11 or 18%

Against (34)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—34 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 215

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988. 3:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8681

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2469

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Hatch amendment which specifies that the mailing of a notice to an employee's last known address or inclusion of the notice in the employee's paycheck will be considered acceptable methods for fulfilling the employer's obligation under this Act to give notice of a plant closing or mass layoff to each affected employee.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this amendment clarifies ambiguities with regard to the notice provisions. It does not affect the employer's obligation under the Act to provide notice to the employees' representative, to the local unit of government, or to the State dislocated workers unit. Adoption of this amendment is not intended to endorse the practice of "roiling notice" or "ticketed notice"—where an employer gives notice in every paycheck, regardless of whether or not a plant is closing. Use of such tactics will not fulfill an employer's obligation to notify affected employees.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (95)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McCain			Breaux ⁻²	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McClure			Chiles ⁻²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McConnell			Cranston ⁻²	
Boren	Levin	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Quayle				
Conrad	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth				
Daschle	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman				
DeConcini	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Dixon	Pell	Garn	Specter				
Dodd	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford				
Eaton	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Ford	Reid	Hatch	Symms				
Fowler	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Hecht	Trible				
Gore	Sanford	Heinz	Wallop				
Graham	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Harkin	Sasser	Karnes	Weicker				
Heflin	Sheiby	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Hollings	Simon	Kasten					
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

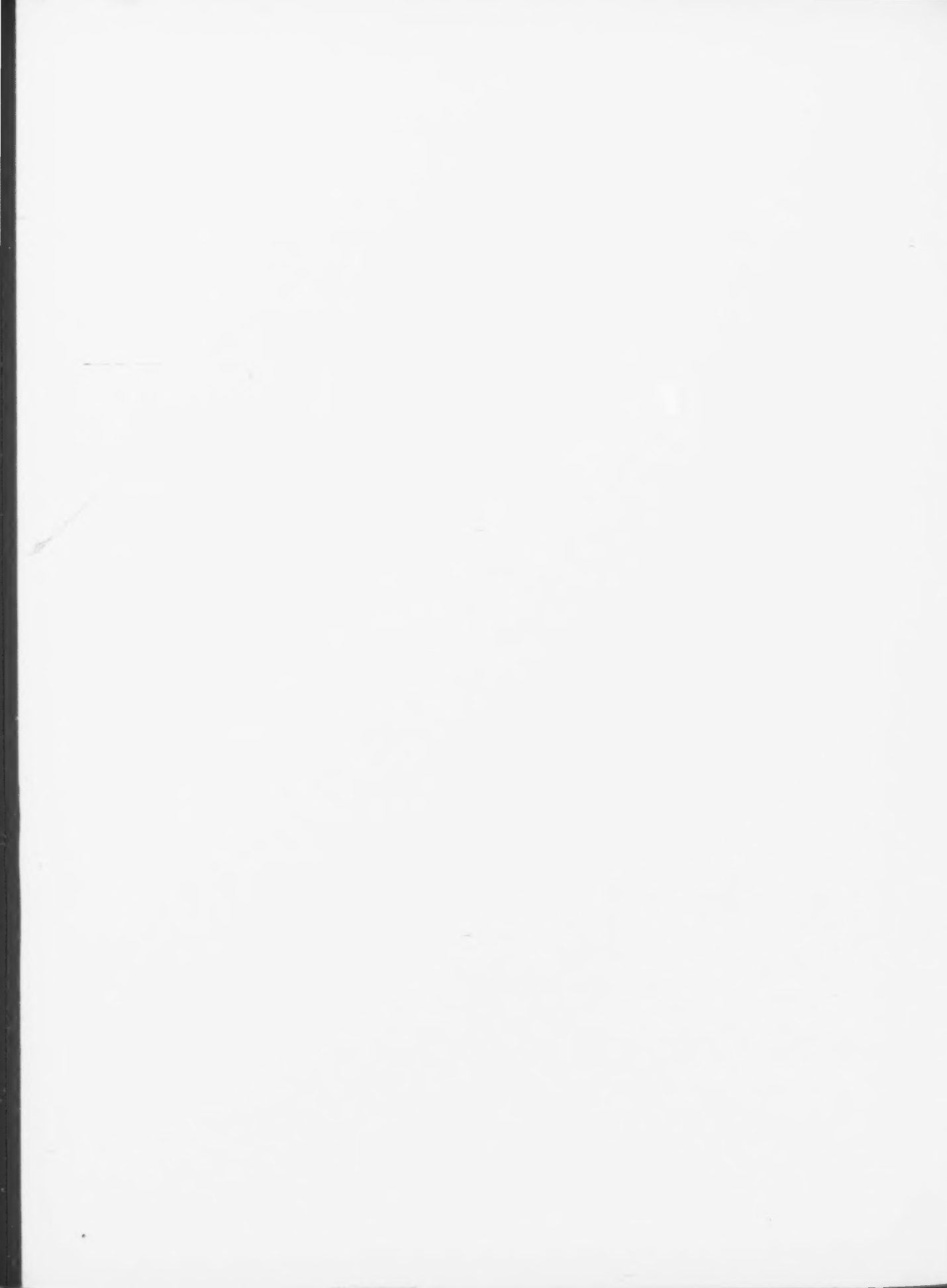
Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)
Democrats—50 or 53%
Republicans—45 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 216

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988. 3:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8681

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2441

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Hatch modified amendment which specifies that employees will receive notice of a plant closing or mass layoff that occurs incident to the sale of a business, from either the seller or the purchaser.

NOTE: Proponents contended that under this amendment employees will be protected throughout the process of the sale, and the responsibility for giving notice will be apportioned fairly and logically between the seller and the purchaser. Until the sale is completed, the seller has the duty to give notice. Immediately upon completion of the sale, the duty to give notice is the purchaser's. Employers and affected employees will always know clearly which employer must give notice if a plant closing or mass layoff is ordered, and at no time will employees be unprotected against sudden mass layoffs or plant closings undertaken without 60-day notice.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Gore—2AY	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure				
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby	Kasten					
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats—52 or 54%
Republicans—45 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 217

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988, 5:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8685

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2484

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Hatch amendment which makes technical clarifications to the bill and conforms the section that provides for the awarding of attorneys' fees to existing statutes on the subject.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment is acceptable because it makes only minor changes in the bill to assure that the intent is the same as that which the Supreme Court laid out in the Christianburg case regarding attorneys' fees. Some Senators maintained that the technical changes were not superfluous but were necessary to clear up significant ambiguities.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden— ³	Helms— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Gore— ² AY	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure				
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Eaton	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby	Kasten					
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)

Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 45 or 46%

Against (0)

Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 218

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988, 5:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8688

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2485

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Dole amendment which provides that no notice under this Act shall be required if the plant closing or mass layoff is due to any form of natural disaster, such as a flood, earthquake, or drought.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that although the bill presently provides for an exemption in connection with unforeseeable business circumstances, adoption of this amendment would explicitly affirm the Senate's commitment not to burden employers already devastated by the impact of natural disasters with a 60-day notice requirement for layoffs and plant closings.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (95)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Gore ^{-2AY}	Helms ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Stennis ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Burd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Evon	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Karnes	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kasten	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby						
Helms	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

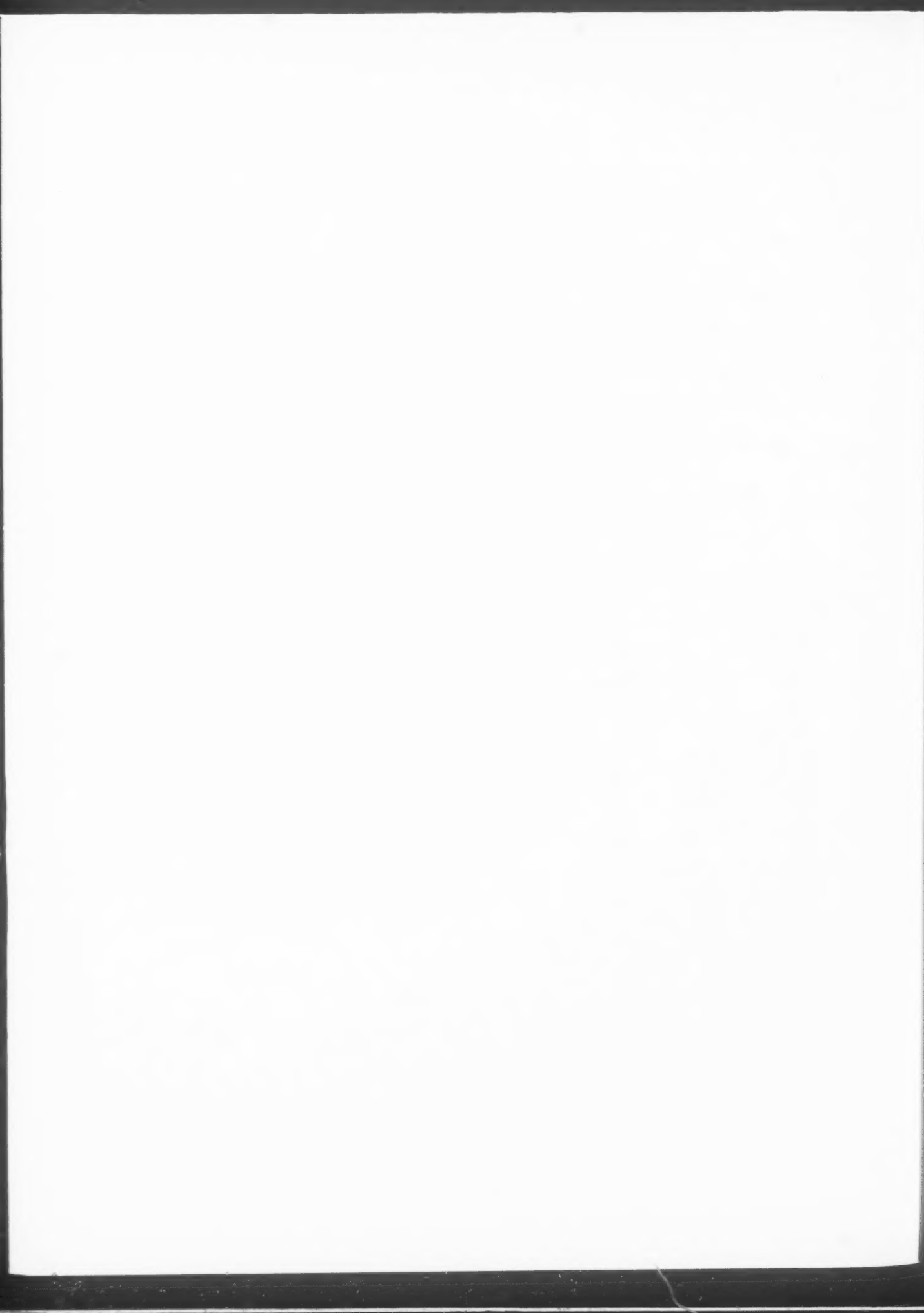
Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)	Against (0)
Democrats—51 or 54%	Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—44 or 46%	Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 219

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 28, 1988, 6:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8691

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2486

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Gramm amendment which permits an employer to close a plant or lay off workers before the 60-day notification period has elapsed if 50 percent or more of the notified employees voluntarily terminate their employment, or if sufficient employees voluntarily terminate their employment so as to disrupt the efficient functioning of the business enterprise.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it would protect employers against a circumstance in which a company is trying to comply with this bill but cannot operate efficiently because so many of its employees have left voluntarily. If 50 percent of the employees leave voluntarily or if a sufficient number leave so that the plant cannot operate efficiently, this amendment would let the employer protect his/her money by shutting the plant down before the 60 days elapse. Employers should have the right to close the plants if they are unable to maintain their operations because their workers voluntarily terminate their employment.

Opponents of the amendment contended that all evidence from the Office of Technology Assessment, National Academy of Sciences, and former Labor Secretary Brock's Task Force on Worker Dislocation shows that workers do not desert their employers once notice of layoffs or a plant closing is given. These studies found no evidence that the productivity of the work force is adversely affected during a notification period. For this reason, the exit of large numbers of workers from the work force clearly would be an "unforeseeable business circumstance." The bill already contains an exemption that covers such unforeseeable events. In addition, this amendment is dangerously vague with its references to ambiguous phrases like "efficient functioning," "sufficient number of employees," and "disrupt." It seeks to address a situation which already is covered by an exemption in the bill and only adds confusion.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (59)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)	Republicans (10 or 23%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (34 or 77%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee		Armstrong	Biden—3	Evans—2
Baucus	Kerry	Cohen		Bond	Burdick—2	Helms—2
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Danforth		Boschwitz	Chiles—2	
Bingaman	Leahy	Durenberger		Cochran	Gore—2AY	
Boren	Levin	Heinz		D'Amato	Stennis—2	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Packwood		Dole		
Breaux	Melcher	Roth		Domenici		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Specter		Garn		
Byrd	Mikulski	Stafford		Gramm		
Conrad	Mitchell	Weicker		Grassley		
Cranston	Moynihan			Hatch		
Daschle	Nunn			Hatfield		
DeConcini	Pell			Hecht		
Dixon	Proxmire			Humphrey		
Dodd	Pryor			Karnes		
Exon	Reid			Kassebaum		
Ford	Riegle			Kasten		
Fowler	Rockefeller					
Glenn	Sanford					
Graham	Sarbanes					
Harkin	Sasser					
Heflin	Shelby					
Holings	Simon					
Houder	Wirth					
Johnston						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 77%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 49 or 83%
Republicans— 10 or 17%

Against (34)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 34 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 220

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 29, 1988, 10:39 a.m. -
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8760

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 2527
TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"
SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.
RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (79)			NAYS (18)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (26 or 59%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (18 or 41%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz		Armstrong	Biden ¹	Evans ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee		Bond		Helms ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran		Cohen		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato		Dole		
Boren	Leahy	Danforth		Gramm		
Bradley	Levin	Domenici		Hatch		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Durenberger		Hecht		
Bumpers	Melcher	Garn		Humphrey		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Grassley		Kasten		
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatfield		McCain		
Chiles	Mitchell	Heinz		McClure		
Conrad	Moynihan	Karnes		McConnell		
Cranston	Nunn	Kassebaum		Murkowski		
Daschle	Pell	Lugar		Quayle		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Nickles		Symms		
Dixon	Pryor	Packwood		Wallop		
Dodd	Reid	Pressler		Weicker		
Exon	Riegle	Roth		Wilson		
Ford	Rockefeller	Rudman				
Fowler	Sanford	Simpson				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Specter				
Gore	Sasser	Stafford				
Graham	Shelby	Stevens				
Harkin	Simon	Thurmond				
Heflin	Stennis	Trible				
Hollings	Wirth	Warner				
Inouye						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yeas
- AN—Announced Nays
- PY—Paired Yeas
- PN—Paired Nays

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (79)
Democrats—53 or 67%
Republicans—26 or 33%

Against (18)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—18 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 221

100th Congress
2nd Session

June 29, 1988, 10:55 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8760

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2527

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum, et al., motion to close further debate on the bill. (See also Vote No. 222 on a second successful cloture motion.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 27, 1988, was signed by Senators Metzenbaum, Bentsen, Bingaman, Levin, Matsunaga, Simon, Mitchell, Johnston, Inouye, Riegle, Mikulski, Dodd, Fowler, Exon, Baucus, Melcher, and Pell.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (58)

Democrats
(53 or 100%)

Republicans
(5 or 11%)

Adams	Johnston	Chafee
Baucus	Kennedy	Durenberger
Bentsen	Kerry	Roth
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Stafford
Boren	Leahy	Weicker
Bradley	Levin	
Breaux	Matsunaga	
Bumpers	Melcher	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	
Byrd	Mikulski	
Chiles	Mitchell	
Conrad	Moynihan	
Craxton	Pell	
Daschle	Proxmire	
DeConcini	Pryor	
Dixon	Reid	
Dodd	Riegle	
Exon	Rockefeller	
Ford	Sanford	
Fowler	Sarbanes	
Glenn	Sasser	
Gore	Shelby	
Graham	Simon	
Harkin	Stennis	
Heflin	Wirth	
Hillings		
Inouye		

NAYS (39)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(39 or 89%)

Armstrong	Lugar
Bond	McCain
Boschwitz	McClure
Cochran	McConnell
Cohen	Murkowski
D'Amato	Nickles
Danforth	Packwood
Dole	Pressler
Domenici	Quayle
Garn	Rudman
Gramm	Simpson
Grassley	Specter
Hatch	Stevens
Hatfield	Symms
Hecht	Thurmond
Heinz	Trible
Humphrey	Wallop
Karnes	Warner
Kassebaum	Wilson
Kasten	

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (1)

Republicans (2)

Biden—³

Evans—²
Helms—²

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats—53 or 91%
Republicans—5 or 9%

Against (39)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—39 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 222

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 6, 1988, 1:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8854

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2527

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Reid, et al., second motion to close further debate on the bill. (See also Vote No. 221 on the first cloture motion.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 29, 1988, was signed by Senators Simon, Pell, Metzenbaum, Reid, Proxmire, Melcher, Moynihan, Lautenberg, Daschle, Inouye, Harkin, Exon, Gore, Dodd, Kennedy, and Mitchell.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (88)				NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (35 or 88%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (5 or 13%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten		Humphrey	Biden ⁻³	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar		McClure		Chafee ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran	McConnell		Rudman		Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Nickles		Symms		Helms ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Packwood		Wallop		McCain ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Danforth	Pressler				Murkowski ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Dole	Quayle				
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Roth				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Simpson				
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans	Specter				
Chiles	Mitchell	Garn	Stafford				
Conrad	Moynihan	Gramm	Stevens				
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Thurmond				
Daschle	Pell	Hatch	Trible				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatfield	Warner				
Dixon	Pryor	Heinz	Weicker				
Dodd	Reid	Karnes	Wilson				
Exon	Riegle	Kassebaum					
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—53 or 60%
Republicans—35 or 40%

Against (5)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 223

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 6, 1988, 3:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8859

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2487

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Wilson amendment which exempts from the advance notification requirement those plant closings and mass layoffs caused by the inability of the employer to obtain, at competitive cost, sufficient supplies of materials required in manufacturing products or in providing services, including but not limited to an inability caused by an import restraint program of the U.S., whether or not imposed unilaterally.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it is necessary to avoid aggravating situations of fluctuating demand and, therefore, fluctuating employment by imposing further hardship on the employer and threatening further operation. In short, this amendment would not require notice when a U.S. manufacturer is cut off from necessary raw materials. This amendment is essential to clarify imprecise language in the bill. The exemption for unforeseeable circumstances is well intended, but its vagueness gives rise to serious questions of fact which will be disputed in court. Without this amendment, it is clear that the ambiguity of the exemption will result in a number of people losing their jobs while a lawsuit is in progress because the employer cannot keep his/her doors open. This would be counterproductive to the stated purpose of the legislation, and adoption of this amendment will provide fairness for employers and employees.

Opponents of the amendment maintained that the exemption currently in the bill is more than sufficient to cover the situation outlined by proponents of the amendment. The bill's exemption is drafted so as to provide a standard protection against unforeseeable business circumstances for all employers. It sets an overall standard rather than anticipating specific circumstances as this amendment does. With its vague and ambiguous terms like "sufficient supply" and "competitive cost," this proposal invites costly and lengthy litigation.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (58)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (50 or 94%)	Republicans (8 or 19%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (34 or 81%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Chafee	Harkin	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden-3	Boschwitz-2
Raucus	Johnston	Cohen	Pryor	Bond	McCain		Hecht-2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Danforth	Sasser	Cochran	McClure		Helms-2
Bingaman	Kerry	Durenberger		D'Amato	McConnell		Murkowski-2
Boren	Lautenberg	Packwood		Dole	Nickles		
Bradley	Leahy	Roth		Domenici	Pressler		
Breaux	Levin	Stafford		Evans	Quayle		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Weicker		Garn	Rudman		
Burdick	Melcher			Gramm	Simpson		
Byrd	Metzenbaum			Grassley	Specter		
Chiles	Mikulski			Hatch	Stevens		
Conrad	Mitchell			Hatfield	Symms		
Cranston	Moynihan			Heinz	Thurmond		
Daschle	Nunn			Humphrey	Trible		
DeConcini	Pell			Karnes	Wallop		
Dixon	Proxmire			Kassebaum	Warner		
Dodd	Reid			Kasten	Wilson		
Faxon	Riegle						
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—81%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats—50 or 86%
Republicans—8 or 14%

Against (37)
Democrats—3 or 8%
Republicans—34 or 92%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 224

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 6, 1988, 3:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8863

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

AMENDMENT NO.: 2492

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum motion to table the Quayle amendment which makes the advance notification requirements applicable to plant closings resulting in the unemployment of a minimum of 75 employees (rather than 50 as in the bill) and to mass layoffs which affect one-half of the workforce (rather than one-third as in the bill).

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it represents a good-faith effort at compromise. There has never really been any dispute, they claimed, as to whether employers should give notice to employees; the dispute is over how to enforce that notification and whether it should be voluntary or mandatory. In the spirit of accommodation, this amendment increases the threshold for mass layoffs from 33 percent to 50 percent and changes the definition of plant closing to involve 75 employees rather than 50.

Opponents of the amendment contended that this is not just a minor adjustment but a major change in the basic coverage of plant closing. It proposes a significant reduction in the number of workers who would benefit from the advance notice requirement. This fundamental change affects hundreds of thousands of workers who, in one instance, will get notification so that they can put their lives together and receive training to go back into the job force, and those that will not because they did not satisfy this new mathematical equation. The numbers in the legislation are based on exhaustive studies by several agencies and task forces and represent the bare minimum in terms of time, equity, and fairness for employees and employers. Adoption of this amendment in the final hours of consideration undermines the central purpose of the bill.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (63)			NAYS (32)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (10 or 24%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)		Republicans (32 or 76%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee		Armstrong	McCain	Biden--3	Boschwitz--2
Baucus	Kennedy	Cohen		Bond	McClure		Hecht--2
Bentsen	Kerry	D'Amato		Cochran	McConnell		Helms--2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth		Dole	Nickles		Murkowski--2
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger		Domenici	Pressler		
Bradley	Levin	Heinz		Evans	Quayle		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Packwood		Garn	Rudman		
Bumpers	Melcher	Stafford		Gramm	Simpson		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Weicker		Grassley	Specter		
Byrd	Mikulski			Hatch	Stevens		
Chiles	Mitchell			Hatfield	Symms		
Conrad	Moynihan			Humphrey	Thurmond		
Cranston	Nunn			Karnes	Trible		
Daschle	Pell			Kassebaum	Wallop		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Kasten	Warner		
Dixon	Pryor			Lugar	Wilson		
Dodd	Reid						
Exon	Riegle						
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats—53 or 84%
Republicans—10 or 16%

Against (32)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—32 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 225

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 6, 1988, 5:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8868

PLANT CLOSING NOTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S. 2527

TITLE: "Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which requires 60 days advance notice of: (1) a plant closing that results in an employment loss for at least 50 employees at the employment site, and (2) a layoff of more than six months that results in the employment loss for 50 or more employees, if 33 percent of the workforce at an employment site are affected, or that results in an employment loss for 500 employees, whether or not 33 percent of the workforce is affected.

NOTE: The provisions of S. 2527, as introduced, were adopted as part of the conference report on the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act (H.R. 3), which the President vetoed on May 24, 1988, citing, among other things, his objection to the plant closing provisions.

Subsequently, on June 16, 1988, after the Senate failed to override the veto (Vote No. 169), the plant closing provisions, as agreed to by House Senate conferees, was introduced (as a separate bill) in the Senate.

S. 2527 became Public Law 100-379, without the President's signature, on August 2, 1988.

S. 2527: Vote Nos. 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208-210, 212-225.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (72)		NAYS (23)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)	Republicans (19 or 45%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (23 or 55%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Armstrong	Biden-3	Boschwitz-2
Baucus	Kennedy	Cohen	Bond		Hecht-2
Bentsen	Kerry	D'Amato	Cochran		Helms-2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth	Dole		Murkowski-2
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger	Domenici		
Bradley	Levin	Hatfield	Evans		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Heinz	Garn		
Bumpers	Melcher	Karnes	Gramm		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Kassebaum	Grassley		
Byrd	Mikulski	Kasten	Hatch		
Chiles	Mitchell	McCain	Humphrey		
Conrad	Moynihan	Packwood	Lugar		
Cranston	Nunn	Roth	McClure		
Daschle	Pell	Simpson	McConnell		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Specter	Nickles		
Dixon	Pryor	Stafford	Pressler		
Dodd	Reid	Stevens	Quayle		
Evon	Riegle	Warner	Rudman		
Ford	Rockefeller	Weicker	Symms		
Fowler	Sanford		Thurmond		
Glenn	Sarbanes		Trible		
Gore	Sasser		Wallop		
Graham	Shelby		Wilson		
Harkin	Simon				
Heflin	Stennis				
Hollings	Wirth				
Inouye					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats—53 or 74%
Republicans—19 or 26%

Against (23)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—23 or 100%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Requires 60 days advance notice of: (1) a plant closing that results in an employment loss for at least 50 employees at the employment site, and (2) a layoff of more than six months that results in employment loss for 50 or more employees, if 33 percent of the workforce at an employment site are affected, or that results in an employment loss for 500 employees, whether or not 33 percent of the workforce is affected.

Exempts employers with fewer than 100 fulltime employees; specifies that in calculating the number of employees who have experienced an employment loss, only employees working at least 20 hours a week and who have worked for the employer for at least six months would be included.

Specifies that employees are not considered to have experienced an employment loss: (1) upon the sale of all or part of the employer's business, or (2) if the closing or layoff is the result of the relocation or consolidation of part or all of the employer's business and prior to the closing or layoff the employer offers to transfer the employee within a reasonable commuting distance of their current job or the employee accepts a transfer to any of the employer's facilities.

Specifies that employees will receive notice of the plant closing or mass layoff that occurs incident to the sale of a business, from either the seller or the purchaser.

Provides exceptions to the notice requirement for unforeseeable business circumstances, faltering companies, closure or layoffs from temporary projects or undertakings where the employees knew their work was temporary, and cases in which the closing or layoff constitutes a strike or lockout.

Provides that an employer is not required to serve written notice when permanently replacing a person who is deemed to be an economic striker under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), provided that nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate or invalidate any judicial or administrative ruling relating to the hiring of permanent replacements for economic strikers under the NLRA.

Limits remedies for violation of the notice requirement to (1) making the employer liable to employees who should have received notice but did not, and setting damage awards at the equivalent of a day's pay and the cost of related fringe benefits for up to the 60-day period that the notice should have been given but was not; and (2) making the employer liable to the local community for up to \$500 a day for each day of the 60-day period that notice was not given, with a maximum damage award of \$30,000; relieves the employer of the liability to the community if it satisfies its liability to the employees expeditiously; specifies that a Federal court shall not have any authority to enjoin a plant closing or mass layoff.

Specifies that the mailing of a notice to an employee's last known address or inclusion of the notice in the employee's paycheck will be considered acceptable methods for fulfilling the employer's obligation under this Act to give notice of a plant closing or mass layoff to each affected employee.

Provides that no notice under this Act shall be required if the plant closing or mass layoff is due to any form of natural disaster, such as a flood, earthquake, or drought.

Directs the Comptroller General, two years after enactment, to submit a report containing a detailed and objective analysis of the effect of the Act on employers, the economy, and employees, with an assessment of the costs and benefits, including the effect on productivity, competitiveness, unemployment rates and compensation, and worker retraining and readjustment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 226

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 10:19 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8938

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (CONFERENCE REPORT)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4567

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which appropriates \$17,831,995,000 for energy and water development in FY 1989.

NOTE: H.R. 4567 became Public Law 100-371, approved July 19, 1988.

H.R. 4567: Vote Nos. 179-181, 226.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)		Republicans (40 or 95%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Proxmire	Humphrey	Biden ⁻³	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain		Roth	Sanford ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McClure				Helms ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McConnell				Murkowski ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Nickles				
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Packwood				
Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Pressler				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Quayle				
Burdick	Melcher	Domenici	Rudman				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Simpson				
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans	Specter				
Conrad	Mitchell	Garn	Stafford				
Cranston	Moynihan	Gramm	Stevens				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Symms				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Trible				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Wallop				
Eaton	Riegle	Karnes	Warner				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Kasten	Wilson				
Glenn	Sasser						
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats—51 or 56%
Republicans—40 or 44%

Against (3)
Democrats—1 or 33%
Republicans—2 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates \$17,831,995,000 in new budget authority for energy and water development for FY 1989; requires that agencies funded under this Act absorb any pay raise within their appropriated amounts.

Contains \$4.2 billion for Federal water resources development programs, including projects and related activities of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers-Civil and the Bureau of Reclamation; \$8.1 billion for atomic energy defense activities which includes \$3.8 billion for weapons activities and \$2.0 billion for nuclear materials production; \$255 million for SDI research; and a total of \$974.9 million for defense nuclear waste and environmental restoration activities which includes \$43 million for road improvements associated with construction of the waste isolation pilot plant.

Contains \$2.1 billion for energy supply, R&D, and demonstration programs which includes \$92.2 million for solar energy, \$259.0 million for biological and environmental research, \$362.7 million for nuclear fission R&D, \$552.4 million for magnetic fusion, and \$552.4 million for basic energy sciences.

Contains \$922.1 million for general science and research activities in life sciences, high energy physics, and nuclear physics; \$325.7 million for the various power marketing administrations; and \$446.0 million for various regulatory and independent agencies including the Appalachian Regional Commission, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Delaware, Potomac, and Susquehanna River Basin Commissions.

Contains \$369.8 million for DOE's Nuclear Waste Fund; authorizes, at an annualized rate, not to exceed \$11 million to Nevada for the period July 1, 1988-June 30, 1989, for its oversight responsibilities pursuant to the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 as amended, and not to exceed \$5 million to affected local governments as defined in that Act to conduct appropriate activities pursuant to the Act; makes \$1.5 million (of the \$11 million) available for studies and an assessment of transportation needs and requirements in connection with movement of nuclear waste within Nevada; makes \$6 million available to initiate computerized licensing support and records management systems at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, to handle applications to receive and process high level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel.

Provides that funds received as restitution for certain petroleum pricing violations, when appropriated or expended by a State, be deemed consistent with the restitutionary purposes for which they were received.

Prohibits the use of funds for Power Marketing Administrations or the TVA to pay procurement costs of extra high voltage power equipment not produced in the United States.

Permits the Bonneville Power Administration to continue to incur obligations in excess of available cash plus borrowing authority for all authorized purposes.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$16,914,598,000
1989 Budget Estimate	18,144,547,000
Approved by House.....	17,787,500,000
Approved by Senate	17,956,901,000
Enacted.....	17,831,995,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 227

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 11:18 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8962

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

BILL NO.: H.R. 1807

TITLE: "Minority Business Development Program Reform Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends the Small Business Act to ensure that the benefits of the Minority Small Business/Capital Ownership Development and the Section 8(a) contracting programs accrue to small businesses owned and controlled by individuals who are socially and economically disadvantaged; ensure that participating firms are better prepared to compete in the unsheltered marketplace after graduation; increase the number of minority-owned businesses capable of furnishing products and services to the U.S. government; and improve the administration of business development services and the management and distribution of Federal contracting opportunities to eligible small businesses under the program.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on October 18, 1988. H.R. 1807 became Public Law 100-656, approved November 15, 1988.

H.R. 1807: Vote No. 227.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (92)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (42 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden-3	Boschwitz-2
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain			Bradley-2AY	Hecht-2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McClure			Sanford-2	Helms-2
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McConnell			Shelby-2	Murkowski-2
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Leahy	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Levin	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Matsunaga	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Melcher	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Mikulski	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Mitchell	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Moynihan	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pell	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Proxmire	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Eaton	Pryor	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Reid	Humphrey	Wallop				
Fowler	Riegle	Karnes	Warner				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Gore	Sarbanes	Kasten	Wilson				
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats—50 or 54%
Republicans—42 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Establishes a separate Division of Minority Small Business Certification within SBA's Office of Minority Small Business and Capital Ownership Development to review certification applications for the section 8(a) program and to periodically review current program participants to assure their continuing eligibility.

Requires SBA to act on an application within 90 days; prohibits denial of an application based solely on an SBA determination that adequate noncompetitive contract opportunities are not likely to be available to support the applicant's business development during its participation term; and requires SBA to provide written notice of an application denial, specify the reasons, and advise the applicant of appeal rights.

Limits to eight years the participation term for the 8(a) program; establishes program graduation standards; prescribes transition rules for firms participating as of the date of enactment; requires that 51 percent interest in each 8(a) program participant be unconditionally owned by socially and economically disadvantaged individual(s).

Sets forth the procedures and conditions for terminating program participation; requires SBA to evaluate a program participant's continued eligibility upon receiving specific, credible information that the concern is ineligible; prohibits suspension of the firm's participation until initiation of a termination proceeding; establishes an expedited eligibility protest procedure to be used in conjunction with an ongoing procurement.

Requires program participants to develop a comprehensive business plan to ensure that the firm will be able to effectively compete in the unsheltered marketplace upon graduation; authorizes SBA to assist program participants in developing business plans; requires that the business plan be submitted promptly after certification and be revised annually; and requires that each participant's revised business plan pertaining to the fifth participation year include a transition management plan outlining specific steps to assure profitable operations after graduation.

Replaces the Business Development Expense (BDE) program with the Competitive Bid and Proposal Cost Program to help defray costs incurred by program participants in competing for government and commercial contracts; authorizes \$5 million each in FY 1989-91 for the program and limits assistance to \$100,000 to any particular firm in any year.

Directs the SBA to establish management assistance seminar programs to train certified firms to prepare competitive solicitations and other fundamentals of doing business with the government and to develop transition business plans that will enhance their ability to operate successfully after graduation.

Authorizes \$10 million in each FY 1989-91 for a direct loan program (to replace BDE grants) for program participants to help finance fixed assets and working capital needs; establishes the interest rate on these loans at two percentage points below the rate established for the economic opportunity direct loan program.

Establishes maximum percentages of each program participant's annual new sales which can be derived from the award of noncompetitive 8(a) contract awards during the fifth and subsequent program years in order to remain eligible for such awards; allows waiver of the requirements in individual cases under specified circumstances; requires each executive agency that reported over \$50 million in procurements annually since FY 1986 to prepare a forecast of its expected contract opportunities in the next and succeeding fiscal years and requires program participants to forecast their needs for 8(a) contract awards during the same period.

Establishes guidelines governing the award of noncompetitive 8(a) contracts; authorizes the SBA Administrator to direct a "self-marketed" contract opportunity to another firm if necessary to attain overriding equitable distribution concerns and to permit awards to individual program participants if necessary to maintain their continued participation; requires the competitive award of any contract opportunity with an anticipated award price, including options, exceeding \$5 million; establishes civil and criminal penalties for fraud by any firm seeking any small disadvantaged business award.

Specifies the extent to which an 8(a) contract award may be transferred from the program participant to another firm; requires a program participant awarded a section 8(a) contract to complete the contract's performance even if the contract period extends beyond the firm's participation term; authorizes the SBA Administrator to appeal a contracting officer's decision not to offer a contracting opportunity for award under the 8(a) program; and authorizes SBA to modify a contract, including the exercise of an option, within 30 days of a participant's graduation, if the procuring agency recommended approval of the modification prior to the participant's graduation.

Establishes Federal procurement goals for prime contracting with small businesses and for prime subcontracting with small disadvantaged businesses; requires that large Federal prime contracts containing contracting goals for small and small disadvantaged businesses provide for payment of liquidated damages if the prime contractor fails to make a good faith effort to meet the goals; directs agencies covered by the DOD program (which sets a five percent goal for contracting with socially and economically disadvantaged firms) to ensure that the program's implementation will not detrimentally affect awards to small businesses or interfere with the 8(a) program.

Prohibits certain ownership activities by former SBA employees involving 8(a) firms for up to one year after their employment termination; prohibits consideration of the political affiliation or activities of any applicant or participant in program-related decisions.

Creates a three-year pilot Preferred Surety and Guarantee Program to authorize surety companies meeting certain SBA-prescribed criteria to issue and service SBA-guaranteed bonds to eligible small business concerns using its own underwriting, bond administration, and claims procedures without receiving prior SBA approval of each transaction; authorizes a 70 percent guarantee against losses for participants in the pilot program; modifies the existing Surety Bond Guarantee Program to authorize 90 percent guarantees for contract values of \$150,000 or less and for transactions involving small businesses owned and controlled by socially and economically disadvantaged individuals.

Establishes a Task Force on Small Business Development to collect data, assess development cycles, and recommend solutions to the problems faced by minority small businesses; establishes a pilot Small Business Competitiveness Demonstration Program to test innovative procurement methods and procedures and limits eligibility to the construction, refuse systems and related services, and architectural and engineering services industries; and requires participating agencies to set special small business participation goals for contracting with the designated industries.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 228

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 2:24 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8997

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (UNITED NATIONS)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4637

AMENDMENT NO.: 2519

TITLE: "Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Kennedy, et al., amendment, as amended, to modify the requirement that the Administration's annual report on voting practices in the U.N. must be in the identical format as such previous reports and provides that the report's format be developed in consultation with the appropriate Congressional committees, provided such changes are approved by legislation.

NOTE: Proponents contended that the methodology used to measure coincidence of voting with the U.S. in the U.N. General Assembly is flawed and actually distorts support for U.S. positions. As enacted every year since 1984, the law prohibits direct foreign aid to any country which the President finds, based on the contents of this voting report, is engaged in a consistent pattern of opposition to U.S. foreign policy. The President, however, has never made such a determination. A number of changes should be made to take the increasing number of consensus decisions into account, to identify and include information about absences and abstentions, and to eliminate mathematical restrictions on the number of key votes. Others pointed out that a task force at the State Department was examining these proposals and questioned the advisability of giving them exclusive authority to make changes in the report. This objection was satisfied, however, upon inclusion of the proviso that any changes be approved by legislation.

H.R. 4637: Vote Nos. 228-231, 342, 343.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (93)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (42 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Iugar			Biden ⁻³	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Bradley ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McClure			Sanford ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell				Murkowski ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Eaton	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Humphrey	Wallop				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Karnes	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kasten	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

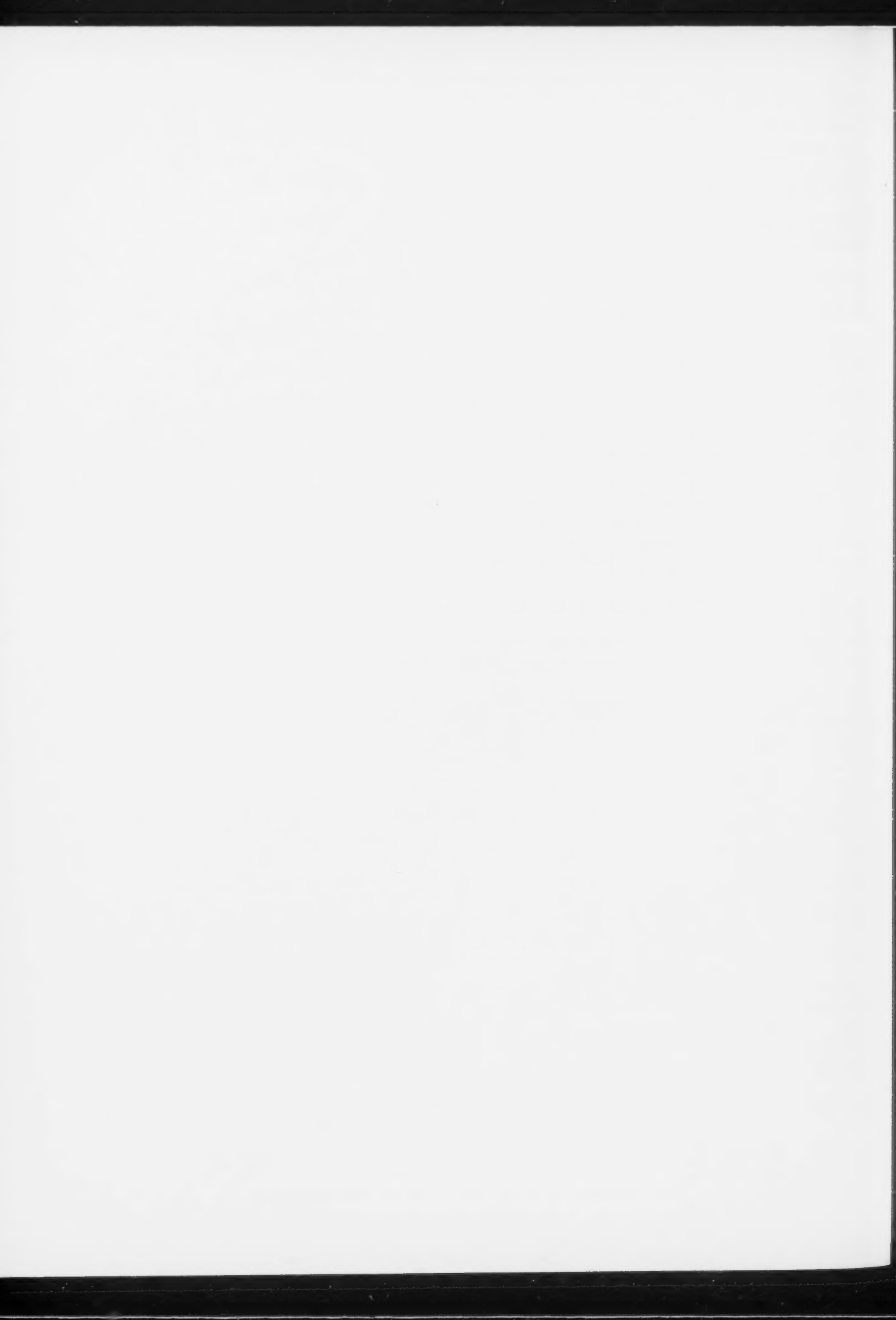
Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats—51 or 55%
Republicans—42 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 229

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 5:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9013

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (WORLD BANK)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4637

AMENDMENT NO.: 2528

TITLE: "Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Inouye motion to table the Humphrey amendment which prohibits the \$71 million in funding for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) from being made available unless its loan policies are revised to reflect terms that are no more favorable than those which are available, on the average, to American farmers. (See also Vote No. 230.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment pointed out that in every case for the last ten years, the World Bank has extended loans that the U.S. has opposed on the grounds that the recipient country has violated the human rights of its people or because the loan was inimical to U.S. economic interests. Although tempted to zero out the appropriation, the sponsor felt it more attractive to condition World Bank funding on the availability of such favorable loans to American farmers. They contended that multilateral loans have gone to finance wasteful projects and expressed their preference to using direct bilateral assistance where the U.S. can retain control of the scarce tax dollars lent.

Opponents of the amendment emphasized that the World Bank was set up in the aftermath of World War II as a means of promoting stability in less fortunate countries so that democracy, rather than communism, could flourish. In its early days, the U.S. contributed most of its funding. Today, it contributes only 20 percent. With this amendment, the U.S. would be unable to participate and would be the only major industrial nation that has not agreed to contribute. In FY 1987, U.S. businesses exported \$1.6 billion worth of goods and services to World Bank financial projects—an amount greater than the total U.S. capital contribution since the founding of the World Bank.

H.R. 4637: Vote Nos. 228-231, 342, 343.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (48)		NAYS (41)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (30 or 64%)	Republicans (18 or 43%)	Democrats (17 or 36%)	Republicans (24 or 57%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (4)
Breaux	Bond	Baucus	Armstrong	Adams ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Byrd	Chafee	Bingaman	Cochran	Bentsen ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Chiles	Cohen	Boren	Dole	Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Cranston	D'Amato	Bumpers	Domenici	Bradley ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Dodd	Danforth	Burdick	Durenberger	Dixon ⁻²	
Ford	Evans	Conrad	Garn	Pell ⁻²	
Glenn	Hatfield	Daschle	Gramm	Sanford ⁻²	
Gore	Heinz	DeConcini	Grassley		
Graham	Kassebaum	Exon	Hatch		
Hollings	Kasten	Fowler	Humphrey		
Inouye	Lugar	Harkin	Karnes	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Johnston	Packwood	Heflin	McCain		
Kennedy	Quayle	Melcher	McClure		
Kerry	Simpson	Metzenbaum	McConnell		
Lautenberg	Specter	Proxmire	Nickles	SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Leahy	Stafford	Pryor	Pressler		
Levin	Warner	Shelby	Roth		
Matsunaga	Weicker		Rudman		
Mikulski			Stevens		
Mitchell			Symms		
Moynihan			Thurmond		
Nunn			Trible		
Reid			Wallop		
Riegle			Wilson		
Rockefeller					
Sarbanes					
Sasser					
Simon					
Stennis					
Wirth					

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—64%
Republicans—57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats—30 or 62.5%
Republicans—18 or 37.5%

Against (41)
Democrats—17 or 41%
Republicans—24 or 59%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 230

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 5:39 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9015

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (WORLD BANK)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4637

AMENDMENT NO.: 2529

TITLE: "Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Inouye motion to table the Humphrey amendment which strikes the \$931.2 million funding for the U.S. contribution to the International Development Association (part of the World Bank). (See also Vote No. 229.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that it would be far preferable to extend loans directly to nations in need without a multilateral bank acting as a middleman. In the last ten years, loans were given in every case that the U.S. opposed for moral or economic reasons.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that it and the previous amendment were very shortsighted. Cutting off the U.S. contribution to the World Bank would cripple an institution that provides indispensable assistance to many of the poorest countries in the world. Without such support, they may sink even deeper into poverty and instability. Such conditions provide a fertile breeding ground for communism and other totalitarian ideologies.

H.R. 4637: Vote Nos. 228-231, 342, 343.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (70)			NAYS (19)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (42 or 89%)	Republicans (28 or 67%)		Democrats (5 or 11%)	Republicans (14 or 33%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Kennedy	Bond	DeConcini	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Chafee	Exon	Garn	Biden ⁻³	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Heflin	Gramm	Boren ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Breaux	Leahy	Cohen	Proxmire	Grassley	Bradley ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Bumpers	Levin	D'Amato	Shelby	Hatch	Dixon ^{-2AY}	
Burdick	Matsunaga	Danforth		Humphrey	Pell ⁻²	
Byrd	Melcher	Dole		McCain	Sanford ⁻²	
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Domenici		McClure		
Conrad	Mikulski	Durenberger		Nickles		
Cranston	Mitchell	Evans		Pressler		
Daschle	Moynihan	Hatfield		Symms		
Dodd	Nunn	Heinz		Thurmond		
Ford	Pryor	Karnes		Trible		
Fowler	Reid	Kassebaum		Wallop		
Glenn	Riegle	Kasten				
Gore	Rockefeller	Lugar				
Graham	Sarbanes	McConnell				
Harkin	Sasser	Packwood				
Hollings	Simon	Quayle				
Inouye	Stennis	Roth				
Johnston	Wirth	Rudman				
		Simpson				
		Specter				
		Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Warner				
		Weicker				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

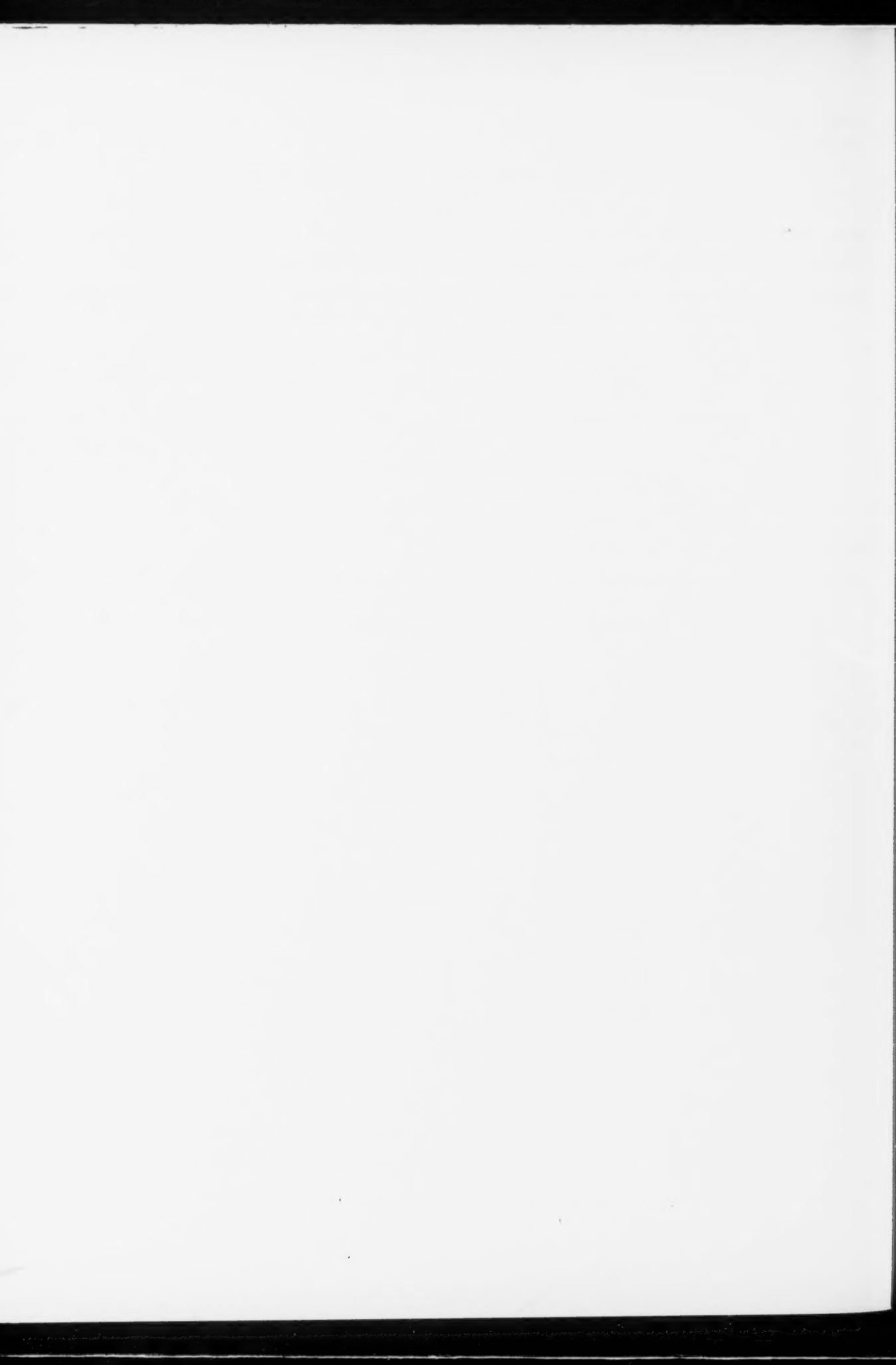
Democrats—89%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats—42 or 60%
Republicans—28 or 40%

Against (19)
Democrats—5 or 26%
Republicans—14 or 74%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 231

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 6:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9032

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4637

TITLE: "Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$14,296,021,936 for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs in FY 1989.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations	\$13,590,746,741
1989 Budget Estimate	14,307,969,987
Approved by House	14,299,842,666
Approved by Senate.....	14,296,021,936
Enacted	14,290,032,000

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 30, 1988. H.R. 4637 became Public Law 100-461, approved October 1, 1988.

H.R. 4637: Vote Nos. 228-231, 342, 343.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (76)				NAYS (15)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (45 or 92%)		Republicans (31 or 74%)		Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (11 or 26%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	McCain	Boren	Dole	Bentsen ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond	McClure	Byrd	Evans	Biden ⁻³	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McConnell	Exon	Garn	Bumpers ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Cochran	Nickles	Proxmire	Hatch	Dixon ^{-2AY}	Murkowski ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Packwood		Humphrey	Pell ⁻²	
Burdick	Melcher	D'Amato	Pressler		Karnes		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Rudman		Quayle		
Conrad	Mikulski	Domenici	Simpson		Roth		
Cranston	Mitchell	Durenberger	Specter		Symms		
Daschle	Moynihan	Gramm	Stafford		Thurmond		
DeConcini	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens		Wallop		
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Trible				
Ford	Reid	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Riegle	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Kasten	Wilson				
Gore	Sanford	Lugar					
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (76)
Democrats— 45 or 59%
Republicans— 31 or 41%

Against (15)
Democrats— 4 or 27%
Republicans— 11 or 73%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of \$14,296,021,936 in new budget authority for foreign assistance and related agencies for FY 1989.

Multilateral Economic Assistance: Contains \$3.7 billion for U.S. contributions to multilateral development banks and \$217.2 million for the U.S. contribution to various international organizations.

Bilateral Economic Assistance: Contains \$1.7 billion for AID development assistance programs which includes \$40 million for international AIDS prevention and control programs; earmarks \$1.5 million in development funds to assist children orphaned as a result of drought, civil strife, and manmade disasters; \$5 million for activities which encourage and promote the participation and integration of women as equal partners in the development process in development countries; and \$40 million to support the Philippine government's efforts to promote economic recovery; earmarks \$5 million in development and Economic Support Fund funds (ESF) to assist the most seriously injured civilian victims of strife and warfare and \$75 million for credit and other assistance programs for micro-enterprises in developing countries.

Provides \$9 million, by transfer, for the Private Sector Revolving Fund with obligations for assistance limited to \$12 million and total loan guarantees limited to \$25 million in FY 1989; \$500 million for assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa; and \$50 million for development assistance to the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to be used for SDACC-supported projects to enhance the member states' economic development; specifically prohibits the use of any of these funds for activities in Angola and Mozambique and provides that this prohibition may be waived for Mozambique if the President certifies that it is in the U.S.' national security interest.

Contains \$559.7 million for AID's operating expenses; limits guaranteed loans under the Housing Guaranty Program to \$125 million and places a \$10 million limitation on the loan reserve.

Contains \$3.3 billion for the ESF including specific earmarks of \$1.2 billion for Israel, \$815 million for Egypt, \$210 million for Pakistan, \$124 million for the Philippines, \$70 million for Turkey, \$15 million for Cyprus, \$185 million for El Salvador, \$80 million for Guatemala, \$90 million for Costa Rica, \$85 million for Honduras, \$81.5 million for Sub-Saharan Africa, and \$5 million for Lebanon through indigenous nongovernmental and international organizations; requires that 25 percent of the funds available to El Salvador be used for projects which directly benefit the poor.

Makes available \$10 million for the U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland, \$1 million to assist El Salvador's special investigative unit to bring to justice those responsible for the murder of U.S. citizens in El Salvador, and \$10 million to carry out the South Pacific Tuna Act of 1988 (P.L. 100-330).

Limits funds available to finance Tied Aid Credits to \$5 million unless the President determines it is in the U.S.' national interest to provide more; requires approval of the AID Administrator before expending funds for tied aid programs.

Contains \$2 million for the National Endowment of Democracy for the promotion of democracy in Nicaragua consistent with the SAPOA agreement between the government of Nicaragua and the Contras, and requires that any assistance be provided to internal groups that have renounced violence and support a negotiated settlement to the conflict; \$8.5 million for the African Development Foundation, \$16.6 million for the Inter-American Foundation, \$157 million for the Peace Corps, and \$522.8 million for programs administered by the State Department of which \$101 million is for international narcotics control efforts, \$361.95 million is for migration and refugee assistance, \$50 million is for the Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund, and \$9.8 million for the Antiterrorism Assistance Program; limits OPIC direct loans to \$23 million and guaranteed loans to \$200 million; and prohibits use of funds to directly assist in migration of any Western Hemisphere nation which does not have a security clearance to insure against communist infiltration.

Military Assistance: Merges the military assistance program (MAP) into an all foreign military credit sales (FMS) forgiven program funded at \$4.8 billion with earmarks of \$1.8 billion for Israel, \$1.3 billion for Egypt, \$220 million for Pakistan, \$500 million for Turkey, \$350 million for Greece, \$125 million for the Philippines, and \$9 million for non-lethal military assistance for Guatemala; limits administrative expenses associated with the FMS program to \$40 million; contains \$47.4 million for the International Military Education and Training Program, \$236.9 million for the Special Defense Acquisition Fund, and \$31.7 million for international peacekeeping operations.

Export Assistance: Limits Ex-Im Bank guarantees to \$10.2 billion and direct loans to \$705 million; limits total commitments to guarantee or insure loans for the Central American Trade Credit Insurance Program to \$200 million; contains \$25 million for the trade and development program and permits the use of \$5 million for joint financing with individual State trade promotion organizations to expand trade with developing countries.

General Provisions: Prescribes certain responsibilities upon the MDB's and AID with respect to international environmental concerns; adds Iran to the list of countries for which indirect assistance is prohibited absent Presidential determination; permits the President to reprogram earmarked funds upon determining that a recipient for which funds are earmarked has significantly reduced its military or economic cooperation with the U.S.; allows assistance under the National Endowment for Democracy Act, OPIC, and the Peace Corps to be provided to Haiti; eliminates all assistance to Panama as well as its sugar export quota to the U.S.; calls for a report detailing the advisability of moving the U.S. Southern Command from Panama; extends through FY 1989 the prohibition against providing Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to any country other than Bahrain under the buy-back provisions in the Persian Gulf region, and requires Qatar, as a condition of receiving any U.S. defense articles or services, to return all Stinger missiles it has illegally acquired or purchased; permits Congress to prevent third-party arms transfers by passing a joint resolution of disapproval; permits commercial leasing of defense articles by Israel, Egypt, NATO, and major non-NATO allies, without exception, if the President determines that there are compelling foreign policy or national security reasons for the defense articles to be provided by commercial lease rather than government-to-government sale; expresses the sense of the Congress that the U.S. should continue to consider whether countries support an independent investigation of human rights violations in Cuba under the auspices of the U.N. in providing bilateral assistance and the U.S.' contribution to the U.N.; objects to the election of Cuba and Panama to the Commission; requires that the FY 1989 pay raises be absorbed from appropriated funds; amends the Arms Export Control Act to allow countries, which obtain major defense equipment from DOD stocks through the FMS system, to repay for replacement items over the life of the contract for the replacement rather than pay the entire cost of the contract at the time the order is placed, and to require that Congress be notified of any letter of offer to sell any missiles, rockets, or associated launchers or artillery projectiles; reduces funds for consulting services; prohibits funds for assistance to Afghanistan that is provided through the Soviet-backed Government of Afghanistan; prohibits the sale or delivery of any Maverick missiles to Kuwait under the July 7, 1988, certification; and provides that funds for the World Bank and other MDB's will be sequestered before a sequestration of other Government programs is required.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 232

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 8:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9049

D.C. APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ABORTION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4776

AMENDMENT NO.: 2534

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Harkin motion to table the Exon amendment (to the Committee amendment) which prohibits Federal or District of Columbia funds from being used to perform abortions except in cases of rape, incest, ectopic pregnancy and where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. (See also Vote Nos. 233, 348, and 359, 100th-2nd, and 289, 100th-1st.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended it was necessary to prohibit expenditure of D.C. funds in order to prevent a very permissive abortion policy. Since the District has both local funds and Federal funds at its disposal, it uses its locally-derived funds for a very lax abortion policy. In fact, there are more abortions in D.C. than live births each year. The issue of protecting the unborn, they insisted, justifies the Federal right to overrule the D.C. government. The 93rd Congress, which granted some measure of home rule to the District, clearly reserved the right to act as the legislature for the District of Columbia.

Opponents of the amendment noted that the language in the bill (which this amendment would modify) is the same language that has been included in every D.C. appropriation bill since 1980 and signed by President Reagan, which states that no Federal funds may be used for abortions except in cases of rape, incest, ectopic pregnancy and where the life of the mother would be endangered. So the bill is not contrary to the President's position. This amendment, however, represents an intrusion by the Federal government into an area of local jurisdiction. The Congress no longer has the right to tell the District government how it may spend the tax money it raises. The D.C. government should not be singled out for such a restriction when other local governments throughout the country use their own money for similar abortion policies.

H.R. 4776: Vote Nos. 232-237, 348.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (49)			NAYS (37)		NOT VOTING (14)	
Democrats (33 or 73%)		Republicans (16 or 39%)	Democrats (12 or 27%)	Republicans (25 or 61%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Lautenberg	Chafee	Boren	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Leahy	Cochran	Breaux	Bond	Biden ⁻³	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Cohen	Daschle	D'Amato	Bumpers ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga	Evans	DeConcini	Danforth	Conrad ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Heinz	Exon	Dole	Dixon ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski	Kassebaum	Ford	Domenici	Gore ⁻²	
Chiles	Mitchell	Packwood	Heflin	Durenberger	Pell ⁻²	
Cranston	Moynihan		Johnston	Garn	Pryor ⁻²	
Dodd	Nunn	Rudman	Melcher	Gramm	Stennis ⁻²	
Fowler	Riegle	Simpson	Proxmire	Grassley		
Glenn	Rockefeller	Specter	Reid	Hatch		
Graham	Sanford	Stafford	Shelby	Hatfield		
Harkin	Sarbanes	Stevens		Humphrey		
Hollings	Sasser	Warner		Kasten		
Inouye	Simon	Weicker		Lugar		
Kennedy	Wirth	Wilson		McCain		
Kerry				McClure		
				McConnell		
				Nickles		
				Pressler		
				Quayle		
				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 73%
Republicans— 61%

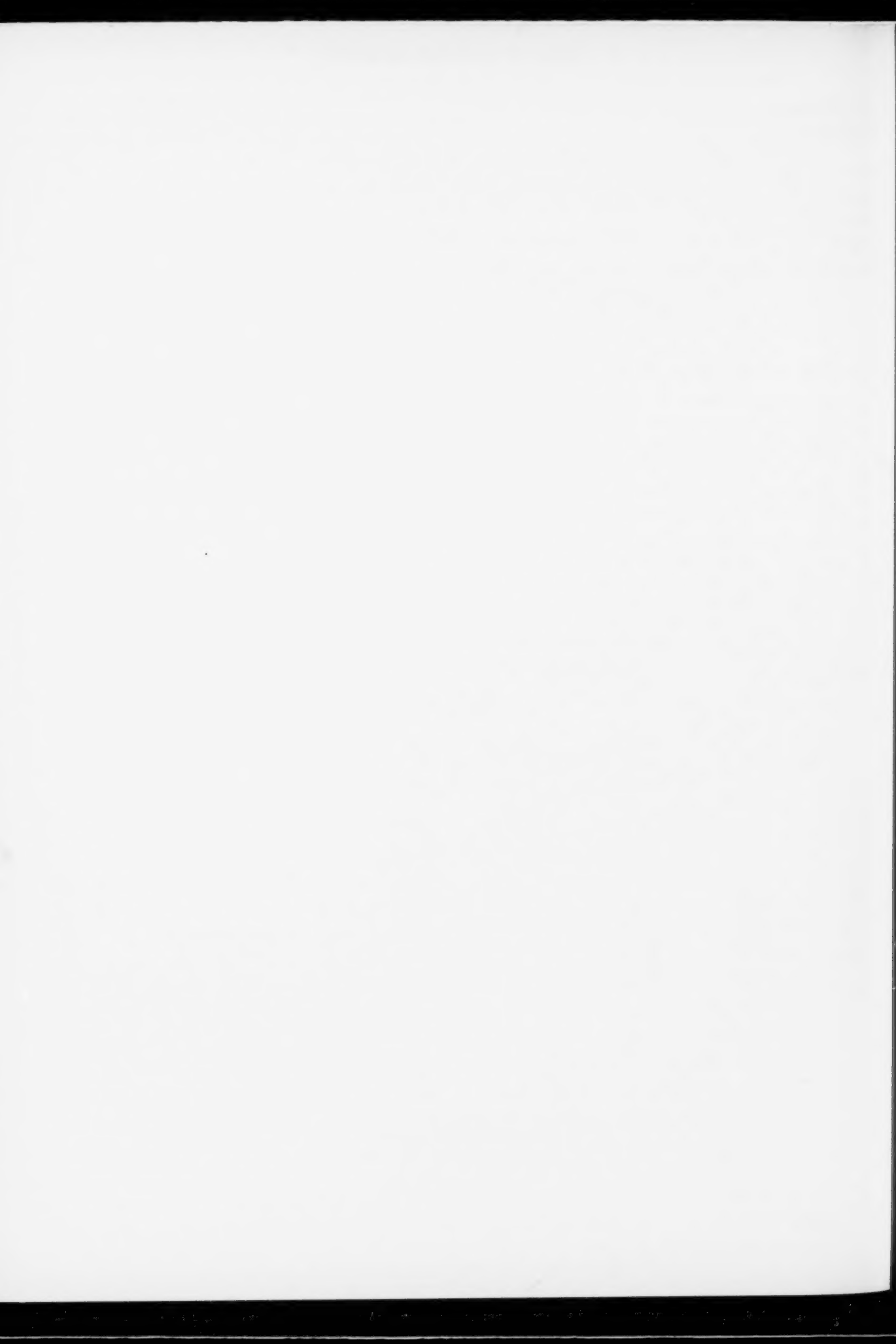
Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 33 or 67%
Republicans— 16 or 33%

Against (37)
Democrats— 12 or 32%
Republicans— 25 or 68%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 233

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 7, 1988, 9:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9052

D.C. APPROPRIATIONS (ABORTION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4776

AMENDMENT NO.: 2535

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Harkin motion to table the Humphrey amendment to prohibit Federal or District of Columbia funds from being used to perform abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. (See also Vote Nos. 232, 348, and 359, 100th-2nd, and 289, 100th-1st.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that it was essentially the Hyde amendment which is more restrictive than the previous amendment providing exemptions for rape, incest, and ectopic pregnancy. However, it is less restrictive than the House-passed language which makes no exception even to save the mother's life. The Congress, they insisted, is empowered by the Constitution and the home rule statute to act as the legislature of the District of Columbia with the right to amend and repeal actions of the D.C. City Council. This bill contains a host of restrictions on how funding must be spent. The home rule argument is phony, they maintained.

Opponents of the amendment cited their arguments as set forth during the debate on the previous amendment, stating that a restriction on the use of locally-derived tax revenues was an intrusion by the Federal government into an area of local jurisdiction. No Senator would permit such an intrusion into his or her State.

H.R. 4776: Vote Nos. 232-237, 348.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)		NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (15)	
Democrats (35 or 78%)	Republicans (16 or 40%)	Democrats (10 or 22%)	Republicans (24 or 60%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Lautenberg	Boren	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Leahy	Breaux	Bond	Biden ⁻³	Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	DeConcini	D'Amato	Bumpers ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga	Exon	Danforth	Conrad ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Ford	Dole	Dixon ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski	Heflin	Domenici	Gore ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Chiles	Mitchell	Johnston	Durenberger	Pell ⁻²	
Cranston	Moynihan	Melcher	Garn	Pryor ⁻²	
Daschle	Nunn	Proxmire	Gramm	Stennis ⁻²	
Dodd	Riegle	Reid	Grassley		
Fowler	Rockefeller		Hatch		
Glenn	Sanford		Hatfield		
Graham	Sarbanes		Humphrey		
Harkin	Sasser		Kasten		
Hollings	Shelby		Lugar		
Inouye	Simon		McCain		
Kennedy	Wirth		McClure		
Kerry			McConnell		
			Nickles		
			Pressler		
			Symms		
			Thurmond		
			Trible		
			Wallop		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

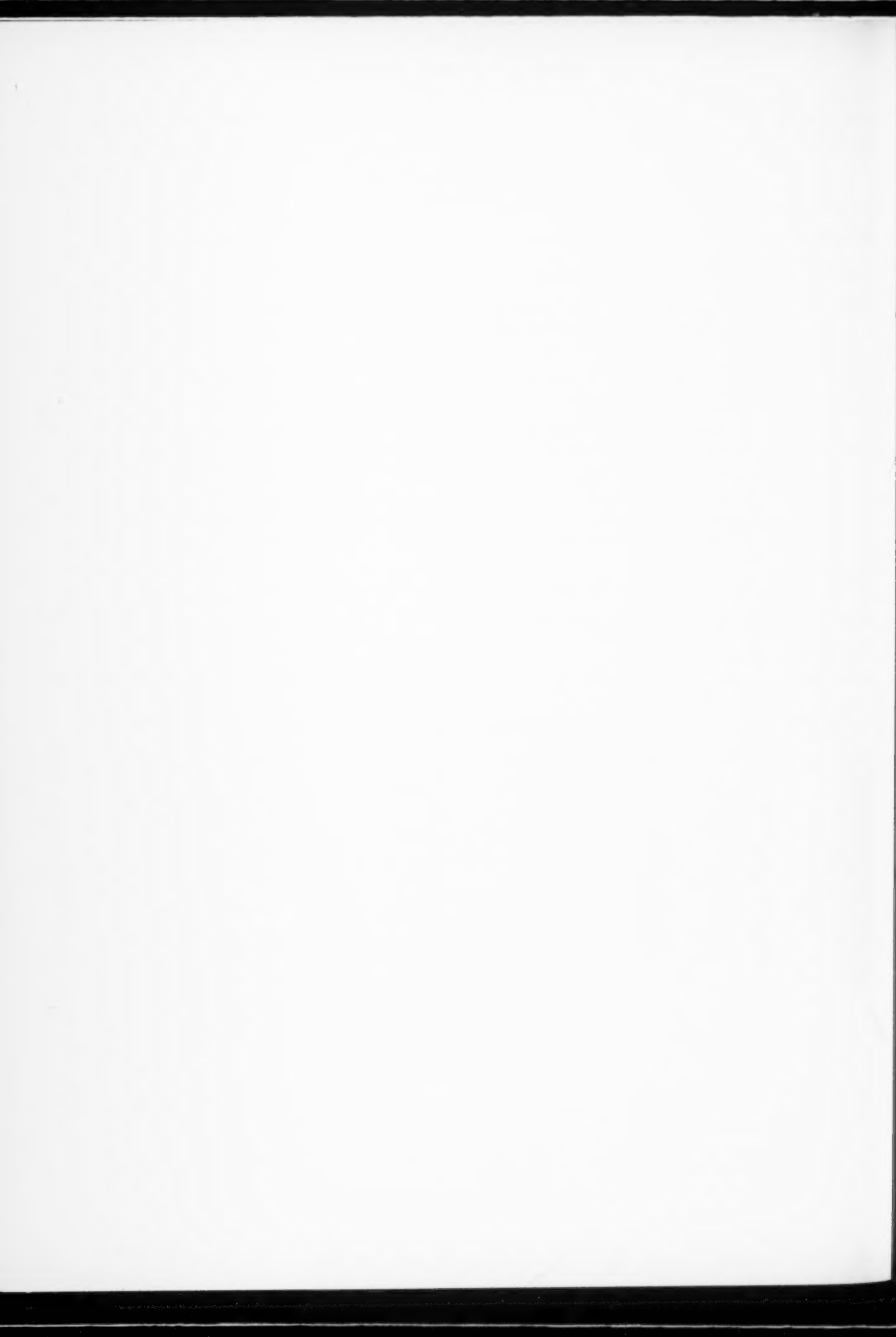
Party Cohesion

Democrats— 78%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 35 or 69%
Republicans— 16 or 31%

Against (34)
Democrats— 10 or 29%
Republicans— 24 or 71%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 234

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 8, 1988, 2:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9124

D.C. APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4776

AMENDMENT NO.: 2541

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Harkin appeal of the ruling of the Chair that the Armstrong amendment (which allows educational institutions in the District of Columbia that are affiliated with a religious organization or closely associated with the tenets of a religious organization [Georgetown University] to deny, restrict, abridge, or condition the use of any fund, service, facility, or benefit, or the granting of any endorsement, approval, or recognition to any organization for, or engaged in, promoting, encouraging, or condoning any homosexual act, lifestyle, orientation, or belief) does not violate rule XVI (which prohibits legislation on an appropriation bill) and is in order. The question is: "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate?" (See also Vote Nos. 235 and 236.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting yea) asserted that it is a well-established principle that Congress has the constitutional power to legislate for the District of Columbia. The Senate is not prepared to stand by while the D.C. City Council compels a Catholic university to use its funds, services, and facilities for a student organization whose very existence is contrary to its beliefs. When the council goes as far as to adopt a flagrantly unfair and unconstitutional provision such as this, the Senate has little choice but to act. The issue, some argued, is whether the Senate is for or against homosexuals and whether Senators are willing to stand up and be counted on a fundamental premise of religious liberty.

Opponents of the amendment (voting nay) contended that it constitutes legislation on an appropriations bill and breaches the principle of home rule. The Senate should not intrude into such a purely local matter, and in particular a matter which already has been resolved. Georgetown University had long felt that the key issue was recognition, and the D.C. Council provision upheld by the court only requires the university to grant the groups the tangible benefits associated with university recognition—without actually giving them recognition. An acceptable agreement has been reached between the university and the groups, and the university has not come to the Senate asking it to override the court's decision. More importantly, the Senate is being asked to approve an amendment which, in effect, means that individuals who have a particular lifestyle are beyond the purview of the Constitution. For the Senate to codify discrimination demeans the body, its members, and the constitutional ideals to which it is committed.

H.R. 4776: Vote Nos. 232-237, 348.

RESULT: DECISION OF CHAIR SUSTAINED

YEAS (43)			NAYS (40)			NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (11 or 23%)	Republicans (32 or 89%)		Democrats (36 or 77%)	Republicans (4 or 11%)		Democrats (7)	Republicans (10)
Bingaman	Armstrong	Lugar †	Adams	Kerry	Chafee	Bentsen—2	Domenici—2
Boren	Bond	McCain	Baucus	Lautenberg	Cohen	Biden—3	Evans—2
Byrd	Boschwitz	McClure	Bradley	Leahy	Packwood	Bumpers—2	Hatfield—2AN
DeConcini	Cochran	McConnell	Breaux	Levin †	Specter	Cranston—2AN	Hecht—2
Exon	D'Amato	Nickles	Burdick	Matsunaga		Dodd—2	Helms—2
Ford	Danforth	Pressler	Chiles	Melcher		Pell—2	Karnes—2
Heflin	Dole	Quayle	Conrad	Metzenbaum		Sanford—2	Murkowski—2
Pryor	Durenberger	Roth	Daschle	Mikulski			Rudman—2
Reid	Garn	Simpson	Dixon	Mitchell			Weicker—2AN
Sasser	Gramm	Stafford	Fowler	Moynihan			Wilson—2
Shelby	Grassley	Stevens	Glenn	Nunn			
	Hatch	Symms	Gore	Proxmire			
	Heinz	Thurmond	Graham	Riegle			
	Humphrey	Trible	Harkin	Rockefeller			
	Kassebaum	Wallop	Hollings	Sarbanes			
	Kasten	Warner	Inouye	Simon			
			Johnston	Stennis			
			Kennedy	Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness

SYMBOLS:

AN—Announced Nay

† Permanent Record Correction

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—77%
Republicans—89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (43)
Democrats—11 or 26%
Republicans—32 or 74%

Against (40)
Democrats—36 or 90%
Republicans—4 or 10%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 235

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 8, 1988, 2:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9124

D.C. APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4776

AMENDMENT NO.: 2541

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 234. (The point of order and the appeal of the ruling of the Chair were subsequently withdrawn.)

NOTE: See Vote No. 234 for arguments for and against the amendment.

H.R. 4776: Vote Nos. 232-237, 348.

RESULT: MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO

YEAS (42)			NAYS (41)			NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (40 or 85%)		Republicans (2 or 6%)	Democrats (7 or 15%)		Republicans (34 or 94%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (10)
Adams	Kerry	Cohen	Bingaman	Armstrong	Lugar	Bentsen ⁻²	Domenici ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Specter	Boren	Bond	McCain	Biden ⁻³	Evans ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy		DeConcini	Boschwitz	McClure	Bumpers ⁻²	Hatfield ^{-2AY}
Breaux	Levin		Exon	Chafee	McConnell	Cranston ^{-2AY}	Hecht ⁻²
Burdick	Matsunaga		Heflin	Cochran	Nickles	Dodd ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Byrd	Melcher		Sasser	D'Amato	Packwood	Pell ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Chiles	Metzenbaum		Shelby	Danforth	Pressler	Sanford ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Conrad	Mikulski			Dole	Quayle		Rudman ⁻²
Daschle	Mitchell			Durenberger	Roth		Weicker ^{-2AY}
Dixon	Moynihan			Garn	Simpson		Wilson ⁻²
Ford	Nunn			Gramm	Stafford		
Fowler	Proxmire			Grassley	Stevens		
Glenn	Pryor			Hatch	Symms		
Gore	Reid			Heinz	Thurmond		
Graham	Riegle			Humphrey	Trible		
Harkin	Rockefeller			Kassebaum	Wallop		
Hollings	Sarbanes			Kasten	Warner		
Inouye	Simon						
Johnston	Stennis						
Kennedy	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—85%
Republicans—94%

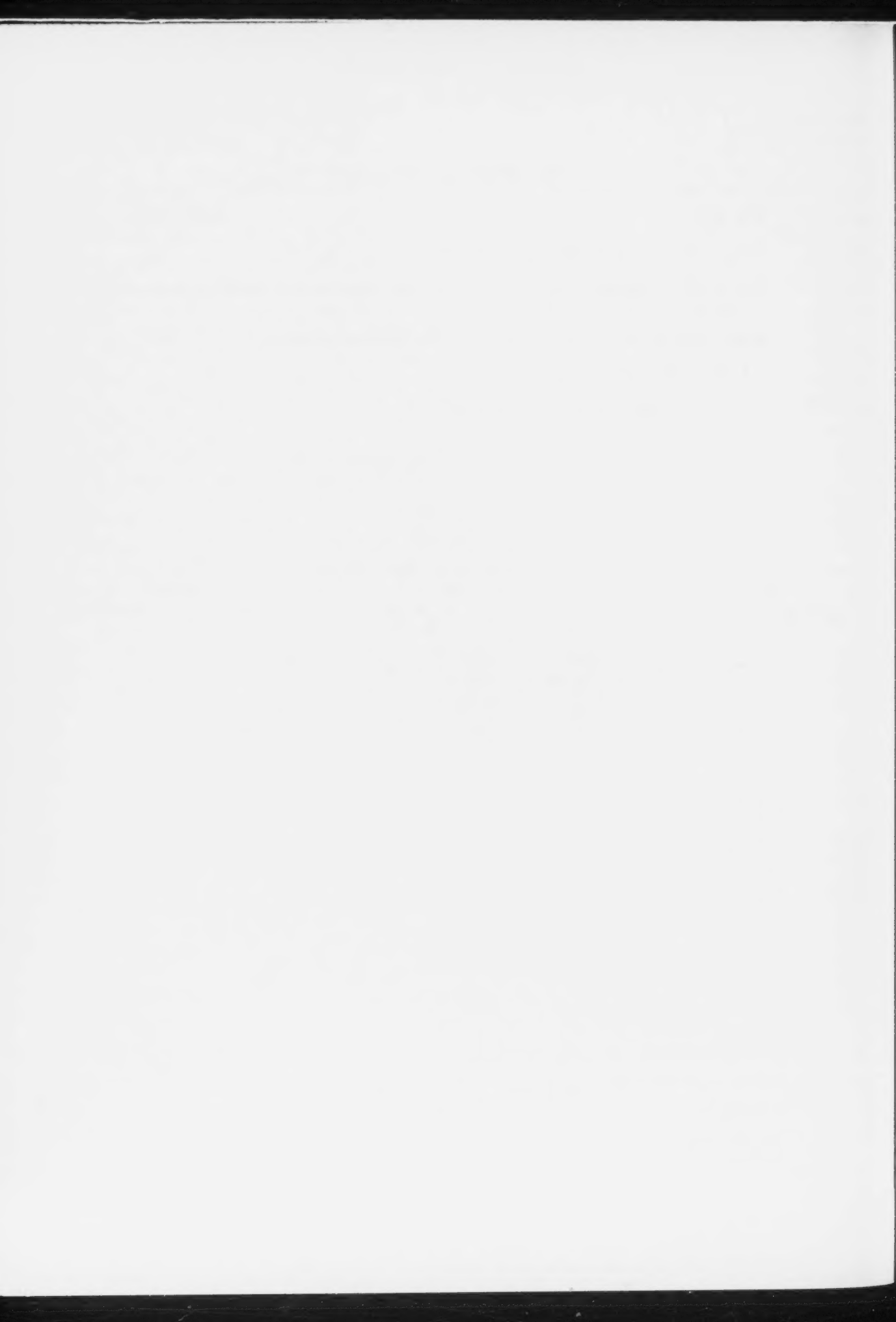
For (42)

Democrats—40 or 95%
Republicans—2 or 5%

Against (41)

Democrats—7 or 17%
Republicans—34 or 83%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 236

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 11, 1988, 10:49 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9177

D.C. APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4776

AMENDMENT NO.: 2541

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Armstrong amendment which prohibits expenditure of any funds under this Act after December 31, 1988, if the D.C. government has not enacted a law that allows educational institutions in the District of Columbia that are affiliated with a religious organization to deny, restrict, abridge, or condition (a) the use of any fund, service, facility, or benefit, or (b) the granting of any endorsement, approval, or recognition to any organization for, or engaged in promoting, encouraging, or condoning any homosexual act, lifestyle, orientation, or belief. (See also Vote Nos. 234 and 235.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that it is a well-established principle that Congress has the constitutional power to legislate for the District of Columbia. The Senate is not prepared to stand by while the D.C. City Council compels a Catholic university to use its funds, services, and facilities for a student organization whose very existence is contrary to its beliefs. When the Council goes as far as to adopt a flagrantly unfair and unconstitutional provision such as this, the Senate has little choice but to act. The issue, some argued, is whether the Senate is for or against homosexuals and whether Senators are willing to stand up and be counted on a fundamental premise of religious liberty.

Opponents contended that it constitutes legislation on an appropriations bill and breaches the principle of home rule. The Senate should not intrude into such a purely local matter, and in particular a matter which already has been resolved. Georgetown University had long felt that the key issue was recognition, and the D.C. Council provision upheld by the court only requires the university to grant the groups the tangible benefits associated with university recognition—without actually giving them recognition. An acceptable agreement has been reached between the university and the groups, and the groups, and the university has not come to the Senate asking it to override the court's decision. More importantly, the Senate is being asked to approve an amendment which, in effect, means that individuals who have a particular lifestyle are beyond the purview of the Constitution. For the Senate to codify discrimination demeans the body, its members, and the constitutional ideals to which it is committed.

H.R. 4776: Vote Nos. 232-237, 348.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (58)			NAYS (33)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (22 or 46%)	Republicans (36 or 84%)		Democrats (26 or 54%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams	Chafee	Biden ⁻³	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Bond	McCain	Bumpers	Cohen	Bradley ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Bingaman	Boschwitz	McClure	Cranston	Evans	Chiles ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Boen	Cochran	McConnell	Dodd	Packwood	Gore ⁻²	
Breaux	D'Amato	Murkowski	Glenn	Specter	Sasser ⁻²	
Burdick	Danforth	Nickles	Graham	Stafford	Simon ^{-2AN}	
Byrd	Dole	Pressler	Harkin	Weicker		
Conrad	Domenici	Quayle	Hollings			
Daschle	Durenberger	Roth	Inouye			
DeConcini	Gramm	Rudman	Kennedy			
Dixon	Grassley	Simpson	Kerry			
Eaton	Hatch	Stevens	Lautenberg			
Ford	Hatfield	Symms	Leahy			
Fowler	Hecht	Thurmond	Levin			
Heflin	Heinz	Tribie	Matsunaga			
Johnston	Karnes	Wallop	Metzenbaum			
Melcher	Kassebaum	Warner	Mikulski			
Nunn	Kasten	Wilson	Mitchell			
Pryor			Moynihan			
Ried			Pell			
Rockefeller			Proxmire			
Shelby			Riegle			
			Sanford			
			Sarbanes			
			Stennis			
			Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—54%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats—22 or 38%
Republicans—36 or 62%

Against (33)
Democrats—26 or 79%
Republicans—7 or 21%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 237

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 11, 1988, 11:08 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9177

D.C. APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4776

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$532,000,000 in Federal funds and approves \$3,216,916,000 in District of Columbia funds making a combined total of \$3,748,916,000 available for the District of Columbia in FY 1989.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 30, 1988—See Vote No. 348 for an amendment reported in disagreement. H.R. 4776 became Public Law 100-462, approved October 1, 1988.

H.R. 4776: Vote Nos. 232-237, 348.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (64)			NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (39 or 78%)		Republicans (25 or 58%)	Democrats (11 or 22%)	Republicans (18 or 42%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Daschle	Armstrong	Biden— ³	Garn— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	DeConcini	Domenici	Bradley— ²	Helms— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	Dodd	Gramm	Gore— ²	Humphrey— ²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Exon	Hatch	Sasser— ² AY	
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Heflin	Hecht		
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Mitchell	Karnes		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Moynihan	Kasten		
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Proxmire	McCain		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Shelby	McClure		
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans	Simon	Nickles		
Conrad	Nunn	Grassley	Wirth	Pressler		
Cranston	Pell	Hatfield		Roth		
Dixon	Pryor	Heinz		Specter		
Ford	Reid	Kassebaum		Symms		
Fowler	Riegle	Lugar		Thurmond		
Glenn	Rockefeller	McConnell		Trible		
Graham	Sanford	Murkowski		Wallop		
Harkin	Sarbanes	Packwood		Weicker		
Hollings	Stennis	Quayle				
Inouye		Rudman				
		Simpson				
		Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Warner				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—78%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats—39 or 61%
Republicans—25 or 39%

Against (29)
Democrats—11 or 38%
Republicans—18 or 62%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Cha. man

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates for FY 1989, \$532,000,000 in Federal funds and approves \$3,216,916,000 in District of Columbia funds making a total of \$3,748,916,000 available for the operations and activities of the District.

Includes within Federal funds, \$430.5 million as the Federal payment to the District, \$27.1 million as payment in lieu of reimbursement for water and sewer services for Federal facilities, and \$52.1 million as the Federal contribution to various retirement systems.

Prohibits the use of Federal funds to pay the salary of any individual who is implementing, administering, or enforcing a residency requirement with respect to D.C. government employees, if the District has not adopted by May 1, 1989, and implemented by September 30, 1989, a preference system that does not preclude the hiring of noncity residents.

Requires the District to take certain steps to mitigate the impact on the neighborhood where the proposed new prison in Southeast Washington will be located, including, a requirement that city officials meet at least monthly with neighborhood residents to discuss plans and problems, and establish a 24-hour telephone hotline that residents may call to obtain timely and accurate information during disturbances at the facility.

Contains report language directing the new Taxicab Commission to address certain issues, including the frequency of taxicab inspection, age of vehicles, condition of heating and air-conditioning systems, and cleanliness, and establish certain standards concerning drivers, including tests that demonstrate a driver's understanding of the English language.

Prohibits the use of Federal funds after December 31, 1988, if the D.C. City Council has not repealed D.C. Law 6-170 which prohibits insurance companies from (1) requiring applicants to test for AIDS, (2) using any test to deny, amend, cancel, or refuse to renew insurance coverage, and (3) raising premiums for individuals who test positive for any AIDS-related agent.

Prohibits expenditure of funds appropriated for the Mayor after January 1, 1989, if the Department of Health and Human Services has not implemented a system of mandatory reporting of data on abortions performed in the District; and requires that the data collected shall ensure the confidentiality of the patient and the provider.

Prohibits expenditure of funds appropriated after December 31, 1988, if the D.C. government has not enacted a law that allows educational institutions in the District of Columbia that are affiliated with a religious organization to deny, restrict, abridge, or condition (1) the use of any fund, service, facility, or benefit, or (2) the granting of any endorsement, approval, or recognition to any organization for, or engaged in promoting, encouraging, or condoning any homosexual act, lifestyle, orientation, or belief.

Requires that any pay raise be absorbed from available funds.

Requires the obligation and expenditure of all funds included for the police department and for repayment of the general fund deficit, and prohibits any effort to reprogram or redirect these funds for other purposes.

Prohibits the use of funds to condemn, vacate, or raze the Employment Security Building, located at 500 C Street, N.W.

Budget Authority Considered

	<u>Federal Funds</u>	<u>D.C. Funds</u>
1987 Appropriations.....	\$550,000,000.....	\$3,077,347,000
1988 Budget Estimate	541,596,000.....	3,206,916,000
Approved by House.....	541,596,000.....	3,206,916,000
Approved by Senate	532,000,000.....	3,216,916,000
Enacted.....	536,910,000.....	3,206,095,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 238

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 11, 1988, 2:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9205

VA JUDICIAL REVIEW

BILL NO.: S. 11

AMENDMENT NO.: 2542

TITLE: "Veterans' Administration Adjudication Procedure and Judicial Review Act"

SUBJECT: Cranston motion to table the Murkowski amendment (as a substitute for the bill) which would permit the judicial review of VA decisions concerning an individual's claim only in cases where the lawfulness or the interpretation of a VA regulation is at issue rather than permitting access to the Federal courts for review of VA regulations and claims decisions as provided for in the bill.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that review of the individual fact situations (as provided for in S. 11) is not the way to proceed. The courts of appeals are not equipped to deal with these cases, and it is an inefficient use of already-strained judicial resources to place thousands of veterans' benefits claims on civil dockets when there is an expert, potentially independent body functioning efficiently: the Board of Veterans' Appeals (BVA). In addition, it is ironic that the current legislation does not actually provide for judicial review since it is unlikely that veterans could prevail under the standard it imposes. If the Senate imposes a standard of review that no veteran can meet, the only effect of this bill will be to increase attorneys' fees. This amendment attempts to reach a middle ground by letting lawyers and courts do what they do best—argue and decide points of law—and letting executive agencies do what they do best—deciding thousands of claims arising out of a very special benefits program. It creates a truly independent BVA for factual and legal review in individual cases and submits the VA's institutional decisions—its regulations—to rigorous review in the U.S. Court of Appeals. This compromise is supported by a host of veterans' organizations, and represents the best chance for passage by the House of Representatives, which four times has failed to act on judicial review bills passed by the Senate.

Opponents of the amendment contended that it excludes any review of an individual's claim except on the rare occasion where the lawfulness of a regulation is at issue. Such an approach fails to satisfy the

(OVER)

S. 11: Vote Nos. 238, 239.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (61)			NAYS (36)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (49 or 92%)		Republicans (12 or 27%)	Democrats (4 or 8%)		Republicans (32 or 73%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Bentsen	Armstrong	McCain	Biden— ³	Garn— ²
Baucus	Kerry	Chafee	Boren	Bond	McClure		Helms— ²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Heflin	Cochran	McConnell		
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Sasser	Danforth	Murkowski		
Breaux	Levin	Durenberger		Dole	Nickles		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Heinz		Domenici	Quayle		
Burdick	Melcher	Kasten		Evans	Roth		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Packwood		Gramm	Rudman		
Chiles	Mikulski	Pressler		Grassley	Stafford		
Conrad	Mitchell	Simpson		Hatch	Stevens		
Cranston	Moynihan	Specter		Hatfield	Symms		
Daschle	Nunn	Weicker		Hecht	Thurmond		
DeConcini	Pell			Humphrey	Trible		
Dixon	Proxmire			Karnes	Wallop		
Dodd	Pryor			Kassebaum	Warner		
Exon	Reid			Lugar	Wilson		
Ford	Riegle						
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats—49 or 80%
Republicans—12 or 20%

Against (36)
Democrats—4 or 11%
Republicans—32 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

fundamental reason for judicial review: the need for an avenue of independent review for claimants who are the victims of fact-finding errors which are so egregious and lacking in a rational basis that a manifest and grievous injustice to the claimant would result if the VA findings were not set aside. The essence of judicial review is factual review, however narrow, of an individual claim for benefits. This amendment is described as being designed to elevate the BVA to the status and stature of an article one court, and would attempt to do so overnight by the enactment of a bill. Yet, the BVA has its hands full and does not need a larger workload by taking on the burden of judging the correctness of VA regulations and legal interpretations. In addition, the qualifications of the BVA's 65 members do not include competence to deal with this highly juridical function. The result would be either no more justice for the veteran, or justice even further delayed. This amendment would perpetuate a special judicial system for veterans that, in effect, denies them protection from unjust decisions made by the Federal agency charged to serve them.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 239

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 11, 1988, 2:19 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9208

VA JUDICIAL REVIEW

BILL NO.: S. 11

TITLE: "Veterans' Administration Adjudication Procedure and Judicial Review Act"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which establishes procedures for the adjudication of claims for benefits under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration; provides for judicial review of certain final decisions of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs; and provides for the payment of reasonable fees to attorneys for rendering legal representation to individuals claiming VA benefits.

S. 11: Vote Nos. 238, 239.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (86)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 96%)		Republicans (35 or 80%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Heflin	Bond	Biden— ³	Garn— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Kasten	Proxmire	Hatch		Helms— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McCain		Lugar		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski		McClure		
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles		McConnell		
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood		Roth		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler		Rudman		
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Quayle		Symms		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Simpson		Wallop		
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Specter				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Stafford				
Conrad	Moynihan	Gramm	Stevens				
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Thurmond				
Daschle	Pell	Hatfield	Trible				
DeConcini	Pryor	Hecht	Warner				
Dixon	Reid	Heinz	Weicker				
Dodd	Riegle	Humphrey	Wilson				
Exon	Rockefeller	Karnes					
Ford	Sanford						
Fowler	Sarbanes						
Glenn	Sasser						
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 51 or 59%
Republicans— 35 or 41%

Against (11)
Democrats— 2 or 18%
Republicans— 9 or 82%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Adjudication Procedures: Codifies the burden of proof and reasonable doubt standards in VA claims adjudication; specifies procedures for the service of subpoenas; removes the provisions making the Chairman of the Board of Veterans' Appeals (BVA) directly responsible to the Administrator; encourages the BVA to dispose of appeals in a timely manner; requires the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint the Chairman for a term of five years and provides that an individual may serve no more than three complete terms; requires the Chairman to appoint Board members for a term of nine years; requires the President to appoint the Chairman no later than one year after the date of enactment and allows the serving Chairman to continue until his successor is appointed; provides that of the first Board members appointed, 21 will be appointed for a three-year term, 22 for a six-year term, and 22 for a nine-year term; requires the Chairman to report annually to the Veterans' Affairs Committees on the Board's current and future workload and its ability to dispose of appeals in a timely manner; requires a final determination to be a unanimous vote for denial but only a majority vote for an allowance; codifies a claimant's right to an opportunity for a hearing before the BVA; and authorizes the Administrator and the Chairman to study alternative methods of ensuring the prompt and efficient resolution of claims.

Veterans Administration Rule Making: Makes all rules and regulations issued or adopted by the Administrator subject to judicial review; requires application of the rule-making provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act to all matters other than those involving agency management, personnel, public property, or contracts.

Judicial Review: Expands the present category of exceptions to the general preclusion of judicial review contained in present section 211(a) of title 38, United States Code; authorizes review of a VA rule or regulation both in connection with a final decision adverse to a VA benefits claimant or in a case brought specifically for the purpose of challenging a rule or regulation; authorizes review of a final decision of the BVA adverse to a VA benefits claimant in the U.S. Court of Appeals (other than the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit) instituted by a civil action brought within 180 days of the date the VA mailed written notice of the decision; authorizes the reviewing court to decide all relevant questions of law, to interpret constitutional, statutory, and regulatory provisions as well as other actions of the Administrator, to compel action of the Administrator unlawfully withheld, and to hold unlawful and set aside decisions, findings, and conclusions of the Administrator or the BVA or its Chairman found to be (a) arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, or not in accordance with law, (b) contrary in constitutional right, power, privilege, or immunity, (c) in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitation, or in violation of statutory right, (d) without observance of procedure required by law, or (e) in the case of a finding of material fact, so utterly lacking in a rational evidentiary basis that a manifest and grievous injustice would result if the finding were not set aside; and provides that decisions of the courts of appeal pursuant to the judicial review provisions added by this title shall be subject to review in the U.S. Supreme Court in the same manner as judgments in other civil actions.

Attorneys' Fees: Retains the \$10 limitation on the amount an attorney may receive for services rendered prior to a final BVA decision; permits the Chairman of the BVA to approve a reasonable attorney's fee for representation within the VA after a final BVA decision up to a maximum of \$500 or, if the claimant and attorney have entered into a contingency-fee agreement, not more than 25 percent of any past-due benefits awarded the claimant; authorizes the Chairman to increase the \$500 maximum limitation in future years to reflect changed economic circumstances and to disregard the \$500 limitation in an individual case involving extraordinary circumstances warranting a higher fee; requires a reviewing court, in a case appealed from the BVA, to approve a reasonable attorney's fee not to exceed \$750 in cases not resolved in a manner favorable to the claimant or \$500 (unlimited in cases resolved in a manner favorable to the claimant as long as it is reasonable or does not exceed 25 percent of the total amount of past-due benefits in the case of a contingency-fee agreement); and imposes criminal penalties for willfully and intentionally defrauding a VA claimant.

Effective Dates: Makes these provisions effective 180 days after enactment, and allows for court review of a BVA decision rendered on or after April 1, 1987.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 240

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 11, 1988, 4:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9237

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

BILL NO.: S. 533 (H.R. 3471)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2547

TITLE: "Department of Veterans Affairs Act"

SUBJECT: Glenn motion to table the Murkowski-Thurmond, et al., amendment which permits the President to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs on or after the date of enactment, but maintains the effective date of January 21, 1989, for the establishment of the new Department of Veterans Affairs.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that a Secretary with access to the Oval Office would oversee the preliminary planning to ensure a smooth transition from independent agency status to Cabinet Department. More importantly, the new Secretary would be involved in the important decision-making processes relating to the Nation's budget for this fiscal year and next. The VA should be represented at internal negotiations by a Cabinet-level Secretary. By changing the effective date in the bill, this amendment makes a personal gesture to President Reagan, honoring the crucial role he played in establishing a Department of Veterans Affairs by allowing his appointee to be the first Secretary.

Opponents contended that the amendment would complicate the management and operation of the new Department of Veterans Affairs at the very moment that it deserves a fresh start. The committee did not arrive at a January 21, 1989, effective date lightly. That date reflects the recommendation of several witnesses, including a panel of experts from the National Academy of Public Administration—an organization chartered by Congress to provide this kind of advice. The new Department should take effect at a time when a full management team can be recruited, confirmed, and put in place for an extended period of time, regardless of whether the next administration is Republican or Democratic. This amendment would make the bill a political football in the waning days of an administration. A new Secretary would have no department over which to preside and would be Secretary in name only. At best, it would bestow an honorary title for a few months since the new Secretary would be confirmed

(OVER)

S. 533 (H.R. 3471): Vote Nos. 240-242.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (52)		NAYS (43)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (43 or 100%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	McCain	Biden ⁻¹	Garn ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McClure	Leahy ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McConnell		Lugar ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	Murkowski		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Nickles		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Packwood		
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler		
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth		
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman		
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson		
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Specter		
Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford		
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Stevens		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Symms		
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond		
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Trible		
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Wallop		
Ford	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Warner		
Fowler	Sanford	Karnes	Weicker		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Wilson		
Gore	Sasser	Kasten			
Graham	Shelby				
Harkin	Simon				
Heflin	Stennis				
Hollings	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats— 52 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (43)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 43 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

just in time for his/her impending departure. If the President feels strongly that he ought to set a precedent for the new agency, he has another option besides appointing the first Secretary. He can execute an Executive Order to include his VA Administrator at all Cabinet meetings, as President Carter did during his Administration. In fact, the Senate passed a sense of the Congress resolution in 1983 urging President Reagan to include his VA Administrator at Cabinet meetings. For reasons still unclear, President Reagan has steadfastly refused to do so. This amendment would reward the Administration for its inactivity and would be counterproductive.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 241

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 11, 1988, 7:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9258

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

BILL NO.: S. 533 (H.R. 3471)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2548

TITLE: "Department of Veterans Affairs Act"

SUBJECT: Cranston motion to table the Simpson amendment adding the provisions authorizing judicial review of VA regulations and claims decisions contained in S. 11 as passed by the Senate—Vote No. 239.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it should be attached to this particular bill since it has attracted extraordinary support and is assured of passage. It offers the best chance to get a vote on judicial review in the House of Representatives. The judicial review provisions in this amendment have previously been overwhelmingly endorsed by the Senate since they afford the maximum possible deference to the VA's expertise while still providing for some avenue of redress against the most glaring of errors. There is no reason why veterans alone should be denied access to the Federal courts when they feel that the VA has improperly denied their claim for benefits.

Opponents of the amendment contended that although the substance of the amendment—judicial review—is well-intentioned, legislation providing for VA cabinet-level status is not the appropriate vehicle. Adding this issue could jeopardize enactment of the bill, which would be a grave disservice to the Nation's veterans. Further, the merits of the judicial review issue should not be clouded by linkage to Cabinet-level status for the VA. As most of the veterans organizations have noted, combining the two will serve only to defeat them both. The only chance either has of passage is for them to advance separately. There is no question that judicial review of final VA decisions is necessary and desirable, but it is not appropriate to add such legislation to the pending measure.

S. 533 (H.R. 3471): Vote Nos. 240-242.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (83)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (45 or 90%)		Republicans (38 or 86%)		Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar	Adams	Armstrong	Biden ³	Garn ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain	Dodd	Evans	Lautenberg ^{2PY}	Helms ²
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure	Glenn	Humphrey	Rockefeller ^{2AY}	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell	Harkin	Quayle		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski	Metzenbaum	Simpson		
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles		Specter		
Bumpers	Mikulski	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Mitchell	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Moynihan	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Nunn	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Cranston	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Daschle	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
DeConcini	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Dixon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Eaton	Sanford	Heinz	Wallop				
Ford	Sarbanes	Karnes	Warner				
Fowler	Sasser	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Gore	Shelby	Kasten	Wilson				
Graham	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inoué							

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND

GIVING:

Levin (PN)

RECEIVING:

Lautenberg (PY)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats—45 or 54%
Republicans—38 or 46%

Against (11)
Democrats—5 or 45%
Republicans—6 or 55%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 242

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 12, 1988, 9:18 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9300

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

BILL NO.: H.R. 3471 (S. 533)

TITLE: "Department of Veterans Affairs Act"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which establishes the Veterans' Administration as a Cabinet-level department and sets out the principal officers and offices of the new Department of Veterans Affairs.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on October 18, 1988. H.R. 3471 became Public Law 100-527, approved October 25, 1988.

H.R. 3471 (S. 533): Vote Nos. 240-242.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (84)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (52 or 98%)		Republicans (32 or 76%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (10 or 24%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Kasten	Proxmire	Armstrong	Biden—3	Hatch—2AY
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Lugar		Evans		Helms—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McCain		Garn		Trible—2
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McConnell		Humphrey		Warner—2
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Murkowski		Kassebaum		
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Nickles		McClure		
Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Packwood		Quayle		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Pressler		Rudman		
Burdick	Melcher	Domenici	Roth		Simpson		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Specter		Symms		
Chiles	Mikulski	Gramm	Stafford				
Conrad	Mitchell	Grassley	Stevens				
Cranston	Moynihan	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Daschle	Nunn	Hecht	Wallop				
DeConcini	Pell	Heinz	Weicker				
Dixon	Pryor	Karnes	Wilson				
Dodd	Reid						
Exon	Riegle						
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats—52 or 62%
Republicans—32 or 38%

Against (11)
Democrats—1 or 9%
Republicans—10 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Establishes the Veterans' Administration (VA) as a Cabinet Department; sets out the principal officers and offices of the new Department; authorizes the new Secretary of Veterans Affairs to establish up to four Assistant Secretary and 15 Deputy Assistant Secretary positions in the Department and to undertake any necessary reorganizations within its Central Office; expands the VA Office of the Inspector General; and limits the number of noncareer appointments allowable within the Department's Senior Executive Service and Schedule C personnel.

Requires appointment of a Chief Medical Director (CMD) and Chief Benefits Director (CBD) and mandates that the appointees be selected on the basis of expertise and without regard to political qualification or affiliation; establishes four-year terms of office for both positions, with reappointments possible for another term; establishes qualifications for each position and requires that the Secretary of Veterans Affairs appoint a search commission to recommend candidates whenever a vacancy occurs in either position; and requires that the President communicate to Congress the reasons for removal from office of either the CMD or CBD.

Also requires the appointment of two Deputy Chief Benefits Directors, one of whom will be responsible for directing the National Cemetery System, and up to six Assistant Chief Benefits Directors; establishes a four-year term for the Deputy Chief Benefits Directors and requires that the Secretary base his/her selections solely on integrity and demonstrated ability.

Creates a 16-member National Commission on Executive Organization and Management to make recommendations to the President and Congress regarding the structure and management of the Federal government and the President's Cabinet; requires that Commission members be appointed by the President and Congress within 120 days of enactment, and that it include representatives from Congress, the executive branch, and private citizens; and requires the Commission to submit its findings and recommendations to the President and Congress, within 18 months of the appointment date of all Commission members, unless the President grants a maximum six-month extension.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 243

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 12, 1988, 2:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9343

DOT APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4794

TITLE: "Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$10,536,667,569 in new budget authority for the Department of Transportation and related agencies in FY 1989.

H.R. 4794: Vote No. 243.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (91)				NAYS (6)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)		Republicans (40 or 89%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (5 or 11%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Lugar	Proxmire	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain		Garn	Biden ⁻³	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure		Humphrey		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell		Roth		
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski		Wallop		
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Meicher	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Karnes	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kasten	Wilson				
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats—51 or 56%
Republicans—40 or 44%

Against (6)
Democrats—1 or 17%
Republicans—5 or 83%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates of \$10,536,667,569 in new budget authority for the Department of Transportation and related agencies in FY 1989.

Coast Guard: Contains a total of \$2.8 billion for the Coast Guard, including \$1.90 billion for operating expenses, \$297.7 million for acquisition, construction, and improvements, and \$19.0 million for RDT&E; requires the Coast Guard to use a minimum of \$492 million for drug enforcement activities; earmarks \$147 million for marine environmental protection and enforcement; prohibits the closing of certain search and rescue operations and requires the Coast Guard to reopen and maintain certain search and rescue stations in specified locations.

Urban Mass Transportation Administration: Contains a total program level of \$3.2 billion for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration; includes \$1.6 billion in formula grants for mass transit operating and capital expenses; a \$1.2 billion limitation on obligations for discretionary grants; and \$123.5 million for interstate transfer grants for transit projects.

Federal Aviation Administration: Contains a total of \$6.1 billion for the Federal Aviation Administration, including a \$1.3 billion obligation limitation on the use of contract authority for the Airport Grants program; \$1.1 billion in liquidating cash for grants-in-aid for airports, consistent with the obligation limitation on airport grants and \$1.3 billion for FAA facilities and equipment and provides \$250 million in carryover funds to be substituted for new budget authority for a total program level of \$1.5 billion.

Directs the Administrator of the FAA to institute a rulemaking procedure to consider the need for changes to the existing regulation concerning the allocation and transfer of "slots" held by air carriers and commuter operators at each of the four airports covered by the final rule regarding Slot Allocation and Transfer Methods at High Density Traffic Airports.

Requires a minimum air traffic controller work force of 16,800, of which at least 10,832 must be full performance level controllers as of September 30, 1989.

Provides that no funds will be made available to the Massachusetts Port Authority subsequent to a determination that the landing fee structure for Logan International Airport is not consistent with the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 or with national transportation policy, if the fee structure remains in effect after the determination.

Other: Contains \$11.6 billion for the activities of the Federal Highway Administration, with a \$217.6 million limitation on general operating expenses; a liquidating cash appropriation of \$12.7 billion for the Federal-Aid Highway Program with obligations limited to \$11.4 billion; \$224.7 million for activities and programs of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, including \$96.2 million for operations and research; a \$130.5 million limitation on the Highway Traffic Safety Grant's liquidation of contract authority with obligations for highway traffic safety grants limited to \$115 million; \$668.1 million for the Federal Railroad Administration; \$28.0 million for the Railroad Safety Program; \$14.3 million for the Local Rail Assistance Program; \$25.0 million for the Northeast Corridor Improvement program; \$575.8 million for Amtrak; \$25.4 million for the National Transportation Safety Board; and \$43.1 million in new budget authority for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Gives tax-exempt status to commuter rail agencies similar to the provisions which would be extended to commuter rail operations under contract to Amtrak.

Delays penalties to be imposed by the Secretary of Transportation on States not complying with the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit by one year.

Limits the amount of funds that can be used to pay consulting fees.

Prohibits the use of funds to enter into contracts for construction services and supplies for Federally-funded public works projects with firms from a country that does not afford U.S. firms access to participate in similar projects in that country.

Requires that the FY 1989 pay raise be absorbed within each agency's appropriated level.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$10,601,455,000
1989 Budget Estimate	8,777,912,569
Approved by House.....	10,802,190,569
Approved by Senate	10,536,667,569
Enacted.....	10,794,266,569

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 244

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 12, 1988, 4:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9365

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (UDAG/NASP)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4800

AMENDMENT NO.: 2561

TITLE: "Department of Housing and Urban Development—Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Heinz, et al., amendment which increases UDAG funding by \$30 million, for a recaptured total of \$80 million, offset by reducing funding for the National Aero-Space Plane (NASP) from \$68.6 million to \$38.6 million.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Appropriations Committee zeroed out a program which has created over half a million jobs and stimulated \$6 in private investment for every \$1 of public investment. UDAG, which serves primarily economically distressed cities, has established itself as a crucial revitalization tool. Funded at \$216 million in 1988, it is expected to produce \$1.3 billion in private investment, 25,000 new jobs, and \$21 billion in local tax revenues. The Administration has long sought to terminate UDAG, yet this attack could not come at a worse time since half of the Nation's major cities have deficits. Even though an estimated \$50 million will be made available to UDAG through recaptures—funds committed to previous UDAG projects which have been discontinued—this program will be sustained only if there is new budget authority and appropriations. In contrast, the NASA budget is receiving a sizeable \$1.26 billion increase this year, and its NASP receives substantial additional funding from DOD due to its potential military applications. NASP is a speculative research program involving a variety of exotic materials to investigate whether an airplane can be constructed to fly at 25 times the speed of sound. The Air Force and DOD have assigned this project low priority since it is possible that the technology may prove unachievable. Between now and 1994, \$3.3 billion will be spent on NASP concept validation. This amendment would take only one percent of that amount to keep putting people to work in urban areas and to help fight homelessness, hunger, and poverty in distressed cities. It does not pose a choice between UDAG and NASP since it shifts a fraction of the money for NASP to UDAG, allowing both important programs to move forward.

(OVER)

H.R. 4800: Vote Nos. 244-247, 301.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (34)		NAYS (63)		NOT VOTING (3)		
Democrats (25 or 48%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (27 or 52%)	Republicans (36 or 80%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)	
Adams	Chafee	Baucus	Armstrong	McClure	Bentsen ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Boren	Cohen	Bingaman	Bond	McConnell	Biden ⁻³	
Bradley	D'Amato	Breaux	Boschwitz	Murkowski		
Byrd	Durenberger	Bumpers	Cochran	Nickles		
Daschle	Grassley	Burdick	Danforth	Packwood		
Dixon	Heinz	Chiles	Dole	Pressler		
Dodd	Kasten	Conrad	Domenici	Quayle		
Fowler	Specter	Cranston	Evans	Roth		
Harkin	Weicker	DeConcini	Garn	Rudman		
Inouye		Exon	Gramm	Simpson		
Kennedy		Ford	Hatch	Stafford		
Kerry		Glenn	Hatfield	Stevens		
Lautenberg		Gore	Hecht	Symms		
Leahy		Graham	Humphrey	Thurmond		
Levin		Heflin	Karnes	Trible		
Metzenbaum		Hollings	Kassebaum	Wallop		
Mikulski		Johnston	Lugar	Warner		
Mitchell		Matsunaga	McCain	Wilson		
Moynihan		Melcher				
Pell		Nunn				
Rockefeller		Proxmire				
Sanford		Pryor				
Sarbanes		Reid				
Sasser		Riegle				
Simon		Shelby				
		Stennis				
		Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 52%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (34)
Democrats— 25 or 74%
Republicans— 9 or 26%

Against (63)
Democrats— 27 or 43%
Republicans— 36 or 57%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents contended that UDAG—once a successful program—is no longer adequately serving low-income groups or meeting its job creation goals and, therefore, should be terminated. From 1978 to 1987, commercial projects received 50 percent of all UDAG funds, industrial projects received 25 percent, and mixed projects including commercial and industrial elements received another 14 percent. Only 11 percent was spent on housing, and much of that was not for needy people. UDAG has become a pork barrel program characterized by political payoffs to wealthy developers and hotel/motel chains. Further, both the NASA and DOD budget requests already have been cut. An additional cut of \$30 million would mean a \$45 million overall cut in the FY 1989 NASA request. NASP is entering a phase in which large-scale test hardware needs to be fabricated. A cut in funding now would delay this phase and encourage additional cuts in DOD requests, a move which sends the wrong signal to the private sector.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 245

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 12, 1988, 6:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9377

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (WATER POLLUTION/NASA)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4800

AMENDMENT NO.: 2563

TITLE: "Department of Housing and Urban Development—Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Moynihan-Lautenberg-Chafee amendment which increases EPA funding by \$275 million for Sewage Treatment Construction Grants, \$25 million for the Nonpoint Pollution Control Program, and \$5 million for the Wellhead Protection Program, offset by a \$150 million reduction each in NASA's research and program management account and R&D account.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that they have long supported NASA and its important space programs, but claimed that funding is urgently needed to sustain programs which protect the environment and public health. This amendment would restore funding for the Clean Water Act and construction and upgrading of sewage treatment plants—a commitment made by Congress and the President in 1972. Full funding is important since this is the first year in which the appropriation is split between the existing Federal grant program and the new State revolving loan program. In addition, communities across the country faced a July 1, 1988, deadline for compliance with the secondary treatment requirements of the Clean Water Act. Following through on the commitment to provide assistance is essential if these communities are going to meet that goal and if State loan funds are to effectively replace the Federal grant program. This money will go directly to the States to build sewage treatment plants, to control nonpoint sources of pollution (pollution not discharged from any identifiable source), and to protect areas around sources of drinking water. This amendment takes \$150 million from the \$1.87 billion recommended for NASA's program management account and \$150 million from the \$3.55 billion recommended for NASA's R&D account. Both of these accounts would still receive more money than last year, and NASA would have an overall increase of over 10 percent—one of the largest in the budget. The modest increase for these programs would allow States to address dangerous sources of pollution and take significant steps toward groundwater protection without seriously compromising NASA funding.

(OVER)

H.R. 4800: Vote Nos. 244-247, 301.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (32)		NAYS (64)				NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (20 or 38%)	Republicans (12 or 27%)	Democrats (32 or 62%)		Republicans (32 or 73%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Chafee	Adams	Harkin	Armstrong	McCain	Bentsen ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Bradley	Cohen	Bingaman	Heflin	Bond	McClure	Biden ⁻³	Wilson ^{-2AN}
Bumpers	D'Amato	Boren	Hollings	Boschwitz	McConnell		
Burdick	Durenberger	Breaux	Johnston	Cochran	Murkowski		
Conrad	Heinz	Byrd	Leahy	Danforth	Nickles		
Daschle	Humphrey	Chiles	Matsunaga	Dole	Packwood		
Inouye	Kasten	Cranston	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Pressler		
Kennedy	Lugar	DeConcini	Mikulski	Evans	Quayle		
Kerry	Roth	Dixon	Nunn	Garn	Rudman		
Lautenberg	Specter	Dodd	Proxmire	Gramm	Simpson		
Levin	Stafford	Exon	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens		
Melcher	Weicker	Ford	Riegle	Hatch	Symms		
Mitchell		Fowler	Sasser	Hatfield	Thurmond		
Moynihan		Glenn	Shelby	Hecht	Trible		
Pell		Gore	Stennis	Karnes	Wallop		
Reid		Graham	Wirth	Kassebaum	Warner		
Rockefeller							
Sanford							
Sarbanes							
Simon							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—62%
Republicans—73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (32)
Democrats—20 or 62.5%
Republicans—12 or 37.5%

Against (64)
Democrats—32 or 50%
Republicans—32 or 50%

Opponents agreed that these programs are key to the Clean Water Act and deserve the authorized funding level of \$2.4 billion, but contended that their funding must come from sources other than NASA. The Appropriations Committee already has added over \$600 million to the President's waste treatment construction grant request and has cut the President's increase for NASA in half. A further decrease of \$300 million would seriously weaken the shuttle recovery program and its space science efforts. As this is a critical year for NASA's space station, this cut could mean the end of this important venture. Funding for NASA in 1989 will determine whether the U.S. will be a leader or a follower in space research and whether the U.S. will realize the enormous scientific spinoffs of the space station and other NASA efforts.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 246

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 12, 1988, 7:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9392

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (WATER POLLUTION/EPA)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4800

AMENDMENT NO.: 2569

TITLE: "Department of Housing and Urban Development—Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Durenberger-Moynihan amendment which appropriates \$25 million for grants to the States for the Nonpoint Pollution Control Program and \$5 million for the Wellhead Protection Program, offset by funding reductions of \$13.48 million for EPA salaries and expenses, \$10.13 million for the abatement, control, and compliance account, and \$6.83 million for R&D.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this amendment would provide the necessary funds for two important new programs to protect water quality and underground drinking water supplies. The funding would come from amounts appropriated to EPA for other purposes, taking slightly less than two percent from each of the following program accounts: salaries and expenses, abatement control and amounts, and research and development. The Wellhead Protection Program is designed to protect the groundwater resources which are the drinking water supply for thousands of communities across the country. Unlike any other Federal groundwater protection effort, this program is both targeted and preventive. It has the broad support of EPA and dozens of States. The amendment also assists States in addressing water pollution coming from diffuse, or nonpoint, sources. This type of pollution is estimated to cause as much as 50 percent of the water quality problems in many States. Funding of both programs is vital in order to continue to make gains in cleaning up rivers, lakes, and streams.

Opponents contended that since neither of these programs has ever been funded, it is difficult to justify funding them at a time when funds are limited. Moreover, to take \$25 million from other EPA programs would be devastating to the agency in a year when it will receive a budget increase of only six percent. This amendment would put the Senate \$29 million below the House in that portion of the budget, and more importantly, would cause significant cuts in funding for such programs as air pollution control, pesticides, hazardous waste and toxic substance programs (including asbestos in schools), global climate studies, and the Clean Lakes Program.

H.R. 4800: Vote Nos. 244-247, 301.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (63)			NAYS (33)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (23 or 45%)	Republicans (40 or 89%)		Democrats (28 or 55%)	Republicans (5 or 11%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Baucus	Armstrong	Lugar	Breaux	Metzenbaum	Cochran	Adams ²	Helms ²
Bingaman	Bond	McCain	Bumpers	Mikulski	Gramm	Bentsen ²	
Boren	Boschwitz	McClure	Cranston	Nunn	Hecht	Biden ³	
Bradley	Chafee	McConnell	Dixon	Proxmire	Nickles		
Burdick	Cohen	Murkowski	Fowler	Pryor	Packwood		
Byrd	D'Amato	Pressler	Glenn	Reid			
Chiles	Danforth	Quayle	Gore	Rockefeller			
Conrad	Dole	Roth	Graham	Sanford			
Daschle	Domenici	Rudman	Heflin	Sarbanes			
DeConcini	Durenberger	Simpson	Hollings	Sasser			
Dodd	Evans	Specter	Inouye	Shelby			
Exon	Garn	Stafford	Johnston	Simon			
Ford	Grassley	Stevens	Leahy	Stennis			
Harkin	Hatch	Symms	Matsunaga	Wirth			
Kennedy	Hatfield	Thurmond					
Kerry	Heinz	Trible					
Lautenberg	Humphrey	Wallop					
Levin	Karnes	Warner					
Melcher	Kassebaum	Weicker					
Mitchell	Kasten	Wilson					
Moynihan							
Pell							
Riegle							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

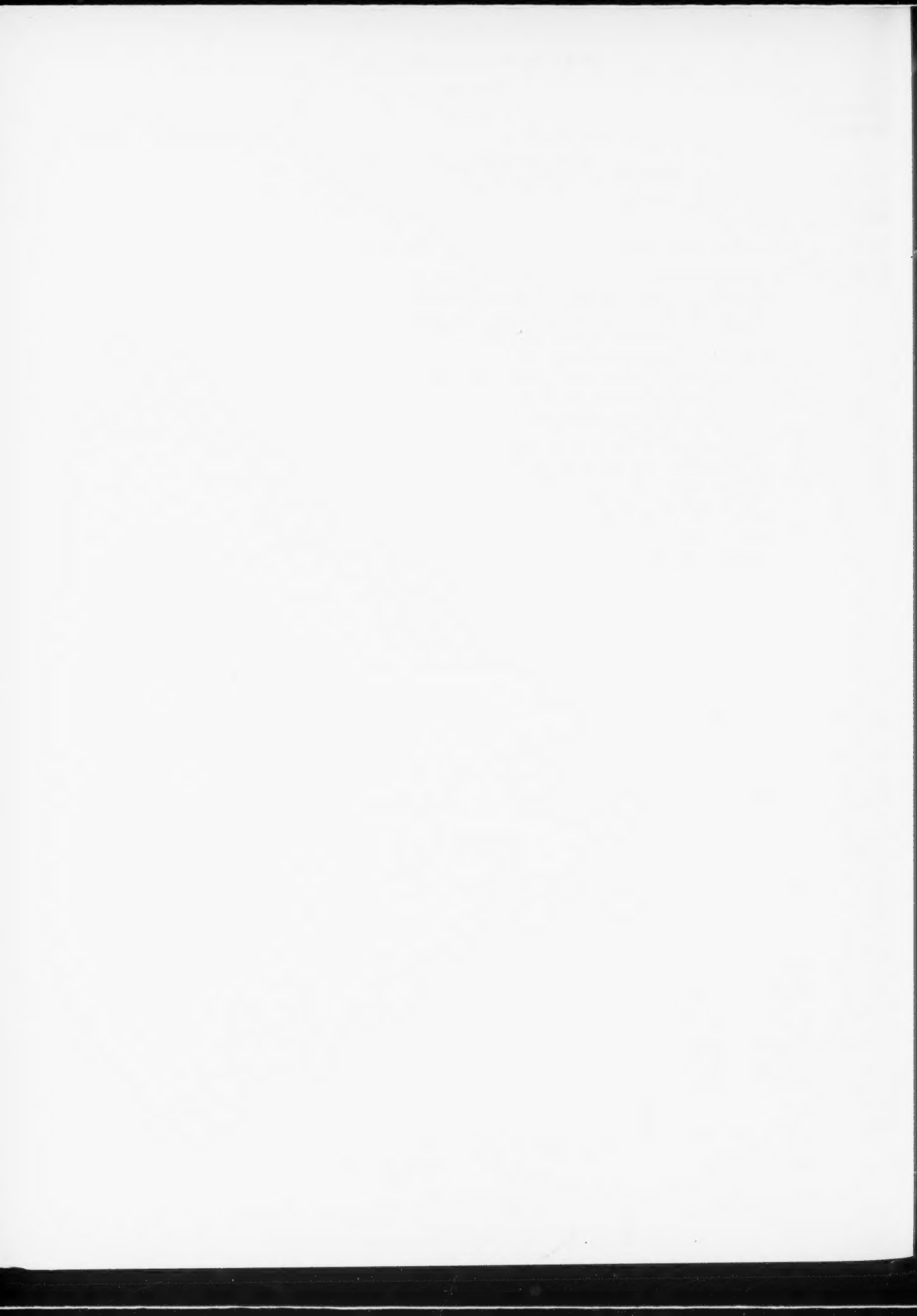
Party Cohesion

Democrats— 55%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats— 23 or 37%
Republicans— 40 or 63%

Against (33)
Democrats— 28 or 85%
Republicans— 5 or 15%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 247

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 13, 1988, 10:02 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9449

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4800

TITLE: "Department of Housing and Urban Development-Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$59,077,033,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Housing and Urban Development for FY 1989. (See Vote No. 301 on the conference report.)

H.R. 4800: Vote Nos. 244-247, 301.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (86)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (37 or 82%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (8 or 18%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Bond	Kasten	Conrad	Armstrong	Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar	Heflin	Gramm	Dodd ⁻²	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee	McCain	Proxmire	Humphrey		
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	McClure		Roth		
Boren	Levin	Cohen	McConnell		Symms		
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Murkowski		Trible		
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Nickles		Wallop		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Packwood		Warner		
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger	Quayle				
Chiles	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Specter				
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatch	Stafford				
Dixon	Reid	Hatfield	Stevens				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Weicker				
Fowler	Sanford	Karnes	Wilson				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kassebaum					
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats—49 or 57%
Republicans—37 or 43%

Against (11)
Democrats—3 or 27%
Republicans—8 or 73%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates \$59,077,033,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Housing and Urban Development for FY 1989.

Housing Programs: Contains \$9.7 billion for housing programs; includes \$7.1 billion in new budget authority for the assisted housing program and provides an additional \$125 million by transfer from the Flexible Subsidy Program; \$1.6 billion for public housing operating subsidies; and \$35 million for the Emergency Shelter Grants Program; rescinds \$2.0 million in contract authority and \$50.0 million in budget authority for the Rental Housing Assistance Program; limits loans for housing for the elderly or handicapped to \$537.7 million and requires that 25 percent of the loan authority provided be used only for handicapped projects, with priority given to the mentally ill handicapped; maintains a 1989 FHA mortgage and loan insurance commitment limitation of \$96 billion and limits temporary mortgage assistance payments to \$103.4 million; and places a \$144 billion limitation on GNMA loan guarantee commitments.

Urban Development Action Grant Program: Eliminates additional funding for UDAG, but expresses the intention of the Senate to make new appropriations for the UDAG Program if additional funds become available.

Community Development: Contains \$3 billion for Community Development Block Grants consisting of an appropriation of \$2.84 billion and a transfer of \$160 million from the Rehabilitation Loan Fund; continues the waiver of the fair share provisions of the Community Development Act of 1974, and extends the statutory date by which a housing development grant project funded in FY 1986 must be under construction from 24 months after notice of funding to 36 months after notice.

Consumer Product Safety Commission: Contains \$34.7 million for the activities of the Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC).

Environmental Protection Agency: Contains \$5.4 billion in net budget authority for EPA; includes \$190.2 million for EPA R&D and \$728.6 million for EPA's abatement and control effort; contains \$25 million for grants to states for the control of nonpoint source pollution pursuant to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, and \$5 million for the protection of wellhead areas pursuant to the Safe Drinking Water Act; calls for an EPA study on the regulation of ozone depleting substances.

Superfund: Contains \$1.5 billion for Superfund; makes \$239.0 million available from the general fund, as authorized under the Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act of 1986.

Federal Emergency Management Agency: Contains \$658.7 million for FEMA including \$114 million for the Emergency Food and Shelter program.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration: Contains \$10.1 billion for NASA; includes \$15 million to establish a new Science, Space, and Technology Trust Fund and provides grants to the Challenger Center and other educational programs on a matching basis.

National Science Foundation: Contains \$1.9 billion for the National Science Foundation; limits total funding for advanced scientific computing, networking, and communications research and infrastructure to \$73.5 million.

Veterans' Administration (VA): Contains \$28.0 billion for the VA which includes \$14.8 billion for VA benefits and compensation, \$597.6 million for VA readjustment benefits, and \$10.4 billion for VA medical care.

Other: Contains \$1 million for the Competitiveness Policy Council contingent on authorizing legislation; limits the amount of funds that can be used to pay consulting fees; contains sense of the Senate language urging the President to call for an international convention on the greenhouse effect and protection of the Earth's climate; requires the absorption of FY 1989 pay raises within the bill's appropriation levels; and expresses the sense of the Senate that the subcommittee's allocation should be increased to permit development and production of the space station for deployment in the mid-1990's and for other priority programs of HUD, the VA, EPA, and NSF.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$57,359,891,000
1989 Budget Estimate	58,666,772,000
Approved by House.....	59,709,920,000
Approved by Senate	59,077,033,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 248

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 13, 1988, 8:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9572

INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (NICARAGUA)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4867

AMENDMENT NO.: 2621

SUBJECT: Byrd, et al., amendment (to the Dole, et al., amendment No. 2579) which states the sense of the Senate condemning the recent actions taken by the Sandinistas against internal opposition and the media and the expulsion of American diplomats; supports the action taken by the President in withdrawing the credentials of Nicaraguan diplomatic personnel; and states that the Sandinistas should understand that such violations of the Esquipulas II Accord and the human rights of the Nicaraguan people could cause Congress to consider providing additional humanitarian and other appropriate aid, including military aid, to the opposition. (Subsequently, the Dole amendment, as amended by the Byrd, et al., amendment, was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Nicaraguan government's closing of La Prensa and Radio Catolica, its use of ruthless tactics to put down peaceful demonstrations by the opposition, and its expulsion of Ambassador Melton and seven other American diplomats must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. There can be no question that the Sandinistas are reneging on their commitments under the Esquipulas and Sapoa Accords, and this amendment properly expresses the Senate's outrage at the Sandinistas' continuing preference for dictatorship over democracy. It is vital for the Sandinistas to know that the Senate continues to watch Central America very closely. The supporters of the amendment were divided over the issue of resuming lethal aid to the Contras. While some agreed that the Sandinistas must be made to realize that the decision to end military aid can and will be reversed unless they reform, many others stressed that their votes in support of the amendment should not be construed as an endorsement of renewed military aid to the Contras.

Opponents contended that they were equally concerned about the totally unacceptable and indefensible behavior of the Sandinistas over the past few weeks. While supporting an amendment condemning the Nicaraguan government for its actions, they objected to calling for a continuation of assistance to (OVER)

H.R. 4867: Vote Nos. 248-250.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (42 or 98%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams	Hatfield	Biden— ³	Helms— ²
Bentsen	Johnston	Bond	Lugar	Matsunaga		Stennis— ²	Pressler— ²
Bingaman	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain	Proxmire			Thurmond— ²
Boren	Kerry	Chafee	McClure			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Bradley	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell				
Breaux	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bumpers	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood			SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Symms				
Evon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats—49 or 54%
Republicans—42 or 46%

Against (4)
Democrats—3 or 75%
Republicans—1 or 25%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

the "democratic opposition." The issue is not whether or not the Senate opposes the action of the Sandinistas, but whether or not the Contras constitute a viable means of opposing the Sandinistas. They are not, opponents argued, a pragmatic or moral mechanism to moderate the Sandinistas. Lethal aid to the Contras is a manifestation of the Administration's flawed policy toward Nicaragua which should not be resumed, and this amendment unwisely signals Congressional support for such a policy.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 249

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 13, 1988, 9:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9579

INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (OFFSHORE DRILLING)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4867

AMENDMENT NO.: 2640

SUBJECT: Nickles amendment which strikes the language in the bill prohibiting the Department of the Interior from approving or permitting drilling or other exploratory activity on existing leases within the eastern Gulf of Mexico.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this amendment was necessary to reverse unprecedented action taken by the Appropriations Committee which, in effect, denies the right of an oil and gas lessee to undertake exploration to determine the value of that lease. In this case, nine companies paid \$108 million for the leases off the coast of Florida, completed extensive environmental studies in full compliance with applicable regulations, and now are being told that they cannot drill. This action signals the private sector—which bears the majority of the costs to locate and produce domestic oil and gas—that the Federal government can no longer be considered a trustworthy partner. These are Federal waters, and the Department of Interior has gone to extraordinary lengths to accommodate the concerns of the State of Florida. In addition, there are Federal Court precedents which indicate that the Federal government may be liable for reimbursement of substantial costs when there is an unreasonable delay in the opportunity to explore, which means that this bill could cost the government in excess of \$200 million unless this amendment is adopted.

Opponents pointed out that a six-month moratorium on the same leases, which, not coincidentally, expires just after the November elections, is in effect with the full support of President Reagan and Interior Secretary Hodel. Yet, the Administration stridently opposes a one-year moratorium. When the oil companies bought these leases, they knew that a moratorium was in effect. The State of Florida has taken a reasonable position, suggesting that there should be environmental standards commensurate with both the environmental and economic risk of drilling in the particular areas. Applying these standards, oil and gas leases have been granted with State approval, as have subsequent drilling permits. The

(OVER)

H.R. 4867: Vote Nos. 248-250.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (37)		NAYS (59)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (13 or 25%)	Republicans (24 or 53%)	Democrats (38 or 75%)	Republicans (21 or 47%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Bentsen Bingaman Boren Breaux Burdick Conrad Dion Fowler Harkin Johnston Melcher Pell Shelby	Armstrong Cochran Domenici Garn Gramm Grassley Hatch Hecht Humphrey Karnes Kassebaum Lugar McClure McConnell Murkowski Nickles Quayle Rudman Simpson Specter Stevens Symms Thurmond Wallop	Adams Baucus Bradley Bumpers Byrd Chiles Cranston Daschle DeConcini Dodd Exon Ford Glenn Gore Graham Harkin Hollings Kennedy Kerry	Lautenberg Leahy Levin Matsunaga Metzenbaum Mikulski Mitchell Moynihan Nunn Proxmire Pryor Reid Riegle Rockefeller Sanford Sarbanes Sasser Simon Wirth	Bond Boschwitz Chafee Cohen D'Amato Danforth Dole Durenberger Evans Hatfield Heinz Kasten McCain Packwood Pressler Roth Stafford Trible Warner Weicker Wilson	Biden—1 Inouye—2 Stennis—2 EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 75%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (37)
Democrats— 13 or 35%
Republicans— 24 or 65%

Against (59)
Democrats— 38 or 64%
Republicans— 21 or 36%

State is certainly not opposed to drilling. A lease does not automatically entitle a corporation to a drilling permit. A drilling permit is not granted until there is an opportunity to demonstrate that a drilling permit would be consistent with the coastal zone management plan. In the case at hand, a panel of scientists has concluded that existing information "is not sufficient to characterize or predict the impacts of potential oil and gas activities on the valued ecosystem components." Therefore, Congress should allow an extra year in which to complete the necessary studies before drilling permits are granted in this uniquely sensitive area.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 250

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 13, 1988, 10:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9582

INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4867

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$10,091,445,000 in new budget authority for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for FY 1989.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 8, 1988. H.R. 4867 became Public Law 100-446, approved September 27, 1988.

H.R. 4867: Vote Nos. 248-250.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (92)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (42 or 93%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	Lugar	Proxmire	Gramm	Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain		Humphrey	Inouye ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McClure		Roth	Stennis ⁻²	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Rudman				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Simpson				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Specter				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Stafford				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Symms				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Trible				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Wallop				
Ford	Rockefeller	Karnes	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kasten	Wilson				
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats—50 or 54%
Republicans—42 or 46%

Against (4)
Democrats—1 or 25%
Republicans—3 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates \$10,091,445,000 in new budget authority for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for FY 1989.

Department of Interior: Contains a total of \$704.0 million for the Bureau of Land Management of which \$510.6 million is for management of lands and resources; \$453.4 million for the Fish and Wildlife Service of which \$360.7 million is for resource management; \$949.0 million for the National Park Service of which \$65.0 million is for land acquisition, \$746 million is for operation of the National Park System, and \$30.3 million is for historic preservation; \$448.0 million for the Geological Survey; \$171.8 million for the Minerals Management Service; \$165.2 million for the Bureau of Mines; and \$302.2 million for the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement.

Provides that funds for the National Forest System remaining unobligated at the end of FY 1988 and which would otherwise be returned to the Treasury, shall be merged with and made a part of the FY 1989 National Forest System appropriation and shall remain available for obligation until September 30, 1990; makes entrance and user fees collected at units of the National Park System permanent and indefinite and not subject to appropriations; directs the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to conduct a study to review alternative sites for a replacement facility for the National Fisheries Research Center.

Forest Service: Contains \$1.8 billion for the Forest Service which includes \$226.0 million for construction of which \$181.4 million is for construction of roads.

Department of Energy: Contains \$1.9 billion for the Department of Energy which includes \$525 million for the Clean Coal Technology Program; \$367.8 million for the fossil energy research program; \$185.1 million for the Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale Reserves; \$357.0 million for energy conservation activities; \$174.4 million for Strategic Petroleum Reserve construction, and \$242 for petroleum acquisition and transportation plus an FY 1990 advance of \$91.6 million to permit prior orders for oil to be delivered in the first quarter of FY 1990.

Permits REA Electric Cooperatives to participate in the Clean Coal Technology Program; provides that any Clean Coal Technology project agreements pending when Congress adjourns in October will lie for 30 days in order to avoid a four month delay because Congress is out of session; earmarks \$5 million in existing DOE funds for new steelmaking R&D initiatives as authorized by law and provides that any additional existing funds shall only be obligated on a year-by-year basis.

Bureau of Indian Affairs: Contains \$1.1 billion for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and \$144.7 million for territorial affairs.

Indian Health & Education: Contains \$1.1 billion for Indian health services and \$72.3 million for Indian education; makes medicare/medicaid reimbursements available for two years after the year in which they are collected and extends deferral of implementation of eligibility regulations for an additional year.

Other: Contains \$26.5 million for the Navajo and Hopi Relocation Commission; \$168.6 million for the National Endowment of the Arts; and \$144.2 million for the National Endowment of the Humanities.

General Provisions: Provides that FY 1989 pay raises be absorbed within appropriated levels; establishes a Fellowship in Congressional Operations for employees of the National Park Service in memory of Pietro Antonio (Tony) Bevinetto; limits the amount of funds that may be spent on certain consultant services; requires a comprehensive and systematic accounting and reconciliation of the grant program for abandoned mine reclamation under the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977; provides for the distribution of late payment interest in connection with royalties on Federal mineral lease revenues; directs the Institute of Museum Services to develop and implement a plan, by which, within three fiscal years, each State would receive, a minimum of one-half of one percent of the grant funds available, if each State submits at least one qualified application; states the sense of the Senate condemning the recent actions taken by the Sandinistas against internal opposition and the media and the expulsion of American diplomats; supports the action taken by the President in withdrawing the credentials of Nicaraguan diplomatic personnel; and states that the Sandinistas should understand that such violations of the Esquipulas II Accord and the human rights of the Nicaraguan people could cause Congress to consider providing additional humanitarian and other appropriate aid, including military aid, to the opposition.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$9,342,660,000
1989 Budget Estimate	8,864,974,000
Approved by House	9,697,798,000
Approved by Senate	10,091,445,000
Enacted.....	9,891,961,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 251

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 14, 1988, 10:03 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9628

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 4264 (S. 2355)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Quayle motion to recommit the conference report with instructions that the Senate conferees insist on a position more favorable to the Senate position on ICBM modernization, SDI, Poseidon SSBNs, depressed trajectory missile testing, and nuclear testing, and that in addition the amounts authorized be changed to eliminate those items neither requested nor estimated in the President's budget, with the resulting savings to be apportioned to readiness and sustainability programs that will enhance conventional deterrence forces.

NOTE: Proponents of the motion to recommit asserted that the Senate made too many concessions to the House in the conference on the DOD authorization and has produced a bad bill. Congress has invaded the jurisdiction of the executive branch in arms control matters, establishing a unilateral moratorium on depressed trajectory missile testing without knowing what such a missile is. Congress has attempted to halt the ICBM modernization program and the SDI program through micromanaging them, rather than having the courage to cut off funds for programs to which it objects. Finally, \$4 billion was added to the bill for programs never requested by DOD. Part of the problem, they argued, is that the House does not want a defense authorization. The conference report, they claimed, is opposed by the Administration and DOD.

Opponents of the motion to recommit countered that the Senate negotiated the best bill possible that would not compromise the Nation's security. Recommitting the authorization would kill it and force the Senate to spend at least a month on the defense appropriations bill. With respect to limiting depressed trajectory missile testing, the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee had prevented such an amendment being offered to the Senate bill, and the House provision imposing an immediate test ban was dropped in conference in favor of giving the Secretary of DOD six months to define what such

(OVER)

H.R. 4264 (S. 2355): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: MOTION TO RECOMMIT REJECTED

YEAS (35)		NAYS (58)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (9 or 0%)	Republicans (35 or 80%)	Democrats (49 or 100%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Armstrong	Lugar	Adams	Johnston	Biden ⁻³	Helms ⁻²
Bond	McClure	Baucus	Kennedy	DeConcini ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Boschwitz	McConnell	Bentsen	Kerry	Dixon ^{-2AN}	
Cochran	Murkowski	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Reid ⁻²	
D'Amato	Nickles	Boren	Leahy	Simon ⁻²	
Danforth	Pressler	Bradley	Levin		
Dole	Quayle	Breaux	Matsunaga		
Domenici	Roth	Bumpers	Melcher		
Evans	Rudman	Burdick	Metzenbaum		
Garn	Simpson	Byrd	Mikulski		
Gramm	Specter	Chiles	Mitchell		
Grassley	Stevens	Conrad	Moynihan		
Hatch	Symms	Cranston	Nunn		
Hecht	Thurmond	Daschle	Pell		
Humphrey	Trible	Dodd	Proxmire		
Karnes	Wallop	Exon	Pryor		
Kassebaum	Wilson	Ford	Riegle		
Kasten		Fowler	Rockefeller		
		Glenn	Sanford		
		Gore	Sarbanes		
		Graham	Sasser		
		Harkin	Shelby		
		Heflin	Stennis		
		Hollings	Wirth		
		Inouye			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (35)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—35 or 100%

Against (58)
Democrats—49 or 84%
Republicans—9 or 16%

a missile is—a compromise, they argued, which does not hurt national security. The claim that \$4 billion was added to the bill is a distortion, they asserted, since the items in question are widely supported in the Senate. They include funds for the drug initiative, a major anti-armor initiative, increased production of the F-18, funding for the Guard and Reserve, and funds to extend air defense, which was sponsored by Senator Quayle, who made this motion to recommit. It also includes increased funding for depot maintenance and readiness—the account into which the motion proposes moving all the add-on funds. A large part of the \$4 billion was \$500 million that the Administration had proposed as savings from Davis-Bacon, but which was not achieved in conference.

NO. 252

July 14, 1988, 2:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9675

BILL NO.: H.R. 4264 (S. 2355)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report which authorizes a total of \$211,063.1 million for the military functions of the Department of Defense in FY 1989, of which \$79.72 billion is for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and weapons, including tracked combat vehicles, torpedoes, and related support equipment, \$37.97 billion is for RDT&E, \$85.50 billion is for O&M for the active and reserve forces; \$8.69 billion for military construction and family housing; and \$8.14 billion for Department of Energy operating expenses, capital equipment, and construction costs related to the national defense programs; sets the end strengths for the active and reserve forces; contains \$4.0 billion for SDI research and \$750 million for both the Rail-Garrison MX and the small ICBM programs with part of the funds fenced until March 31, 1989, pending the next President's determination on whether to continue the programs; provides a 4.1 percent increase in basic pay and substance allowances and a seven percent increase in quarters allowance; calls for submission of several reports on various aspects of arms control; institutionalizes the industrial base focus in DOD; gives DOD increased authority to transfer funds between accounts in FY 1988; provides an FY 1988 supplemental authorization to fund certain programs whose amounts exceeded their FY 1988 authorization; and makes DOD the lead agency for coordinating Federal efforts with respect to drug interdiction. (See Vote No. 340 whereby the Senate agreed to a second conference report containing a compromise version of these provisions which subsequently became Public Law 100-456).

NOTE: The President vetoed the bill on August 3, 1988. In his veto message the President stated that the bill would undercut current U.S. arms control and negotiating efforts and redirect funds from critical defense programs.

H.R. 4264 (S. 2355): Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

H.R. 4481: Vote No. 340.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (64)			NAYS (30)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (47 or 96%)		Republicans (17 or 38%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (28 or 62%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Conrad	Armstrong	Biden-3	Helms-2
Baucus	Kennedy	Cohen	Proxmire	Bond	Chiles-2	
Bentsen	Kerry	Danforth		Boschwitz	Dixon-2AY	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Domenici		Cochran	Reid-2	
Boren	Leahy	Durenberger		D'Amato	Simon-2	
Bradley	Levin	Evans		Dole		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Heinz		Garn		
Bumpers	Melcher	Kassebaum		Gramm		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Lugar		Grassley		
Byrd	Mikulski	Packwood		Hatch		
Cranston	Mitchell	Rudman		Hatfield		
Daschle	Moynihan	Specter		Hecht		
DeConcini	Nunn	Stafford		Humphrey		
Dodd	Pell	Thurmond		Karnes		
Exon	Pryor	Trible		Kasten		
Ford	Riegle	Warner		McCain		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Weicker		McClure		
Glenn	Sanford			McConnell		
Gore	Sarbanes			Murkowski		
Graham	Sasser			Nickles		
Harkin	Shelby			Pressler		
Heflin	Stennis			Quayle		
Hollings	Wirth			Roth		
Inouye				Simpson		
				Stevens		
				Symms		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (64)	Against (30)
Democrats—96%	Democrats—47 or 73%	Democrats—2 or 7%
Republicans—62%	Republicans—17 or 27%	Republicans—28 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

SDI: Contains \$4.1 billion for SDI research of which \$262.0 million is for DOE and \$3.7 billion is for DOD; extends for one year the restriction on SDI development and testing; and contains specific earmarks for SDI programs.

MX/ICBM Modernization: Contains \$750 million for both the MX Rail-Garrison MX and the small ICBM programs; allocates \$250 million for each program through March 31, 1989, and fences the remaining funds (\$250 million) for the MX Rail-Garrison pending the next President's determination on whether to continue the programs.

ASAT: Prohibits the obligation of \$16 million in prior year funds for the F-15 launched Miniature Homing Vehicle anti-satellite program.

Chemical Weapons: Authorizes \$77.4 million for the binary chemical weapons program; permits the use of prior-year funds to procure production-configured Bigeyes for follow-on operational and developmental testing scheduled for 1990; prohibits low rate initial production and procurement of any additional Bigeyes pending certification that the criteria for the follow-on tests have been met; contains \$179.5 million for the chemical demilitarization program.

Trident: Contains \$1.231 billion for procurement of one Trident submarine, \$1.7 billion for 66 Trident II missiles, and \$1.9 billion for RDT&E for the Trident II missile and prohibits reductions in the missile program to achieve any undistributed reductions.

Ships: Contains \$7.7 billion for Navy shipbuilding and conversion for the construction of 15 ships and the conversion of 2 jumbo oilers.

C-17: Contains \$1.9 billion for procurement and R&D for the C-17 airlift aircraft.

Humanitarian Assistance: Authorizes \$13.0 million to continue the transport program of humanitarian relief supplies to Afghan refugees and sets forth certain activities deemed to be within the scope of this authority and not in conflict with the Geneva Accords regarding the Afghan conflict signed on April 13, 1988.

Toshiba: Prohibits DOD from purchasing any product manufactured or assembled by Toshiba America, Inc., or any of its affiliates for the purpose of resale, except for microwave ovens manufactured or assembled in the U.S.

Defense Supplies and Security Control: Requires the Secretary to conduct a comprehensive study to determine the effectiveness of DOD procedures for ensuring security and control for supplies at DOD depots; requires the Secretary to (1) conduct a cost-benefit analysis of the practice of selling surplus DOD munitions to the public, (2) develop methods to identify and account for individual items of ammunition, explosives, and other DOD supplies susceptible to pilferage, and (3) prepare a plan to modernize the supply facilities and distribution procedures of each military department and defense agency; requires the Secretary to report on security and control of DOD supplies, and to require an investigation of each discrepancy in an accounting for DOD supplies involving an amount exceeding the amount determined under procedures prescribed by the Secretary; requires the Secretary to report the theft or other loss of any ammunition, destructive device, or explosive material from DOD stocks to the Secretary of the Treasury within 24 hours after its discovery.

Pay Raise: Provides a 4.1 percent increase in the basic pay and substance allowances and a 7 percent increase in the quarters allowance for all members of the uniformed services in FY 1989.

Arms Control Strategy: Expresses the sense of the Congress that (1) the President should give high priority to developing stabilizing and verifiable proposals to expand the regime of confidence-building measures in conjunction with the follow-on to the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the Conventional Stability Talks; (2) the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks (START) should not prevent the U.S. from deploying a force structure under the agreement which emphasizes survivable strategic systems and should not compromise the security of the U.S. SSBN force nor prohibit or limit the deployment of non-nuclear cruise missiles; (3) Congress, in exercising its constitutional authority to raise and support the Armed Forces, and the Senate in advising and consenting to the ratification of treaties, has a role to play in arms control and defense policy, and should not usurp, undermine, or interfere with the President's constitutional authority to negotiate and implement treaties, especially those affecting U.S. arms control and defense policy; and (4) the President should propose an early date to conduct the five-year review of the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

Requires the President to submit reports to Congress on (1) U.S. arms control strategy, (2) Soviet ABM capability and activities, (3) the implications of a potential START Treaty for alternative U.S. force postures in the 1990's, and (4) the relationship of U.S. arms control objectives with the R&D responsiveness of monitoring systems for weapons verification; requires certain executive branch officials to submit reports to designated congressional committees describing their responsibility with respect to monitoring and verification of arms control agreements; requires the President to include certain additional information in his annual report on Soviet Arms control compliance, including what measures he is taking to bring the Soviets into compliance.

NATO: Increases from \$100 million to \$150 million the annual ceiling on DOD acquisitions under the authority of the NATO Mutual Support Act of 1979; permits waiver of the administrative surcharge for FMS sales to the NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency; clarifies DOD's authority to loan and accept material for limited cooperative R&D projects with member-NATO nations and major non-NATO allies; requires the Secretary to identify and submit with his annual report, all programs, projects, and activities that constitute the NATO Defense Program.

Drug Interdiction: Makes DOD the lead agency for coordinating all Federal air and sea surveillance activities with respect to the transit of illegal drugs into the U.S. and requires the Secretary of Defense to ensure that civilian law enforcement officials are provided with the intelligence collected that is related to drug interdiction.

Compensation and Other Personnel Benefits: Authorizes a short-term increase in certain special pays for physicians with more than eight years of service who have qualifications for which it is determined that retention problems exist; requires submission of a legislative proposal which provides a compensation system for military health professionals which would be comparable to private sector employee physician compensation; gives DOD temporary authority to implement an aviator retention bonus in FY 1989; provides a new 2-year test program using special pays to improve recruiting of health care professionals in the reserve components.

DOD Organization and Management: Modifies the Goldwater-Nichols DOD Reorganization Act to provide more equitable policies for crediting officers with joint duty service, shorten joint duty tour lengths, provide more flexibility in the selection and assignment of joint specialty officers, and provide more flexibility regarding the joint duty prerequisite for promotion to general or flag rank; prohibits funding for an Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Intelligence for one year; requires Senate confirmation of the General Counsel of a Military Department.

Acquisition Policy and Management: Requires defense contractors to submit annually a profit information report containing detailed financial data to a private sector firm designated by the Secretary; revises current law governing the use of competitive prototyping in the development of appropriate acquisition strategies; requires DOD to prescribe guidelines to restrict the use of fixed-price type contracts; institutionalizes the industrial base focus in DOD; requires the Secretary of Defense to consult with the Secretary of Commerce on the negotiation or renegotiation of Memoranda of Understanding with foreign governments relating to defense; sets standards for contractor inventory accounting systems; contains provisions to protect communications by military personnel to Members of Congress; requires the President to establish a comprehensive policy on offset arrangements; requires DOD to establish a product evaluation activity to demonstrate and evaluate promising items of equipment.

Panama: Prohibits funds for the Panamanian Defense Force pending a Presidential certification that no Soviet, Cuban, or Nicaraguan armed forces are in Panama and General Noriega has relinquished command of the Force and no longer holds any official leadership position; expresses the sense of Congress that no arrangements should be made with General Noriega that would drop drug-related indictments against him.

Saudi F-15 Transfer: Makes the sale or transfer of F-15 aircraft to Saudi Arabia subject to certain specified conditions which may be waived upon Presidential certification that the transfer is necessary to the U.S. national interest.

Philippine Bases: Requires the Secretary to transmit a study of the costs and benefits of maintaining U.S. military bases in the Philippines compared with relocating them and requires submission of an annual assessment of base security in the Philippines.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 253

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 25, 1988, 11:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9751

ENDANGERED SPECIES

BILL NO.: S. 675 (H.R. 1467)

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill.

S. 675 (H.R. 1467): Vote Nos. 253, 271.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (78)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (22)	
Democrats (41 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (13)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Kerry	Bond	McConnell			Biden ⁻¹	Armstrong ⁻²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Chafee	Murkowski			Boren ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Bentsen	Leahy	Cochran	Nickles			Burdick ⁻²	D'Amato ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Cohen	Pressler			Chiles ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga	Danforth	Quayle			Cranston ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Breaux	Melcher	Dole	Roth			Dodd ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Bumpers	Mitchell	Domenici	Rudman			Exon ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Byrd	Moynihan	Durenberger	Simpson			Harkin ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Conrad	Pell	Gramm	Specter			Inouye ⁻²	Packwood ⁻²
Daschle	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford			Metzenbaum ⁻²	
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatfield	Stevens			Mikulski ^{-2AY}	
Dixon	Reid	Hecht	Symms			Nunn ⁻²	
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Thurmond			Sasser ⁻²	
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible				
Glenn	Sanford	Kassebaum	Wallop				
Gore	Sarbanes	Kasten	Warner				
Graham	Shelby	Lugar	Weicker				
Heflin	Simon	McCain	Wilson				
Hollings	Stennis	McClure					
Johnston	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (78)
Democrats— 41 or 53%
Republicans— 37 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



NO. 254

July 25, 1988. 4:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9796

AMENDMENT NO.: 2655

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 255

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 25, 1988, 5:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9801

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (FAMILY PLANNING)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2657

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Chiles motion to table the Helms amendment (to the Committee amendment) which prohibits any funds after January 31, 1989, for Title X (Family Planning) if the Secretary of HHS has not promulgated regulations to prohibit the provision of contraceptives to unmarried minors without prior written parental consent. (See also Vote No. 254.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the distribution of contraceptives to teenagers through Title X family planning agencies is "immoral," undermines the strength of the family, violates the rights of parents, and ignores the health risk associated with oral contraceptive use. Nor does dispensing contraceptives reduce unwanted pregnancies, they argued, noting the absence of any studies showing a decline in the teenage pregnancy rate following the repeal of consent laws in the 1970s in many States. They also noted that in other situations in which minors are involved in Federal social programs, assistance is distributed through the parent or the head of household, as is the case with Social Security payments, AFDC, and food stamps.

Opponents of the amendment countered that contraceptives are one of the tools available to educators in family planning agencies, and that to pretend that contraceptives do not exist would be "educating in ignorance." While it might be desirable to have teenagers turn to their parents for guidance in these matters, it is because this option often is not available that a teenage pregnancy problem exists in this Nation and that Title X was created. In many instances, young people either do not have a home, or their parents have failed to inculcate morals in their children or provide meaningful advice on such problems as drugs, AIDS, and sex. The Senate should not attempt to micromanage education programs but should leave them to educators and doctors. Those who oppose abortion should support Title X, since it seeks to prevent, through education, unwanted pregnancies.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (54)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (40 or 82%)	Republicans (14 or 36%)		Democrats (9 or 18%)	Republicans (25 or 64%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Lautenberg	Bond	Breaux	D'Amato	Biden ⁻³	Armstrong ⁻²
Baucus	Leahy	Chafee	Byrd	Dole	Boren ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Bentsen	Levin	Cochran	Conrad	Domenici	Burdick ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Bingaman	Matsunaga	Cohen	DeConcini	Gramm	Cranston ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bradley	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Ford	Grassley	Daschle ⁻²	Hatch ⁻²
Bumpers	Mikulski	Durenberger	Helms	Hecht		Karnes ^{-2AN}
Chiles	Mitchell	Hatfield	Melcher	Helms		Packwood ⁻²
Dixon	Moynihan	Heinz	Reid	Humphrey		
Dodd	Nunn	Lugar	Shelby	Kassebaum		
Eaton	Pell	Specter		Kasten		
Fowler	Proxmire	Stafford		McCain		
Glenn	Pryor	Warner		McClure		
Gore	Riegle	Weicker		McConnell		
Graham	Rockefeller	Wilson		Murkowski		
Harkin	Sanford			Nickles		
Hollings	Sarbanes			Pressler		
Inouye	Sasser			Quayle		
Johnston	Simon			Roth		
Kennedy	Stennis			Rudman		
Kerry	Wirth			Simpson		
				Stevens		
				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—82%
Republicans—64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats—40 or 74%
Republicans—14 or 26%

Against (34)
Democrats—9 or 26%
Republicans—25 or 74%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 256

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 26, 1988. 4:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9866

HUNGER PREVENTION/TEFAP

BILL NO.: S. 2560

AMENDMENT NO.: 2666

TITLE: "Hunger Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Gramm amendment to provide that funds for the purchase of high protein food for the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) as authorized by the bill be reduced by an amount equal to the value of any surplus commodities donated to the program and to soup kitchens by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Federal government should not buy commodities already in surplus to distribute to the needy through TEFAP; instead, it should distribute the commodities it already has and buy only those commodities that do not exist in surplus. TEFAP was created as a temporary program to give food to needy people and to reduce government surpluses that otherwise would go to waste. However, rather than allowing the program to come to an end with the elimination of those surpluses, TEFAP is now being made into a new State entitlement program. This is unnecessary, they argued, because one out of every five Americans already receives some form of food assistance.

Opponents countered that the \$185 million available in the bill is not intended to buy commodities already in surplus, but those that are not. While the Federal government has surpluses of such items as butter, flour and cornmeal, there is a shortage of high protein items that are necessary to provide people with basic nutrition, including milk, cheese, canned meats, and peanut butter. Since the amendment refers to "any surplus commodity" as opposed to specific items, it would not permit buying any items as long as something existed in surplus, which would effectively kill the program, particularly since the current drought will draw down existing surpluses and drive food prices up. TEFAP provides assistance to 15 million people, many of whom are elderly, and nearly half of whom are poor families with children.

S. 2560: Vote Nos. 256, 257.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (14)		NAYS (81)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (14 or 33%)	Democrats (53 or 100%)	Republicans (28 or 67%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (4)
Bond	Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Biden ⁻¹	Armstrong ⁻²
Garn	Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee		Karnes ⁻²
Gramm	Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran		Stevens ⁻²
Hatch	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen		Weicker ^{-2AN}
Hecht	Boren	Leahy	D'Amato		
Helms	Bradley	Levin	Danforth		
Humphrey	Breaux	Matsunaga	Dole		
McClure	Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici		
Murkowski	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		
Nickles	Byrd	Mikulski	Evans		
Rudman	Chiles	Mitchell	Grassley		
Symms	Conrad	Moynihan	Hatfield		
Thurmond	Cranston	Nunn	Heinz		
Wallop	Daschle	Pell	Kassebaum		
	DeConcini	Proxmire	Kasten		
	Dixon	Pryor	Lugar		
	Dodd	Reid	McCain		
	Exon	Riegle	McConnell		
	Ford	Rockefeller	Packwood		
	Fowler	Sanford	Pressier		
	Glenn	Sarbanes	Quayle		
	Gore	Sasser	Roth		
	Graham	Shelby	Simpson		
	Harkin	Simon	Specter		
	Heflin	Stennis	Stafford		
	Hollings	Wirth	Trible		
	Inouye		Warner		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (14)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—14 or 100%

Against (81)
Democrats—53 or 65%
Republicans—28 or 35%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 257

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 26, 1988, 4:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9873

HUNGER PREVENTION/TEFAP

BILL NO.: S. 2560

TITLE: "Hunger Prevention Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which expands several nutrition programs, including the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Act Program, Food Stamps, Child Nutrition, and various soup kitchen and other emergency feeding programs, in order to target Federal nutrition assistance to the homeless and those most in need.

NOTE: The bill was cleared for the President on August 11, 1988, after the Senate agreed to the House amendments. S. 2560 became Public Law 100-435, approved September 19, 1988.

S. 2560: Vote Nos. 256, 257.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (90)				NAYS (7)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 98%)		Republicans (38 or 86%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Lugar	Proxmire	Armstrong	Biden ³	Stevens ²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain		Garn		Weicker ^{2AY}
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McClure		Gramm		
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McConnell		Hatch		
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Murkowski		Helms		
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Nickles		Symms		
Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Pressler				
Burdick	Melcher	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Roth				
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Grassley	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Hatfield	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Hecht	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Heinz	Thurmond				
Dixon	Pryor	Humphrey	Trible				
Dodd	Reid	Karnes	Wallop				
Exon	Riegle	Kassebaum	Warner				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kasten	Wilson				
Fowler	Sanford						
Gienn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats—52 or 58%
Republicans—38 or 42%

Against (7)
Democrats—1 or 14%
Republicans—6 or 86%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Emergency Hunger Prevention: Extends for two years, through FY 1990, the authorization for the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Act Program (TEFAP) under which surplus USDA commodities owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) are provided to States for distribution to low-income needy persons; provides recipients of TEFAP commodities with nutritional information.

Extends the current \$50 million annual authorization to cover State and local administrative costs and increases from 20 to 40 percent the amount that States must pass through to the local distribution network; authorizes TEFAP agencies to spend some of their administrative funds, at State option and if not disapproved by the Secretary, to provide information and referral to on-going food assistance programs for households whose needs TEFAP alone cannot meet and authorizes State food stamp agencies to provide training to these organizations.

Requires USDA to purchase \$145 million worth of high protein commodities for TEFAP in each of these years; establishes an entitlement to a certain portion of these commodities for each State based on the current formula for allocating the surplus commodities—60 percent based on the number of persons living in poverty in each State and 40 percent based on the numbers of unemployed in the State.

Extends through FY 1991 the Dairy Export Incentive Program and the 150,000 metric ton overseas sales requirement for dairy products under the 1985 Food Security Act and gives this program a lower priority than use of the dairy products in TEFAP.

Extends through FY 1990 provisions of the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Act providing for the distribution of additional flour, cornmeal, and cheese to the extent provided in advance in appropriations acts.

Requires USDA to purchase \$40 million worth of commodities in FY 1989-91 to distribute, through the States, to soup kitchens, food pantries and other emergency feeding centers; makes the same allocation formula applicable to TEFAP applicable to this program; allows States to use some of the funds to cover handling costs.

Increases the basic level of food stamp assistance by increasing, over the next three years, the value of the food plan used to calculate food stamps to 80 percent of the "Low Cost Food Plan" instead of its current value of 78.2 percent of the "Low Cost Food Plan."

Requires USDA to provide 7 million pounds of "surplus" cheese owned by the CCC to the CSFP for distribution to needy children, pregnant women, and the elderly in each FY 1989-90.

Makes USDA commodities that are in excess of the quantities needed to meet the needs of other domestic and foreign food assistance programs available to DOD for use in institutions providing child care to dependents of military personnel overseas.

Nutrition Improvements: Makes a number of improvements in the food stamp program, including employing a simpler test to define "household" for food stamp purposes; applying only the gross income test (130 percent of poverty line) to determine eligibility for food stamps rather than both the gross income test and a net income test (100 percent of poverty); extending categorical eligibility for food stamps for households comprised solely of AFDC or SSI members for one year, through FY 1990; and permitting States to provide program information to any low-income household and receive the 50 percent Federal match for administrative expenses.

Increases USDA's breakfast reimbursement rate to participating schools by three cents, per student, per meal; provides a Federal reimbursement for an additional meal for children who stay eight hours or more at day care centers; specifies that lactating mothers, infants, children and pregnant women cannot be denied WIC program benefits solely because they are homeless; expands the Summer Food Program to include private nonprofit organizations that provide meals to no more than 2,500 children at no more than five sites and use self-preparation facilities or obtain meals from a public facility; makes all universities participating in the National Youth Sports Program eligible for a Federal reimbursement for the meals served to disadvantaged youths; requires the Secretary to make unprocessed commodities available to nonprofit organizations currently eligible under TEFAP.

Makes a number of other revisions to the food stamp program to streamline program operations; reduce the complexity of application forms, number of "fair hearings," and barriers to participation for farmers; require the mail issuance of benefits in rural areas; make it easier for rural residents to participate; simplify the verification of the medical deduction for the elderly; and promote better compliance with program rules by recipients.

Family Self-Sufficiency: Excludes from "income" for food stamp purposes earned income tax credits received under the Internal Revenue Code as part of the regular paycheck; provides for a child care/dependent deduction of up to \$160 per month, per child/dependent (instead of the current \$160 per month per household), if the child care enables the parents or guardians to work, or receive job training or education preparatory to working; increases the exclusion for the fair market value of a family's automobile, based on anticipated inflation, from \$4,500 to \$5,500 over a five-year period; improves the expenses and transportation (E&T) program by requiring States to reimburse an individual for dependent care expenses and for transportation and other actual expenses and giving States flexibility in setting up training programs tailored to their local caseloads; allows USDA to approve Indian tribal or Alaskan Native plans to establish their own E&T program using a "set-aside" of some of the funds that would otherwise be spent with the State on E&T.

Demonstration Projects: Authorizes \$2 million in FY 1989, \$2.8 million in 1990, and \$3.5 million in 1991 for the Secretary to award three-year grants to each of 10 States to conduct pilot demonstration projects under which WIC recipients would be eligible to receive vouchers to buy fresh produce and farm products at farmers' markets, if the State agrees to provide at least 30 percent of the cost of the program; and limits the annual value of the Federal share of the benefit provided to an individual to not less than \$10 or more than \$20.

Authorizes \$400,000 in each FY 1989-91 for the Secretary to carry out at least one demonstration project in each of the standard Federal regions to directly provide agricultural commodities to the food banks; requires the Secretary to submit a report to Congress by January 3, 1990, on the success of the program.

Requires the Secretary to establish one pilot project in one State to determine whether a reimbursement offer for an additional meal or snack for children staying eight hours or more at day care homes would increase participation in the Child Care Food Program; calls for a report on the project by August 1, 1989, and a final report upon conclusion of the project.

Implementation: Sets both effective and implementation dates in order to avoid litigation resulting from retroactive application of statutory changes after the effective date established in statute.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 258

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 10:20 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10009

COMMERCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (PRC MISSILE SALES)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4782

AMENDMENT NO.: 2689

TITLE: "Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Dole amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the People's Republic of China (PRC) should (1) immediately halt the sale of ballistic missiles and other offensive weapons to all nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf; (2) discontinue reported discussions with Syria, Iran, Libya, and Pakistan regarding potential sales of M-9 short-range ballistic missiles; and (3) endorse the U.N.-sponsored international arms embargo against Iran and Iraq; and, if these sales and policies are not discontinued, the U.S. should reassess bilateral relations with the PRC and reexamine agreements providing for arms and technology transfers to that country.

NOTE: Even though there is hope for a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war, the Middle East-Persian Gulf area remains a tinderbox. Tragically, many nations are aggressively selling new destabilizing weapons in the region. While the U.N. is calling for a cessation in sales, China has sold silkworm missiles to both Iran and Iraq and CSS-2 missiles to Saudi Arabia, as well as having discussed the sale of M-9 short-range missiles to Iran, Libya, Syria, and Pakistan. Secretary Schultz recently visited Beijing, and adoption of this amendment would reinforce the message he delivered.

H.R. 4782: Vote Nos. 258-261, 338.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (46 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ⁻²	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Biden ⁻³	
Bingaman	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Metzenbaum ⁻²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Cranston	Nunn	Evans	Rudman				
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Simpson				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Evan	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Gore	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker				
Harkin	Simon	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 51 or 53%
Republicans— 46 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 259

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 11:18 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10011

COMMERCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4782

TITLE: "Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.

H.R. 4782: Vote Nos. 258-261, 338.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (68)		NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (17 or 37%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (29 or 63%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston		Armstrong	Bentsen— ²	
Baucus	Kennedy		Bond	Biden— ³	
Bingaman	Kerry		Boschwitz	Metzenbaum— ²	
Boren	Lautenberg		Chafee		
Bradley	Leahy		Cohen		
Breaux	Levin		D'Amato		
Bumpers	Matsunaga		Evans		
Burdick	Melcher		Garn		
Byrd	Mikulski		Gramm		
Chiles	Mitchell		Hatch		
Conrad	Moynihan		Hecht		
Cranston	Nunn		Heinz		
Daschle	Pell		Helms		
DeConcini	Proxmire		Humphrey		
Dixon	Pryor		Karnes		
Dodd	Reid		Kassebaum		
Eaton	Riegle		Kasten		
Ford	Rockefeller		McCain		
Fowler	Sanford		McClure		
Glenn	Sarbanes		McConnell		
Gore	Sasser		Murkowski		
Graham	Shelby		Nickles		
Harkin	Simon		Quayle		
Heflin	Stennis		Specter		
Hollings	Wirth		Stevens		
Inouye			Symms		
			Wallop		
			Weicker		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

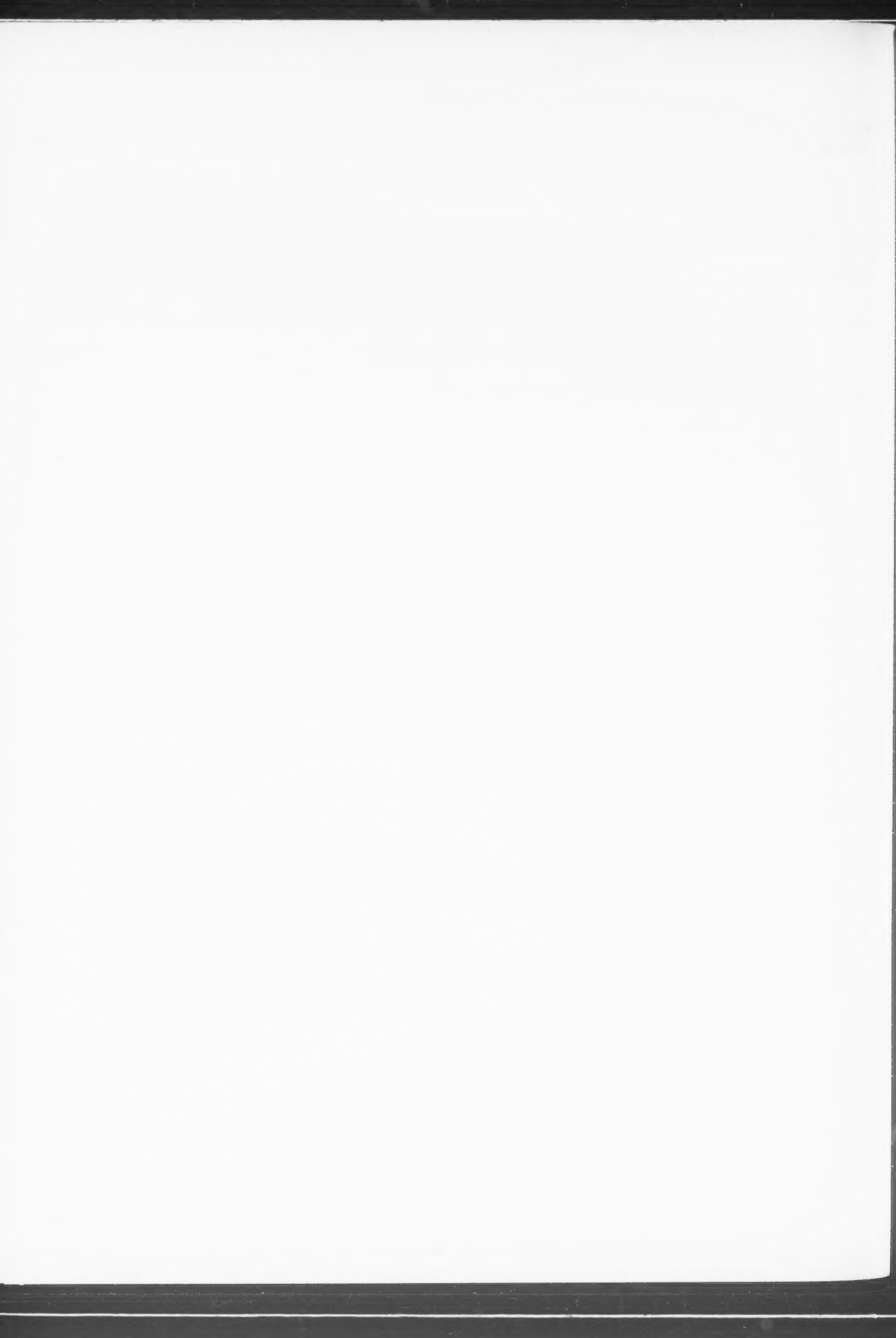
Democrats—100%
Republicans—63%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats—51 or 75%
Republicans—17 or 25%

Against (29)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—29 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 260

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 12:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10019

COMMERCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (DEA/LSC)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4782

AMENDMENT NO.: 2692

TITLE: "Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Gramm-Cochran-Nickles amendment which increases funding for the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) by \$58.55 million, offset by reducing funding in the same amount for the Legal Services Corporation (LSC)—from \$308.55 million to \$250 million.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that DEA needs an adequate level of funding since its real budget will decline over last year's after mandated pay increases and other costs. That DEA's budget could be allowed to drop despite this Nation's drug problem is indicative of the Senate's poor sense of priorities. The amendment does not gut the LSC, but provides exactly the level of funding it requested.

Opponents countered that the amendment was offered to destroy the LSC and noted that the sponsor of the amendment had on previous occasions offered amendments with the primary objective of moving funds from the LSC to some other program. The LSC is an effective program that guarantees that those who cannot afford legal representation are not denied justice in the courts. Ninety-five percent of the corporation's budget is spent on the representation of the poor in various types of court cases. However, the Senate cannot be accused of giving the corporation an unbalanced priority, because in real terms its budget has declined 40 percent since 1981. Moreover, a majority of the LSC Board, which proposed the current budget request, does not believe in the importance of the corporation to the poor, and its newly appointed president has stated that one of his priorities is to reduce funding for the corporation. DEA is adequately funded, they asserted, noting that its budget has increased 133 percent since 1981, and an additional \$64 million will be available in the omnibus drug bill.

H.R. 4782: Vote Nos. 258-261, 338.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (28)		NAYS (66)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (27 or 61%)	Democrats (49 or 98%)	Republicans (17 or 39%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (2)
Byrd	Bond	Adams	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Bentsen ⁻²	Armstrong ⁻²
	Cochran	Baucus	Kerry	Chafee	Biden ⁻³	Stafford ⁻²
	D'Amato	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Boren ⁻²	
	Garn	Bradley	Leahy	Danforth	Metzenbaum ⁻²	
	Gramm	Breaux	Levin	Dole		
	Grassley	Bumpers	Matsunaga	Domenici		
	Hatch	Burdick	Melcher	Durenberger		
	Hecht	Chiles	Mikulski	Evans		
	Helms	Conrad	Mitchell	Hatfield		
	Humphrey	Cranston	Moynihan	Heinz		
	Karnes	Daschle	Nunn	Kassebaum		
	Kasten	DeConcini	Pell	McCain		
	Lugar	Dixon	Proxmire	Packwood		
	McClure	Dodd	Pryor	Rudman		
	McConnell	Exon	Reid	Specter		
	Murkowski	Ford	Riegle	Stevens		
	Nickles	Fowler	Rockefeller	Weicker		
	Pressler	Glenn	Sanford			
	Quayle	Gore	Sarbanes			
	Roth	Graham	Sasser			
	Simpson	Harkin	Shelby			
	Symms	Heflin	Simon			
	Thurmond	Hollings	Stennis			
	Trible	Inouye	Wirth			
	Wallop	Johnston				
	Warner					
	Wilson					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (28)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—27 or 96%

Against (66)
Democrats—49 or 74%
Republicans—17 or 26%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 261

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 12:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10022

COMMERCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4782

TITLE: "Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$15,006,408,000 in new budget authority for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies in FY 1989. (See Vote No. 338 on the conference report.)

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations	\$14,024,395,000
1989 Budget Estimate	15,503,754,000
Approved by House	7,966,708,000
Approved by Senate	15,006,408,000
Enacted	14,849,392,000

H.R. 4782: Vote Nos. 258-261, 338.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (80)				NAYS (16)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (48 or 94%)		Republicans (32 or 71%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (13 or 29%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Kasten	Conrad	Armstrong	Bentsen— ²	Stafford— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar	Heflin	Garn	Biden— ³	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McCain	Proxmire	Gramm	Metzenbaum— ²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell		Hatch		
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski		Hecht		
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles		Helms		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood		Humphrey		
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Pressler		McClure		
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle		Roth		
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman		Simpson		
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Specter		Symms		
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens		Wallop		
DeConcini	Pell	Hatfield	Thurmond		Wilson		
Dixon	Pryor	Heinz	Trible				
Dodd	Reid	Karnes	Warner				
Exon	Riegle	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)
Democrats—48 or 60%
Republicans—32 or 40%

Against (16)
Democrats—3 or 19%
Republicans—13 or 81%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates \$15,006,408,000 in new budget authority for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies in FY 1989

Department of Commerce—\$2,783,681,000: Contains \$208.5 million for the Economic Development Administration; \$632.4 million for the Bureau of the Census; \$1.3 billion for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration; \$178.9 million for the International Trade Administration; \$40.5 million for the Bureau of Export Administration; \$35.2 million for continuation of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration; and \$151.2 million for the National Bureau of Standards; reforms process patent law by providing that the importation into, or use or sale within, the U.S. of a product made abroad using an unauthorized process patented in the U.S. is a patent infringement, allowing process patent owners access to Federal courts for recouping damages due to infringement, and giving process patent owners the right to exclude others from using or selling in the U.S. or importing into the U.S., products made using that process; instructs the Department of Commerce to report to Congress on the feasibility of establishing a central computer bank for U.S. corporations that need personnel with foreign language skills and a similar bank for personnel with such skills who are seeking employment.

Department of Justice—\$5,462,978,000: Contains \$1.4 billion for the FBI which includes \$15.1 million for the FBI's classified activities in connection with the INF Treaty; \$503.2 million for the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA); \$1.2 billion for legal activities, including the U.S. Marshals Service, U.S. Attorneys, Antitrust Division, etc.; \$804.3 million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service; \$1.2 billion for the Federal Prison System; and \$229.1 million for Justice Assistance programs of which \$5 million is to reimburse States for the cost of incarcerating Mariel Cubans; provides that States which are receiving grants under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and have made significant progress in meeting the Act's mandate to remove juveniles from adult jails, may continue to receive funding for that purpose during FY 1989; postpones the finalization of the new H-1 visa regulations until October 1, 1989; specifies that U.S. families may adopt illegitimate children who have had a *bona fide* relationship with their father.

Department of State—\$2,746,367,000: Contains \$2.2 billion for administration of foreign affairs and \$525.0 million for international organizations and conferences, which includes \$29.0 million for international peacekeeping activities including the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon and its Disengagement Observer Force on the Golan Heights; expresses the sense of the Senate that the Soviet Government should respect the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people; prohibits the use of funds to provide housing benefits or tax relief to individuals serving at the U.S. mission to the U.N. other than the U.S. Permanent Representative and Senior Deputy; expresses the sense of the Congress that the administration should urge Japan to make changes in its patent system so that foreign firms are not disadvantaged; states Congressional objection to the presence of Cuba on the U.S. Commission on Human Rights investigating Cuban human rights violations and calls for a report detailing whether Cuba's presence has influenced the Commission's report; provides for a demonstration project involving ram-resistant barrier-gate security devices of U.S. diplomatic missions; creates the position of Special Envoy to the Afghan Resistance within the State Department to coordinate U.S. policies and programs involving the resistance; and states the sense of the Senate that China should halt the sale of ballistic missiles and other offensive weapons to Middle East and Persian Gulf nations, discontinue reported discussions with Syria, Iran, Libya, and Pakistan for the sale of M9 short-range ballistic missiles, and endorse the U.N.-sponsored international arms embargo against Iran and Iraq, and, if these policies are not discontinued, the U.S. should reassess bilateral relations with China and agreements providing for arms and technology transfers to China.

The Judiciary—\$1,360,247,000 for the Supreme Court, Courts of Appeals, District Courts, Administrative Office, and other judicial services; establishes new bankruptcy judgeships in Alaska, Arizona, and Colorado.

Related Agencies—\$2,653,195,000: Contains \$177.0 million for the Maritime Administration; \$429.3 million for SBA; \$100.7 million for the FCC; \$308.6 million for the Legal Services Corporation; \$150 million for the Securities and Exchange Commission; \$227.1 million for the Board for International Broadcasting; \$881.0 million for the U.S. Information Agency; \$5.8 million for the Civil Rights Commission; and \$181.8 million for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC); prohibits changes in the administration and enforcement of FCC rules on newspaper-broadcast cross-ownership and directs the FCC to take administrative action to keep all obscene and indecent programming off of radio and TV regardless of the time of day; directs the FTC to provide necessary or requested assistance to appropriate State agencies investigating possible unfair or deceptive practices in the sale of drought insurance during calendar year 1988; suspends for FY 1989, an EEOC regulation that would validate the waiver of employee rights under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act; provides \$65 million for the acquisition and construction of Voice of America radio facilities and \$7.5 million for USIA to initiate a surrogate home television broadcasting service to Cuba to be known as Television Marti which meets the same requirements as Radio Marti; prohibits the use of funds by the Civil Rights Commission to enforce the Indian Civil Rights Act until 60 days after the Comptroller General submits an opinion as to the scope of the Commission's jurisdiction over tribal implementation of the Act.

Other: Requires that agencies funded under this act absorb any pay raises within their appropriated levels; reduces funds for certain consultant services; directs all grantees receiving Federal funds to clearly state the percentage of the total cost of the program or project which will be financed with Federal money and the dollar amount of Federal funds.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 262

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 2:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10028

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (AIDS EDUCATION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2694

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Cranston defense of the germaneness of the Cranston-Kennedy amendment which prohibits any AIDS education program or curricula dealing with sexual activity funded under this Act from being designed to promote or encourage, directly, intravenous drug abuse or homosexual or heterosexual sexual activity; and requires AIDS education programs and curricula to be designed to reduce exposure to, and the transmission of, the AIDS virus by providing accurate information and to provide information on the health risks on promiscuous sexual activity and intravenous drug abuse. The question is: "Is the amendment germane?" (See also Vote No. 263.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting yea) asserted that States and local groups should be given reasonable guidelines for designing AIDS educational materials in order to reach all people at risk of exposure to the HIV virus, while making it clear that no Federal funds will be made available to promote any form of sexual activity. The amendment is intended to reassure those who are concerned that AIDS educational materials are being used to promote homosexuality, while allowing States and local groups to provide accurate information about the disease and to target culturally sensitive material to people with a variety of needs and levels of understanding. The amendment corrects the harmful effect that the Helms amendment to the FY 1988 Labor-HHS appropriations bill (Vote No. 323, 100-1st) has had on efforts to control the disease. According to the Presidential AIDS Commission, as a result of the Helms amendment "the consistent distribution of clear, factual information about HIV transmission has suffered." The restrictions imposed by the current law Helms amendment have made education programs targeted at illiterate IV addicts, runaway youths, sexually active youths and adults, and sex partners of IV drug users an impossibility for many States. According to a poll of State and

(OVER)

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: AMENDMENT GERMANE

YEAS (56)			NAYS (41)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (46 or 88%)		Republicans (10 or 22%)	Democrats (6 or 12%)		Republicans (35 or 78%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kerry	Chafee	DeConcini	Armstrong	Kasten	Bentsen ²	Humphrey ²
Baucus	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Dixon	Bond	Lugar	Biden ³	
Bingaman	Leahy	Evans	Exon	Boschwitz	McCain		
Boren	Levin	Heinz	Ford	Cochran	McClure		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Packwood	Heflin	Cohen	McConnell		
Breaux	Melcher	Rudman	Shelby	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Specter		Danforth	Nickles		
Burdick	Mikulski	Stafford		Dole	Pressler		
Byrd	Mitchell	Weicker		Domenici	Quayle		
Chiles	Moynihan	Wilson		Garn	Roth		
Conrad	Nunn			Gramm	Simpson		
Cranston	Pell			Grassley	Stevens		
Daschle	Proxmire			Hatch	Symms		
Dodd	Pryor			Hatfield	Thurmond		
Fowler	Reid			Hecht	Trible		
Glenn	Riegle			Helms	Wallop		
Gore	Rockefeller			Karnes	Warner		
Graham	Sanford			Kassebaum			
Harkin	Sarbanes						
Hollings	Sasser						
Inouye	Simon						
Johnston	Stennis						
Kennedy	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—88%
Republicans—78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats—46 or 82%
Republicans—10 or 18%

Against (41)
Democrats—6 or 15%
Republicans—35 or 85%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

city health departments conducted by the Governmental Affairs Committee, one-half of those responding criticized the current law that restricts the distribution of materials and inhibits efforts to provide effective AIDS education. Some organizations have chosen not to apply for Federal funds to avoid these restrictions—a dangerous trend, they argued, since local and private resources are already stretched thin.

Opponents of the amendment (voting nay) claimed that an attempt is being made to make hundreds of thousands of dollars in taxpayers money available to groups to promote homosexuality, despite the fact that on two previous occasions the Senate voted in support of the language of the Helms amendment included in the 1988 Labor-HHS appropriations bill. They also claimed that according to various studies, educational material providing information on safe sex practices has not resulted in any significant behavior changes among high risk groups. The approach needed to stop the spread of AIDS, they argued, is "a restoration of values."

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 263

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 3:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10030

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (AIDS EDUCATION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2694

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Cranston-Kennedy amendment which prohibits any AIDS education program or curricula dealing with sexual activity funded under this Act from being designed to promote or encourage, directly, intravenous drug abuse or homosexual or heterosexual sexual activity; and requires AIDS education programs and curricula to be designed to reduce exposure to, and the transmission of, the AIDS virus by providing accurate information and to provide information on the health risks of promiscuous sexual activity and intravenous drug abuse. (See also Vote No. 262.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that States and local groups should be given reasonable guidelines for designing AIDS educational materials in order to reach all people at risk of exposure to the HIV virus, while making it clear that no Federal funds will be made available to promote any form of sexual activity. The amendment is intended to reassure those who are concerned that AIDS educational materials are being used to promote homosexuality, while allowing States and local groups to provide accurate information about the disease and to target culturally sensitive material to people with a variety of needs and levels of understanding. The amendment corrects the harmful effect that the Helms amendment to the FY 1988 Labor-HHS appropriations bill (Vote No. 323, 100th-1st) has had on efforts to control the disease. According to the Presidential AIDS Commission, "the consistent distribution of clear, factual information about HIV transmission has suffered" as a result of the Helms amendment. The restrictions have made education programs targeted at illiterate IV addicts, runaway youths, sexually active youths and adults, and sex partners of IV drug users an impossibility for many States. According to a poll of State and city health departments conducted by the Governmental Affairs (OVER)

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (61)			NAYS (37)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (47 or 90%)	Republicans (14 or 30%)		Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (32 or 70%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kerry	Chafee	DeConcini	Armstrong	Lugar	Bentsen ²	
Baucus	Lautenberg	Cohen	Dixon	Bond	McCain	Biden ³	
Bingaman	Leahy	D'Amato	Ford	Boschwitz	McClure		
Boren	Levin	Durenberger	Heflin	Cochran	McConnell		
Bradley	Matsunaga	Evans	Shelby	Danforth	Murkowski		
Breaux	Melcher	Hatch		Dole	Nickles		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Hatfield		Domenici	Pressler		
Burdick	Mikulski	Heinz		Garn	Quayle		
Byrd	Mitchell	Packwood		Gramm	Roth		
Chiles	Moynihan	Rudman		Grassley	Simpson		
Conrad	Nunn	Specter		Hecht	Stevens		
Cranston	Pell	Stafford		Helms	Symms		
Daschle	Proxmire	Weicker		Humphrey	Thurmond		
Dodd	Pryor	Wilson		Karnes	Trible		
Eaton	Reid			Kassebaum	Wallop		
Fowler	Riegle			Kasten	Warner		
Glenn	Rockefeller						
Gore	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—20%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)

Democrats—47 or 90%
Republicans—14 or 30%

Against (37)

Republicans—32 or 70%
Democrats—5 or 10%

Committee, one-half of those responding criticized provisions of the current law that restricted the distribution of materials and inhibited efforts to provide effective AIDS education. Some organizations have chosen not to apply for Federal funds to avoid these restrictions—a dangerous trend, they argued, since local and private resources are already stretched thin.

Opponents claimed that an attempt is being made to make hundreds of thousands of dollars in taxpayers money available to groups to promote homosexuality, despite the fact that on two previous occasions the Senate voted in support of the language of the Helms amendment included in the 1988 Labor-HHS appropriations bill. They also claimed that according to various studies, educational material providing information on safe sex practices has not resulted in any significant behavior changes among high risk groups. The approach needed to stop the spread of AIDS, they argued, is "a restoration of values."

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 264

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 3:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10034

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (AIDS EDUCATION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2661

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Chiles motion to table the Helms modified amendment which eliminates the language of the previously passed Cranston-Kennedy amendment (Vote No. 263) and prohibits any State from receiving any funds for AIDS public education and information programs if the State has not made a "good faith" effort to notify any spouse married to an AIDS-infected patient since December 31, 1976, that the AIDS-infected spouse has AIDS. (See also Vote No. 265.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that States accepting Federal funds for AIDS education should be required to take legislative and administrative action to make a good-faith effort to notify the spouse of a person who tests positive for AIDS in order to protect the spouse from infection and control the spread of the disease. The requirement is not an unprecedented breach of privacy, since a number of States require that sex partners of individuals infected with a venereal disease be notified, and some States recognize a common law physician's duty to warn a spouse of a serious disease. Asserting that AIDS should be treated the same way venereal diseases have been controlled in the past, they were critical of those who resisted such preventive measures as the reporting of infections, premarital testing, and contact testing.

Opponents of the amendment stated that the amendment strikes the previous amendment which the Senate expended two hours of its time debating, and which the Senate expressed its support of with two roll call votes (Vote Nos. 262 and 263). If the previous amendment is negated, they asserted, it will be introduced and accepted again.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (49)			NAYS (48)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (40 or 78%)		Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (11 or 22%)		Republicans (37 or 80%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Boren	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams ⁻²	
Bingaman	Iaunenberg	Chafee	Byrd	Boschwitz	McCain	Bentsen ⁻²	
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	Conrad	Cohen	McClure	Biden ⁻³	
Breaux	Levin	Durenberger	DeConcini	D'Amato	McConnell		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Evans	Dixon	Danforth	Murkowski		
Burdick	Melcher	Packwood	Ford	Dole	Nickles		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Stafford	Heflin	Domenici	Pressler		
Cranston	Mikulski	Warner	Reid	Garn	Quayle		
Daschle	Mitchell	Weicker	Rockefeller	Gramm	Roth		
Dodd	Moynihan		Sasser	Grassley	Rudman		
Exon	Nunn		Shelby	Hatch	Simpson		
Fowler	Pell			Hatfield	Specter		
Glenn	Proxmire			Hecht	Stevens		
Gore	Pryor			Heinz	Symms		
Graham	Riegle			Helms	Thurmond		
Harkin	Sanford			Humphrey	Trible		
Hollings	Sarbanes			Karnes	Wallop		
Inouye	Simon			Kassebaum	Wilson		
Johnston	Stennis			Kasten			
Kennedy	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—78%
Republicans—80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats—40 or 82%
Republicans—9 or 18%

Against (48)
Democrats—11 or 23%
Republicans—37 or 77%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 265

100th Congress
2nd Session

July-27, 1988, 4:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10034

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (AIDS EDUCATION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2661

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Weicker motion to table the Cranston motion to reconsider Vote No. 264.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that States accepting Federal funds for AIDS education should be required to take legislative and administrative action to make a good-faith effort to notify the spouse of a person who tests positive for AIDS in order to protect the spouse from infection and control the spread of the disease. The requirement is not an unprecedented breach of privacy, since a number of States require that sex partners of individuals infected with a venereal disease be notified, and some States recognize a common law physician's duty to warn a spouse of a serious disease. Asserting that AIDS should be treated the same way venereal diseases have been controlled in the past, they were critical of those who resisted such preventive measures as the reporting of infections, premarital testing, and contact testing.

Opponents of the amendment stated that the amendment strikes the previous amendment which the Senate expended two hours debating, and which the Senate expressed its support of with two roll call votes (Vote Nos. 262 and 263). If the previous amendment is negated, they asserted, it will be introduced and accepted again.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO

YEAS (51)			NAYS (46)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (41 or 80%)		Republicans (10 or 22%)	Democrats (10 or 20%)		Republicans (36 or 78%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Byrd	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams ⁻²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	Conrad	Boschwitz	McCain	Bentsen ⁻²	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	DeConcini	Cohen	McClure	Biden ⁻³	
Bradley	Levin	Durenberger	Dixon	D'Amato	McConnell		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Evans	Ford	Danforth	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Melcher	Kassebaum	Heflin	Dole	Nickles		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Packwood	Reid	Domenici	Pressler		
Chiles	Mikulski	Stafford	Rockefeller	Garn	Quayle		
Cranston	Mitchell	Weicker	Sasser	Gramm	Roth		
Daschle	Moynihan	Wilson	Shelby	Grassley	Rudman		
Dodd	Nunn			Hatch	Simpson		
Exon	Pell			Hatfield	Specter		
Fowler	Proxmire			Hecht	Stevens		
Glenn	Pryor			Heinz	Symms		
Gore	Riegle			Helms	Thurmond		
Graham	Sanford			Humphrey	Trible		
Harkin	Sarbanes			Karnes	Wallop		
Hollings	Simon			Kasten	Warner		
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—80%
Republicans—78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats—41 or 80%
Republicans—10 or 20%

Against (46)
Democrats—10 or 22%
Republicans—36 or 78%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 266

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 5:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10042

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (SCHOOL-BASED CLINICS)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2697

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Weicker motion to table the Helms-Exon amendment (to the Committee amendment) which prohibits the use of funds by the Department of HHS, including Medicaid block grants, to provide on the premises of any elementary and secondary school contraceptives, or prescriptions therefor, transportation or referrals for contraceptives, aid in obtaining an abortion, or counseling to encourage an individual to obtain an abortion.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that no Federal funds should be made available for clinics located on the premises of elementary or secondary schools that provide contraceptives or referrals for abortions. Such school-based clinics do not prevent teenage pregnancies but encourage students to have sex at an earlier age, they argued. They intrude upon the authority of parents to guide their children's behavior and their social, moral, and religious growth.

Opponents of the amendment noted that school-based clinics are created by local school boards to address local needs—with input from parents and other community members. They are not created by the Federal government. Blocking the use of Federal funds for these clinics would constitute an unwarranted intrusion of the Federal government into the affairs of States and local communities and would severely diminish the flexibility of a community to initiate programs in response to local problems of teen pregnancy and inadequate prenatal care among adolescent mothers. These school-based clinics provide a variety of services, including the treatment of minor injuries, immunizations, athletic physicals, primary health care, and pregnancy information. While Federal maternal, child health and Medicaid funds go to these clinics, no title X funds are being expended, since few offer any family planning services.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (48)			NAYS (45)			NOT VOTING (7)		
Democrats (36 or 77%)		Republicans (12 or 26%)	Democrats (11 or 23%)		Republicans (34 or 74%)	Democrats (7)		Republicans (0)
Baucus	Kerry	Chafee	Boren	Armstrong	Karnes	Adams ⁻²		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	DeConcini	Bond	Kasten	Bentsen ⁻²		
Bradley	Levin	Evans	Dixon	Boschwitz	Lugar	Biden ⁻³		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Heinz	Exon	Cochran	McCain	Daschle ⁻²		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Kassebaum	Ford	D'Amato	McClure	Fowler ⁻²		
Burdick	Mikulski	Packwood	Heflin	Danforth	McConnell	Leahy ^{-2AY}		
Byrd	Mitchell	Rudman	Johnston	Dole	Murkowski	Sanford ⁻²		
Chiles	Moynihan	Specter	Melcher	Domenici	Nickles			
Conrad	Pell	Stafford	Nunn	Durenberger	Pressler			
Cranston	Proxmire	Stevens	Reid	Garn	Quayle			
Dodd	Pryor	Weicker	Shelby	Gramm	Roth			
Glenn	Riegle	Wilson		Grassley	Simpson			
Gore	Rockefeller			Hatch	Symms			
Graham	Sarbanes			Hatfield	Thurmond			
Harkin	Sasser			Hecht	Trible			
Hollings	Simon			Helms	Wallop			
Inouye	Stennis			Humphrey	Warner			
Kennedy	Wirth							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:		
1—Official Business		
2—Necessarily Absent		
3—Illness		
4—Other		
SYMBOLS:		
AY—Announced Yea		
AN—Announced Nay		
PY—Paired Yea		
PN—Paired Nay		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—77%
Republicans—74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats—36 or 75%
Republicans—12 or 25%

Against (45)
Democrats—11 or 24%
Republicans—34 or 76%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 267

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 6:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10046

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (AIDS EDUCATION/ABORTION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2698

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Weicker motion to table the Helms amendment (to the Committee amendment) which strikes the language in the bill permitting a victim of rape or incest to receive a Federally-funded abortion, and in lieu thereof, requires the Secretary of HHS to promulgate regulations to prohibit AIDS education, information, or prevention materials and activities from promoting or encouraging directly, homosexual sexual activities (thereby eliminating the AIDS education parameters of the Cranston-Kennedy amendment—Vote No. 263).

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that AIDS educational material funded with Federal money should not be used to promote homosexuality, should encourage abstinence from sex outside marriage, and should discourage intravenous drug use. Citing pamphlets, comic books, and video tapes, they claimed that no study has shown that the spread of AIDS has been controlled by current education efforts. Without this amendment, they argued, there is nothing in the pending bill to prevent AIDS educational material from promoting homosexuality or sex outside marriage.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that it would reinstate the highly restrictive Helms language and cancel the Cranston-Kennedy amendment (Vote No. 263) which states that no Federal funds will be used to promote sexual activity of any form. It also would prevent women who are victims of rape or incest from being eligible for abortions funded by Medicaid.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (47)			NAYS (46)			NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (36 or 75%)	Republicans (11 or 24%)		Democrats (12 or 25%)	Republicans (34 or 76%)		Democrats (6)	Republicans (1)
Baucus	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Breaux	Armstrong	Humphrey	Adams ²	Warner ²
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	Conrad	Bond	Karnes	Bentsen ²	
Boren	Matsunaga	Evans	DeConcini	Cochran	Kasten	Biden ³	
Bradley	Metzenbaum	Kassebaum	Dixon	Cohen	Lugar	Daschle ²	
Bumpers	Mikulski	Packwood	Ford	D'Amato	McCain	Fowler ²	
Burdick	Mitchell	Rudman	Heflin	Danforth	McClure	Leahy ² AY	
Byrd	Moynihan	Specter	Hollings	Dole	McConnell		
Chiles	Nunn	Stafford	Johnston	Domenici	Murkowski		
Cranston	Pell	Stevens	Melcher	Durenberger	Nickles		
Dodd	Proxmire	Weicker	Reid	Garn	Pressler		
Exon	Pryor	Wilson	Sasser	Gramm	Quayle		
Glenn	Riegle		Shelby	Grassley	Roth		
Gore	Rockefeller			Hatch	Simpson		
Graham	Sanford			Hatfield	Symms		
Harkin	Sarbanes			Hecht	Thurmond		
Inouye	Simon			Heinz	Trible		
Kennedy	Stennis			Helms	Wallop		
Kerry	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

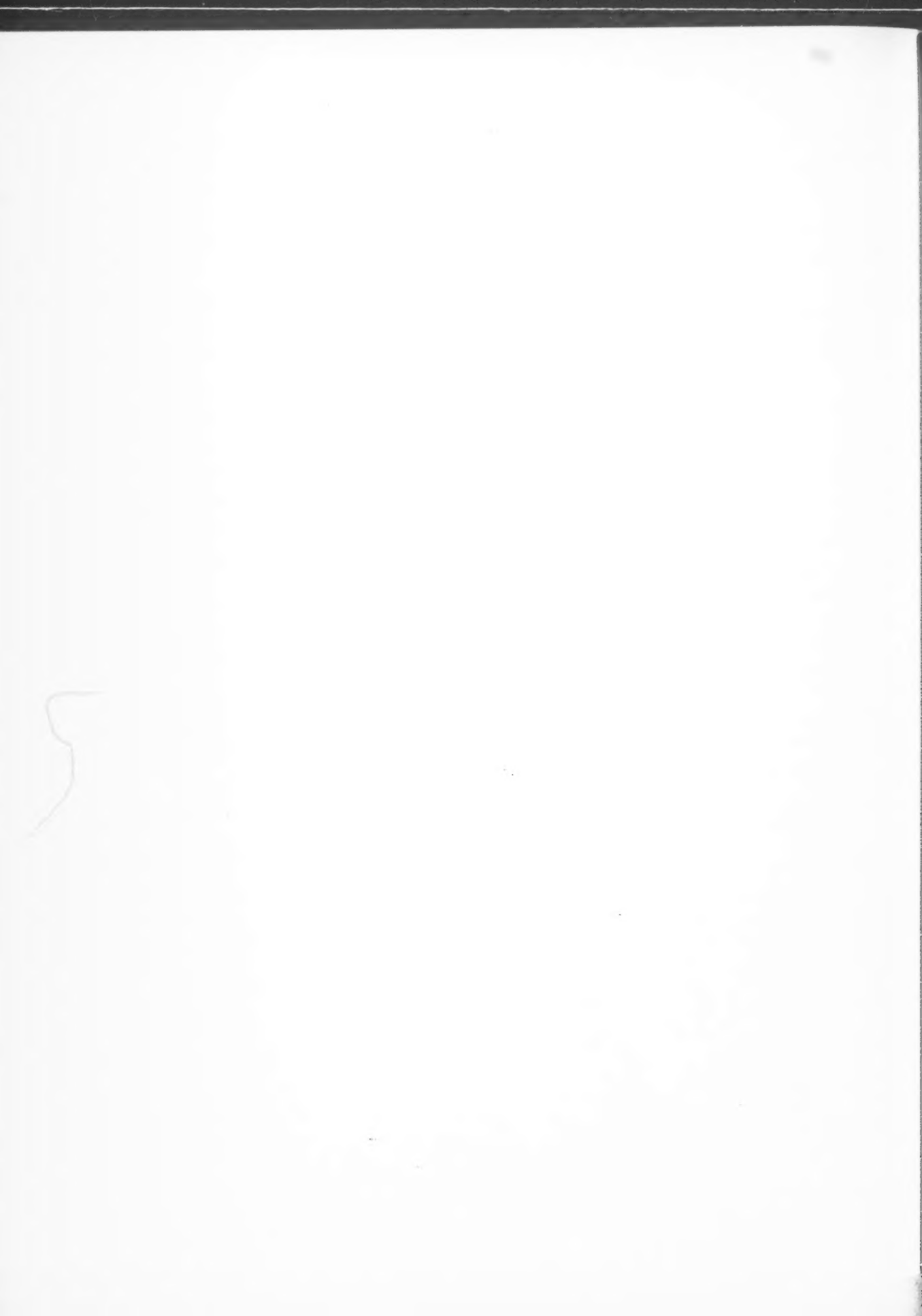
Party Cohesion

Democrats—75%
Republicans—76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats—36 or 77%
Republicans—11 or 23%

Against (46)
Democrats—12 or 26%
Republicans—34 or 74%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 268

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 7:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10048

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ABORTION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2699

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Exon amendment (to the Committee amendment) which makes a victim of rape or incest eligible for a Federally-funded abortion only if the incident is reported promptly to a law enforcement agency; permits payments for drugs to prevent the implantation of a fertilized ovum and for the termination of an ectopic pregnancy; and allows any State the right to refuse to fund an abortion except where the mother's life would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. (See also Vote Nos. 326 and 327.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that exceptions to the abortion funding restrictions should be made carefully and narrowly. There should be a prompt reporting requirement of rape or incest in order to dissuade women from making false claims to secure a Federally-funded abortion under Medicare. States should have the option to determine their own abortion funding restrictions, since some may not wish to go as far as the Federal government in funding abortions. Those who oppose abortion should support this amendment, they argued, since it controls abortions to some degree, whereas "dogmatically perfect" amendments serve only as "score card" votes and have no chance of passing the Senate.

Opponents countered that the Senate should not permit the use of Federal funds for abortions simply because of the circumstances surrounding a pregnancy. Allowing the use of Federal funds for rape and incest would open the floodgates for other exceptions, they argued, and would encourage false claims to qualify for Federally-funded abortions. They pointed out that the Hyde amendment permits the use of Federal funds for adequate medical treatment of victims of rape or incest. Some opposed the amendment on the basis of the prompt reporting requirement, noting that promptness is not defined in the amendment and that a victim of incest may keep silent for months because of the embarrassment surrounding such a situation.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (73)				NAYS (19)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (34 or 71%)		Republicans (39 or 89%)		Democrats (14 or 29%)	Republicans (5 or 11%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Kerry	Armstrong	Karnes	Bradley	Helms	Adams--2	Symms--2
Bingaman	Matsunaga	Bond	Kassebaum	Breaux	McCain	Bentsen--2	Warner--2
Boren	Melcher	Boschwitz	Kasten	Cranston	McConnell	Biden--3	
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Chafee	Lugar	DeConcini	Packwood	Daschle--2	
Burdick	Mikulski	Cochran	McClure	Ford	Simpson	Fowler--2	
Byrd	Mitchell	Cohen	Murkowski	Glenn		Leahy--2	
Chiles	Moynihan	D'Amato	Nickles	Heflin			
Conrad	Nunn	Danforth	Pressler	Johnston			
Dixon	Pell	Dole	Quayle	Lautenberg			
Dodd	Proxmire	Domenici	Roth	Levin			
Exon	Pryor	Durenberger	Rudman	Reid			
Gore	Rockefeller	Evans	Specter	Riegle			
Graham	Sanford	Garn	Stafford	Shelby			
Harkin	Sarbanes	Gramm	Stevens	Wirth			
Hollings	Sasser	Grassley	Thurmond				
Inouye	Simon	Hatch	Trible				
Kennedy	Stennis	Hatfield	Wallop				
		Hecht	Weicker				
		Heinz	Wilson				
		Humphrey					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 71%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats— 34 or 47%
Republicans— 39 or 53%

Against (19)
Democrats— 14 or 74%
Republicans— 5 or 26%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 269

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 8:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10051

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (AIDS EDUCATION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

AMENDMENT NO.: 2700

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Humphrey modified amendment which prohibits the materials, curricula, or programs funded by this Act from promoting or encouraging homosexuality, or using words stating that homosexuality is "normal," "natural," or "healthy." (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should not allow the use of Federal funds to promote homosexuality or suggest that such behavior is normal or acceptable. There are organizations, they claimed, that are using title X funds for this purpose, and such abuses of Federal funds should not be allowed.

Opponents of the amendment countered that it amounts to the legalization of discrimination. The amendment singles out a group of Americans who are suffering from an incurable disease and blocks educational efforts to prevent the contraction of that disease. Further, the amendment needlessly brings up a subject that the Senate has debated extensively and voted in support of on three previous occasions, namely, that Federal funds will not be used to promote any sexual activity of any form.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (15)		NAYS (82)				NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (13 or 25%)	Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (38 or 75%)		Republicans (44 or 96%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Bradley	Chafee	Baucus	Heflin	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams—2	
Cranston	Weicker	Bingaman	Hollings	Bond	Lugar	Bentsen—2	
Gore		Boren	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain	Biden—3	
Inouye		Breaux	Lautenberg	Cochran	McClure		
Kennedy		Bumpers	Matsunaga	Cohen	McConnell		
Kerry		Burdick	Melcher	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Leahy		Byrd	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Nickles		
Levin		Chiles	Mitchell	Dole	Packwood		
Mikulski		Conrad	Nunn	Domenici	Pressler		
Movsnihan		Daschle	Pell	Durenberger	Quayle		
Sanford		DeConcini	Proxmire	Evans	Roth		
Simon		Dixon	Pryor	Garn	Rudman		
Stennis		Dodd	Reid	Gramm	Simpson		
		Exon	Riegle	Grassley	Specter		
		Ford	Rockefeller	Hatch	Stafford		
		Fowler	Sarbanes	Hatfield	Stevens		
		Glenn	Sasser	Hecht	Symms		
		Graham	Shelby	Heinz	Thurmond		
		Harkin	Wirth	Helms	Trible		
				Humphrey	Wallop		
				Karnes	Warner		
				Kassebaum	Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—75%
Republicans—96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (15)
Democrats—13 or 87%
Republicans—2 or 13%

Against (82)
Democrats—38 or 46%
Republicans—44 or 54%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 270

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 27, 1988, 9:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10095

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$140,429,241,000 in budget authority for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education and Related Agencies for FY 1989, of which \$14,847,000,000 is for subsequent year advances.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations	\$129,183,999,000
1989 Budget Estimate	138,601,064,000
Approved by House	135,794,692,000
Approved by Senate	140,429,241,000
Enacted	140,374,129,000

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 12, 1988. H.R. 4783 became Public Law 100-436, approved September 20, 1988.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (80)				NAYS (16)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (46 or 92%)		Republicans (34 or 74%)		Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (12 or 26%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar	Conrad	Armstrong	Adams-2	
Bingaman	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain	Daschle	Garn	Bentsen-2	
Boren	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell	Heflin	Gramm	Biden-3	
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski	Proxmire	Hatch	Stennis-2	
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Packwood		Hecht		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler		Helms		
Burdick	Meicher	Danforth	Quayle		Humphrey		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Rudman		McClure		
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Simpson		Nickles		
Cranston	Mitchell	Durenberger	Specter		Roth		
DeConcini	Moynihan	Evans	Stafford		Symms		
Dixon	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens		Wallop		
Dodd	Pell	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Pryor	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Reid	Karnes	Warner				
Fowler	Riegle	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Kasten	Wilson				
Gore	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Hollings	Shelby						
Inouye	Simon						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)
Democrats—46 or 57.5%
Republicans—34 or 42.5%

Against (16)
Democrats—4 or 25%
Republicans—12 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Department of Labor—\$6,515,261,000: Contains \$3.8 billion for the Employment and Training Administration; \$350.0 million for Community Service Employment for Older Americans; \$2.5 billion to maintain current State Employment Security services for unemployment insurance operations; \$692.2 million for advances to the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund; \$1.2 billion for the Employment Standards Administration of which \$692.2 million is for the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund; \$246.9 million for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA); \$164.6 million for the Mine Safety and Health Administration; and \$190.4 million for the Bureau of Labor Statistics plus \$46.3 million in trust funds which will provide for a total program level of \$236.7 million.

Department of HHS—\$111,107,123,000: Contains \$1.2 billion for research, prevention, information, and education activities for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) programs; \$1.7 billion for the Health Resources and Services Administration of which \$561.0 million is for the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant; \$979.4 million for Centers for Disease Control; \$7.2 billion for NIH; \$1.6 billion for the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration; \$1.6 billion for Medicare contractor costs; \$8.2 billion for child support enforcement and AFDC entitlement payments which, when combined with \$2.5 billion in advance payments, provides a level of \$10.7 billion; \$1.2 billion for low-income home energy assistance; \$385.9 million for Community Services Block Grants; \$2.7 billion for Social Services Block Grants; \$2.6 billion for Human Development Services; and \$1.1 billion for family social services; maintains the Work Incentive Program at the FY 1988 level of \$92.6 million pending enactment of welfare reform legislation; expresses the sense of the Senate that priority be given to funding the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program in an amount not less than the level provided in FY 1988.

Provides \$9.5 billion for the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program which when combined with the \$3 billion appropriated in advance payments in FY 1988 provides a total program level of \$12.5 billion for SSI; \$31.2 billion for payments to the health care trust funds (Medicare); \$34.2 billion for grants to States for Medicaid, including \$8 billion appropriated in advance payments in FY 1988 and \$9 billion in advance appropriations for FY 1990; \$93.6 million for payments to the Social Security Trust Funds; and \$628.6 million for special benefits for disabled coal miners which is in addition to \$250 million in advance payments in FY 1988.

Department of Education—\$21,756,345,000: Contains \$4.6 billion for Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged of which \$4.26 billion is for Chapter 1 grants to local educational agencies; \$739.0 million for impact aid; \$1.1 billion for school improvement of which \$476.0 million is for chapter 2 programs; \$197.0 million for bilingual education; \$2.0 billion for handicapped education programs; \$1.7 billion for rehabilitation services and handicapped research; \$1.1 billion for vocational and adult education; \$5.8 billion for student financial assistance of which \$4.6 billion is for Pell grants; \$3.2 billion for Guaranteed Student Loans; \$543.5 million for higher education programs; and \$135.1 million for library programs.

Eliminates authority for financial aid administrators to alter a student's Pell grant award by changing the expected family contribution or the costs of education amounts; earmarks \$5.6 million in higher education funds to implement the national student loan data system contingent upon the removal of the statutory prohibition against the mandatory use of the data system to verify or obtain information before lenders or schools can make, guarantee, or certify a student loan, and of other provisions that prevent the system from being cost effective.

Related Agencies—\$1,050,512,000: Contains \$171.9 million for ACTION which includes \$26.2 million for VISTA and \$116.3 million for Older Americans Volunteer Programs; \$302.5 million in advance FY 1991 appropriations for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; \$138.6 million for the National Labor Relations Board; and \$355.0 million for the Railroad Retirement Board's beneficiary payments.

General Provisions: Establishes until October 1, 1989, the moratorium on asset reversions to employers from termination of an overfunded defined benefit pension plan covered by the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, but allows termination of sufficiently funded pension plans during this period if the excess assets are held in escrow during the moratorium; expresses the sense of the Senate that the 60 percent penalty provision and the change to payment rules for 10 percent penalty provision should be effective for notices of intent to terminate provided to participants on or after the Senate adopts this amendment.

Expresses the sense of the Senate that amounts appropriated under this Act shall be \$39.8 billion, the amount specified in the 1989 Senate budget resolution; prohibits the use of funds for projects entailing the capture or procurement of chimpanzees from the wild; requires grantees of Federal funds to state clearly in any statements, proposals, solicitations, or other documents the percentage of the program or project paid for with Federal money and the dollar amount of the Federal funds involved; reduces certain funds for consultant services; prohibits the materials, curricula, or programs funded by this Act from promoting or encouraging homosexuality, or using words stating that homosexuality is "normal," "natural," or "healthy;" prohibits AIDS education program or curricula dealing with sexual activity funded under this Act from being designed to promote or encourage, directly, intravenous drug abuse or homosexual or heterosexual sexual activity, and requires that AIDS education programs and curricula be designed to reduce exposure to, and the transmission of, the AIDS virus by providing accurate information and information on the health risks of promiscuous sexual activity and intravenous drug abuse.

Prohibits the use of funds (1) to require any person or entity to perform, or facilitate in any way, the performance of any abortion; (2) to waive the minimal risk standard for research on live human fetuses; (3) to perform an abortion for the purpose of fetal transplantation to any animal or person; (4) to induce abortion; or (5) on the premises of any elementary or secondary school, to provide abortions, transportation to aid in obtaining an abortion, counseling to encourage a child to obtain an abortion, or referrals for obtaining an abortion; makes a victim of rape or incest eligible for a Federally-funded abortion only if the incident is reported promptly to a law enforcement agency; permits payments for drugs to prevent the implantation of a fertilized ovum and for the termination of an ectopic pregnancy; and gives any State the right to refuse to fund any abortion except where the mother's life would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 271

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 28, 1988, 11:15 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10173

ENDANGERED SPECIES

BILL NO.: H.R. 1467 (S. 675)

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which authorizes funds in FY 1988-92, for the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, and Interior to carry out the Endangered Species Act of 1973, and amends the Act to improve the recovery and protection of species listed under the Act, species that are candidates for listing, and species that have recently recovered and been removed from the Act's lists.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 15, 1988. H.R. 1467 became Public Law 100-478, approved October 7, 1988.

H.R. 1467 (S. 675): Vote No. 253, 271.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (93)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 96%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten		Garn	Adams—2	
Bingaman	Kerry	Bond	Lugar		Symms	Bentsen—2	
Boren	Leahy	Boschwitz	McCain			Biden—3	
Bradley	Levin	Chafee	McClure			Chiles—2	
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cochran	McConnell			Lautenberg—2AY	
Bumpers	Melcher	Cohen	Murkowski				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Nickles				
Byrd	Mikulski	Danforth	Packwood				
Conrad	Mitchell	Dole	Pressler				
Cranston	Moynihan	Domenici	Quayle				
Daschle	Nunn	Durenberger	Roth				
DeConcini	Pell	Evans	Rudman				
Dixon	Proxmire	Gramm	Simpson				
Dodd	Pryor	Grassley	Specter				
Exon	Reid	Hatch	Stafford				
Ford	Riegle	Hatfield	Stevens				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Glenn	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Gore	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Graham	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Harkin	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker				
Heflin	Simon	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats—49 or 53%
Republicans—44 or 47%

Against (2)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—2 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Authorizes funds to carry out the Endangered Species Act as follows: \$35 million in FY 1988, \$36.5 million in 1989, \$38 million in 1990, \$39.5 million in 1991, and \$41.5 million in 1992 for the Department of Interior; \$5.7 million in FY 1988, \$6.2 million in each 1989-90, and \$6.7 million in each 1991-92 for the Department of Commerce; and \$2.2 million in FY 1988, \$2.4 million in each 1989-90, and \$2.6 million in each 1991-92 for the Department of Agriculture.

Authorizes \$600,000 in each FY 1988-92 for the Secretary and the Endangered Species Committee to carry out the exemption process under Section 7 and \$400,000 in each FY 1988-90 and \$500,000 in each 1991-92, to remain available until expended, for the Interior Department to carry out section 8A(e)—implementation of the Western Hemisphere Convention.

Gives the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service enforcement authority, concurrent with that of the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, over the importation and exportation of plants protected by the Act or the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species.

Requires the Secretary to implement a system to monitor the status of candidate species and to use the existing emergency listing authority whenever deemed appropriate to prevent a significant risk to the wellbeing of any monitored species.

Requires the development and implementation of recovery plans without regard to a species taxonomic classification (e.g., reptile, mammal, plant); gives priority to endangered or threatened species that are most likely to benefit from recovery plans, particularly those species that are, or may be, in conflict with construction or development projects or other forms of economic activity; requires each recovery plan to include descriptions of site-specific management actions to achieve recovery, criteria by which to judge the plan's success, and time frames and cost estimates for carrying out the plan; requires the Secretary to report to the appropriate Congressional committees on the status of efforts to develop and implement recovery plans; and requires public review and comment prior to approval or implementation of a new or revised recovery plan.

Requires the Secretary, in cooperation with the States, to monitor, for five years subsequent to their delisting, the status of recovered species and to use the emergency listing authority whenever necessary.

Establishes a cooperative endangered species conservation fund to provide Federal matching grants annually, subject to annual appropriations, from the general revenues to the States for endangered species conservation projects; directs that the amount of general revenues deposited annually in the fund be equal to five percent of the total Federal aid accounts for State programs to restore wildlife and sport fish; establishes criteria for allocating grants to the States.

Requires the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to report annually to Congress, beginning in 1990, on Federal and State expenditures for programs associated with listing and protecting endangered species, listed on a species by species basis.

Makes it unlawful to maliciously damage or destroy a plant on Federal lands or to remove, cut, dig up, damage, or destroy any endangered plant species in violation of a State law or in the course of violating a State criminal trespass law; increases the maximum amounts of civil penalties for knowing violations and criminal fines by 150 percent; directs that these penalties, fines, and net proceeds from the sale of seized items be used for payment of rewards, to offset the cost of caring for seized specimens, and for deposit in the cooperative endangered species conservation fund; directs that all amounts over \$300,000 be deposited in the cooperative endangered species conservation fund.

Clarifies that the Act's definition of "persons" includes corporations, associations, and Federal, State, municipal divisions, and any other entity subject to U.S. jurisdiction.

Extends certificates of exemption for existing licenses to produce scrimshaw for six months from the date of enactment and allows reapplication for one additional renewal period not to exceed five years from enactment.

Postpones the implementation of Department of Commerce regulations which require shrimp fishermen to use turtle excluder devices until May 1, 1989, for offshore waters (except for the Canaveral area of Florida which are already in effect), and until May 1, 1990, for inshore waters; requires the Secretary of Commerce to contract with the National Academy of Sciences to conduct an independent review of scientific information pertaining to sea turtle conservation and determine whether the Department of Commerce regulations are more or less stringent than necessary; authorizes the Secretary, for good cause, to modify the regulations requiring the use of turtle excluder devices; and requires the Secretary to conduct an education program to instruct shrimp fishermen in the use of the turtle excluder or any other device deemed necessary.

Requires the EPA, in cooperation with the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, to conduct a program to inform and educate agricultural producers of any proposed pesticide labeling program or requirements that the EPA Administrator may impose in compliance with the Endangered Species Act; requires EPA to provide adequate notice of, and opportunity for comment on, any proposed program to restrict pesticide use; and directs EPA to conduct a study, in cooperation with the Departments of Interior and Agriculture, to identify alternatives which would protect species from pesticides and minimize any adverse effect on agriculture.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 272

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 28, 1988, 5:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10232

DROUGHT ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: S. 2631 (H.R. 5015)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2745

TITLE: "Drought Assistance Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Karnes modified amendment stating the sense of the Senate that Congress should act on legislation prior to adjournment of the 100th Congress which (1) exempts diesel fuel that is to be used for farming and fishing purposes from the Federal excise tax rather than refunding such taxes after payment, and (2) repeals the application of the accounting capitalization rules under section 263A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to farm animals (the "heifer tax").

NOTE: A similar provision was already included in the bill calling for the repeal of the diesel fuel tax which is critically important to farmers and ranchers—many of whom use diesel fuel to pump water to their fields.

S. 2631 (H.R. 5015): Vote Nos. 272, 273, 297.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (94)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Baucus	Kennedy	Armstrong	Iugar			Adams ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Bond	McCain			Bentsen ⁻²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McClure			Biden ⁻¹	
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Chiles ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski			Reid ⁻²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Conrad	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Cranston	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Daschle	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
DeConcini	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Dixon	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Dodd	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Eaton	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Ford	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Glenn	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Gore	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Graham	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Harkin	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker				
Heflin	Simon	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Hollings	Stennis	Kasten					
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

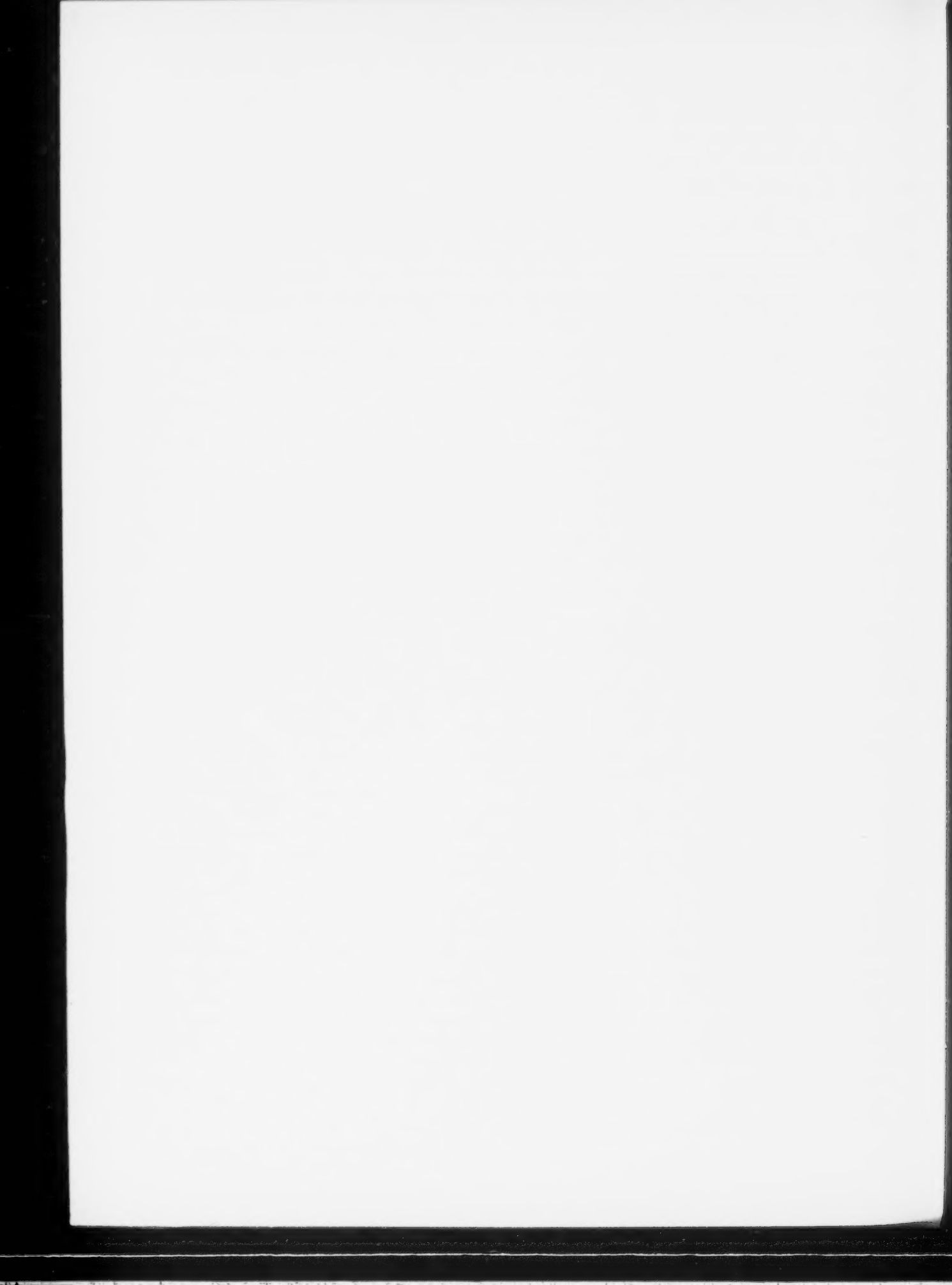
Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats—49 or 52%
Republicans—45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 273

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 28, 1988, 5:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10250

DROUGHT ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: S. 2631 (H.R. 5015)

TITLE: "Drought Assistance Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill providing emergency drought assistance to livestock producers and commodities farmers affected by the 1988 drought. (See Vote No. 297 on the conference report.)

S. 2631 (H.R. 5015): Vote Nos. 272, 273, 297.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (94)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (1)
Baucus	Kennedy	Armstrong	Lugar			Adams ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Bond	McCain			Benisen ⁻²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McClure			Biden ⁻³	
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Chiles ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski			Reid ⁻²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Conrad	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Cranston	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Daschle	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
DeConcini	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Dixon	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Dodd	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Exon	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Ford	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Glenn	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Gore	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Graham	Sasser	Humphrey	Warner				
Harkin	Shelby	Karnes	Weicker				
Heflin	Simon	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Hollings	Stennis	Kasten					
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats—49 or 52%
Republicans—45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Consolidates and revises current laws providing emergency livestock feed assistance to livestock producers adversely affected by natural disasters; provides assistance to livestock producers who grow feed for their livestock and have suffered a substantial loss in feed production due to a natural disaster and to operations where foundation livestock herds are threatened because of the unavailability of feed at reasonable costs; prohibits the consideration of any feed purchased by a livestock producer within 60 days of the date that the area is declared eligible for drought assistance, in determining the producer's eligibility for assistance; and gives the Secretary of Agriculture the discretionary authority to assist other livestock production operations if necessary to alleviate the disaster crisis.

Authorizes the Secretary to provide various forms of assistance to livestock producers suffering from a natural disaster including making feed available to them at reasonable costs and providing transportation assistance for feed, hay, or livestock; authorizes emergency water assistance and the donation of commodities for eligible livestock producers; requires the USDA, within 21 days of enactment, to evaluate, on a State-by-State basis, the need for feed assistance by eligible livestock producers and the availability of CCC feed grains for the assistance programs.

Rescinds the Secretary's authority to reduce the milk price support level by 50 cents per hundredweight on January 1, 1989.

Provides disaster payments for commodities producers who have suffered over a 35 percent loss in production as a result of the 1988 drought; establishes disaster payment rates at 65 percent of the established crop price for a production deficiency between 35 and 75 percent, and 85 percent for any deficiency greater than 75 percent; gives the Secretary the discretionary authority to make disaster payments to producers of certain crops who suffer losses between 35 and 75 percent of the farm program payment yield because of a reduction in crop quality due to the drought, and limits the payment rate to a maximum of 10 percent of the established price for the 1988 crop; provides disaster assistance for the 1988 crops of sugarcane and sugarbeets, if producers are unable to process the commodity due to the inability of local processing plants to operate as a result of the drought or related conditions.

Limits benefits payable to any one person to \$50,000 for livestock feed assistance and \$100,000 for disaster payments; requires the Secretary to ensure that producers will not receive benefits provided under this Act which, when added to their income from crop marketings and other Farm Program payments, would result in a net farming income in excess of 100 percent of their expected returns for 1988 under normal conditions.

Provides \$5 million, by transfer from the FEMA Disaster Relief Program, to assist low-income agricultural workers affected by the drought through the Job Training Partnership Act programs.

Requires the Secretary to make full disaster payments as provided for in the Act.

Defers until July 31, 1989, any repayment of advance deficiency payments which the Secretary may require for any portion of the 1988 crops for wheat, feed grains, upland cotton, extra long staple cotton, and rice because disaster payments under this Act were also received.

Provides for the discounted sale of up to 16 million bushels of government-owned corn, or other feed grain at the request of the ethanol producer, to ethanol plants suffering economic distress because of the drought, and sunsets the program on September 1, 1989.

Permits the Secretary to take certain steps to help correct supply and demand imbalances with respect to soybeans, oats, wheat, and feed grains including authorizing the planting of soybeans on base acreage without the loss of base history; authorizes producers, under certain conditions, to switch an acreage base designation from wheat, feed grains, cotton, or rice, to oats in 1989 and 1990; increases the availability during the 1988 marketing year of grains held in the farmer-owned reserve upon release of the reserve.

Permits generic certificates redeemable for CCC-owned commodities to be used to repay loans made through the producer-owned reserve, if the substitute and redemption take place within the same county or normal trading area.

Directs that current loan programs be made readily available to farmers and rural enterprises adversely affected by the drought; gives the Secretary the discretionary authority to waive for farmers affected by the 1988 drought the requirement that crop insurance be carried in order to be eligible for low-interest FHA emergency loans; states the sense of Congress that the Secretary should exercise forbearance on loans made to farming operations that are suffering severe economic losses because of the 1988 drought, expedite the use of credit restructuring and other credit relief mechanisms available for farmers and ranchers, and encourage commercial lenders participating in guaranteed farmer lending programs to exercise forbearance before declaring such loans in default.

Requires the USDA Extension Service to use available resources to provide drought-related information, on a daily basis if possible, to drought disaster areas; makes emergency water assistance under the USDA Emergency Conservation Program available to eligible farmers for crops; authorizes various conservation enhancement, wildlife management, and water management programs designed to help repair environmental damage from the drought and to help rural areas cope better with any future water deficiencies; and requires the Secretary to prepare a drought relief contingency plan outlining actions that might be taken to help persons suffering from future droughts.

Requires the Secretary to report to Congress (1) on the financial impact on producers and grain marketers of forward contracting, hedging, and associated margin requirements for wheat, feed grains, and soybeans during the recent drought-related period of price volatility; and (2) a study of food and commodity prices as of December 31, 1988, to determine the effects of the drought on recipients of Federal nutrition and hunger benefits.

States the sense of the Congress that: no agricultural export embargos should be imposed; certain tax legislation affecting farmers should be repealed; budgetary savings accruing from the drought and other economic circumstances should, to the maximum extent possible, be dedicated to relief for farmers and agricultural workers and to promote rural economic development; and Congress should act expeditiously on comprehensive rural economic legislation addressing the needs of rural businesses and governments.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 274

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 29, 1988, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10362

NOMINATION OF TIMOTHY L. TOWELL TO BE AMBASSADOR TO PARAGUAY

POSITION: Ambassador to Paraguay

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of Timothy Lathrop Towell, of Ohio, to be the Ambassador to Paraguay.

Vote No. 274.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (88)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (45 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Adams ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
Bingaman	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Bentsen ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McClure			Biden ⁻³	Packwood ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Chiles ⁻²	
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski			Gore ⁻²	
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles			Kerry ⁻²	
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler			Levin ⁻²	
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Quayle			Reid ⁻²	
Conrad	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth			Riegle ⁻²	
Cranston	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman				
Daschle	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pell	Garn	Specter				
Dixon	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford				
Dodd	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Eaton	Rockefeller	Hatch	Symms				
Ford	Sanford	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Hecht	Trible				
Glenn	Sasser	Heinz	Wallop				
Graham	Shelby	Helms	Warner				
Harkin	Simon	Humphrey	Weicker				
Heflin	Stennis	Karnes	Wilson				
Hollings	Wirth	Kassebaum					
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 45 or 51%
Republicans— 43 or 49%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 275

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 29, 1988, 11:23 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10370

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4784
TITLE: "Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"
SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
H.R. 4784: Vote Nos. 275-278, 345.
RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (68)		NAYS (20)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (44 or 100%)	Republicans (24 or 55%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (20 or 45%)	Democrats (10)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Armstrong	Adams ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
Bingaman	Kennedy	Cochran	Bond	Bentsen ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	D'Amato	Biden ⁻¹	
Breaux	Leahy	Danforth	Evans	Bradley ⁻²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Garn	Gore ⁻²	
Burdick	Melcher	Domenici	Gramm	Inouye ⁻²	
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Hatch	Kerry ⁻²	
Chiles	Mikulski	Grassley	Hecht	Levin ⁻²	
Conrad	Mitchell	Hatfield	Helms	Reid ⁻²	
Cranston	Moynihan	Heinz	Humphrey	Riegle ⁻²	
Daschle	Nunn	Karnes	Kasten		
DeConcini	Pell	Kassebaum	McConnell		
Dixon	Proxmire	Lugar	Murkowski		
Dodd	Pryor	McClure	Nickles		
Eaton	Rockefeller	Packwood	Quayle		
Ford	Sanford	Pressler	Specter		
Fowler	Sarbanes	Roth	Symms		
Glenn	Sasser	Rudman	Wallop		
Graham	Shelby	Simpson	Weicker		
Harkin	Simon	Stafford	Wilson		
Leahy	Stennis	Stevens			
Hollings	Wirth	Thurmond			
		Trible			
		Warner			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats— 44 or 65%
Republicans— 24 or 35%

Against (20)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 20 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

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SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 276

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 29, 1988, 12:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10383

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (WIC)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4784

AMENDMENT NO.: 2759

TITLE: "Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: DeConcini, et al., amendment which increases, by \$30.8 million, funding for the special supplemental food program for women, infants, and children (WIC), offset by reducing each individual appropriation item in the bill by 0.7 percent except for mandatory programs and amounts made available for the P.L. 480 programs, FHA, REA, the conservation preserve program, the commodity supplemental food program, and the WIC food program.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that providing for the nutritional needs of pregnant women and children is the most certain method of protecting their well-being, while cutting costs in other government programs. By reducing infant mortality and low birthweight infants, WIC has preserved human potential that would otherwise be lost. Every dollar spent on WIC results in a savings of \$3 in Medicaid hospitalization costs. The amendment, which is financed by a 0.7 percent across-the-board cut in discretionary spending in this bill, would permit the program to reach almost half of those eligible. Without this increase, the Senate runs the risk of denying food to people already in the program and breaching its commitment to maintaining a social safety net for the poor and disadvantaged. While other programs in the bill are important, none has higher priority than ensuring the health of the next generation.

Opponents countered that every program in the agriculture appropriations bill already is being cut an additional two percent across-the-board in order to meet the Committee's budget allocation and comply with the deficit targets. It is unfair, therefore, to exempt WIC from the two percent cut and increase its appropriation 0.7 percent, at the expense of other worthy and equally important programs, including the elderly feeding program, the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, the Cooperative State Research Service, the Food Safety and Inspection Service, rural water and waste disposal grants, and watershed and flood prevention operations. WIC has not been shortchanged, they insisted, noting that its appropriation has increased significantly over the years and that participation has grown 79 percent since 1980.

H.R. 4784: Vote Nos. 275-278, 345.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (87)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (46 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 91%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (8)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten		Cochran	Bentsen ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar		Helms	Biden ⁻³	
Bingaman	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McConnell		McClure	Bradley ⁻²	
Borah	Lautenberg	Chafee	Murkowski		Symms	Gore ^{-2AY}	
Breaux	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles			Kerry ⁻²	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood			Levin ^{-2AY}	
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler			Reid ⁻²	
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle			Riegle ^{-2AY}	
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Thurmond				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hatfield	Trible				
Ford	Sanford	Hecht	Wallop				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Heinz	Warner				
Gleit	Sasser	Humphrey	Weicker				
Graham	Shelby	Karnes	Wilson				
Harkin	Simon	Kassebaum					
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats—46 or 53%
Republicans—41 or 47%

Against (4)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—4 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 277

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 29, 1988, 1:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10389

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (FARM CREDIT)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4784

AMENDMENT NO.: 2761

TITLE: "Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Leahy motion to table the Bumpers, et al., amendment which bases the trust fund assessments of Farm Credit System (FCS) member institutions on a percentage of bonds actually issued by the Financial Assistance Corporation rather than on the Corporation's total unused bond-issuing authority, thereby permitting Production Credit Associations to pay their *pro rata* share to the Corporation in installments to be increased as the bonds are issued. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the assessment provision in the Agricultural Credit Act of 1987 has not operated in an equitable manner. The Act required a one-time assessment of approximately 13 percent of the reserves of healthy Production Credit Associations (PCA's) to establish a Financial Assistance Trust Fund. However, the formula under which that assessment was calculated has forced some PCA's to pay as much as 70 percent, drastically increasing their operating costs and lowering their competitiveness. The amendment would correct this inequity by leaving the original formula intact, but permitting associations to contribute to the trust as assistance is needed. While not disturbing the commitment PCA's made to help rebuild the FCS, it would allow them to retain the use of their money until needed. Such a change in the law is justified because the Financial Assistance Corporation, which administers the trust, has issued only \$450 million in bonds—far below the \$4 billion that may be borrowed from the trust.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the mandatory one-time assessment is an integral part of the farm credit assistance restructuring. It serves not only as collateral against bonds issued by the trust but also as initial protection to taxpayers from defaults on the bonds and as a measure of the PCA's commitment to helping rebuild the FCS. The amendment would require returning the assessments that have been collected and setting up a system to collect payments as bonds are issued. Such a change in the law would renege on the commitment PCA's made to help rebuild the FCS, and weaken confidence

(OVER)

H.R. 4784: Vote Nos. 275-278, 345.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (43)			NAYS (45)			NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (8 or 18%)	Republicans (35 or 81%)		Democrats (37 or 82%)	Republicans (8 or 19%)		Democrats (9)	Republicans (3)
Breaux	Armstrong	Humphrey	Adams	Heflin	Hatfield	Bentsen ⁻²	McCain ⁻²
Cranston	Bond	Karnes	Baucus	Hollings	Helms	Biden ⁻³	Weicker ⁻²
Kennedy	Boschwitz	Kasten	Bingaman	Inouye	Kassebaum	Bradley ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Leahy	Chafee	Lugar	Boren	Johnston	McConnell	Gore ^{-2AN}	
Moynihan	Cochran	McClure	Bumpers	Lautenberg	Nickles	Kerry ⁻²	
Nunn	Cohen	Murkowski	Burdick	Matsunaga	Roth	Levin ⁻²	
Proxmire	D'Amato	Packwood	Byrd	Melcher	Thurmond	Reid ⁻²	
Stennis	Danforth	Pressler	Chiles	Metzenbaum	Warner	Riegle ⁻²	
	Dole	Quayle	Conrad	Mikulski		Simon ⁻²	
	Domenici	Rudman	Daschle	Mitchell			
	Durenberger	Simpson	DeConcini	Pell			
	Evans	Specter	Dixon	Pryor			
	Garn	Stafford	Dodd	Rockefeller			
	Gramm	Stevens	Exon	Sanford			
	Grassley	Symms	Ford	Sarbanes			
	Hatch	Trible	Fowler	Sasser			
	Hecht	Wallop	Glenn	Shelby			
	Heinz		Graham	Wirth			
			Harkin				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—82%
Republicans—81%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (43)
Democrats—8 or 19%
Republicans—35 or 81%

Against (45)
Democrats—37 or 82%
Republicans—8 or 18%

in the system. The law requires these institutions to contribute only about 13 percent of their reserves to the trust. Those associations that are paying more have a legitimate complaint with respect to the formula; however, the district banks can remedy that, they claimed. If they do not, the Senate should hold hearings and investigate why these banks are putting their own interests before efforts to rebuild the FCS. Any technical corrections that might be required for the Agricultural Credit Act of 1987 should not be addressed on an appropriations bill.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 278

100th Congress
2nd Session

July 29, 1988, 3:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10408

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4784

TITLE: "Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$43,605,071,000 for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies in FY 1989, plus \$4,101,183,000, by transfer from section 32 (customs receipts), making a total of \$47,706,254,000 available in obligational authority. (See Vote No. 345 on the conference report.)

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations	\$52,355,702,000
1989 Budget Estimate	42,539,915,000
Approved by House	40,038,072,000
Approved by Senate	43,605,071,000
Enacted	42,512,839,000

H.R. 4784: Vote Nos. 275-278, 345.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (74)				NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (18)	
Democrats (40 or 95%)		Republicans (34 or 85%)		Democrats (2 or 5%)	Republicans (6 or 15%)	Democrats (12)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Hollings	Bond	Kasten	Pell	Garn	Baucus-2	Armstrong-2
Bingaman	Inouye	Boschwitz	Lugar	Proxmire	Helms	Bentsen-2	Chafee-2
Boren	Johnston	Cochran	McClure		Humphrey	Biden-3	Durenberger-2
Breaux	Lautenberg	Cohen	McConnell		Roth	Bradley-2	McCain-2
Bumpers	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski		Rudman	Dodd-2	Weicker-2AY
Burdick	Matsunaga	Danforth	Nickles		Symms	Gore-2	Wilson-2AY
Byrd	Melcher	Dole	Packwood			Kennedy-2	
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Pressler			Kerry-2	
Conrad	Mikulski	Evans	Quayle			Levin-2	
Cranston	Mitchell	Gramm	Simpson			Reid-2	
Daschle	Moynihan	Grassley	Specter			Riegle-2	
DeConcini	Nunn	Hatch	Stafford			Simon-2	
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Stevens				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wallop				
Glenn	Sasser	Kassebaum	Warner				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—95%
Republicans—85%

For (74)
Democrats—40 or 54%
Republicans—34 or 46%

Against (8)
Democrats—2 or 25%
Republicans—6 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of \$47,706,254,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies in FY 1989, plus \$4,101,183,000, by transfer from section 32 (customs receipts), making a total of \$47,706,254,000 available in obligational authority.

Agricultural Programs: Contains \$610.8 million for the Agricultural Research Service (ARS); \$359.0 million for the Agricultural Extension Service; \$331.0 million for the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service; \$36.9 million for Agricultural Marketing Services; \$580 million, by transfer from the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC), for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; and \$315.6 million for the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation; provides a current indefinite appropriation of \$9.8 billion for reimbursement of CCC net realized losses; earmarks \$15 million of ARS funds for the new non-food uses program authorized in the Food Security Act of 1985; prohibits the earmarking of competitive research grant funds within the Cooperative State Research Service.

Rural Development Programs: Contains \$1.7 billion in insured loans under FmHA's Rural Housing Insurance Fund; \$5.2 billion for programs under FmHA's Agricultural Credit Insurance Fund (which includes \$569.0 million for farm ownership loans—\$75 million insured, \$494 million guaranteed); \$4.0 billion for farm operating loans (\$900 million insured, \$3.1 billion guaranteed); \$600.0 million for emergency disaster loans; \$9 million for soil and water loans (\$6 million insured; \$3 million guaranteed); \$1.6 billion in new budget authority and a loan limitation of \$521.8 million for FmHA's Rural Development Insurance Fund (\$330.4 million for water and waste disposal loans and \$95.7 million for each industrial development loan guarantees and community facility loans); \$109.4 million for water and waste disposal grants; \$645.5 million for the Soil Conservation Service (SCS); \$2.1 billion for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS); and \$403.0 million for the Rural Electrification Administration; prohibits SCS from consolidating its four national technical centers.

Domestic Food Programs: Contains \$4.6 billion for the child nutrition programs (\$497.5 million in new BA plus \$4.1 billion from section 32 transfers); \$19.9 million for the special milk program; \$1.9 billion for the special supplemental food program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC); \$50 million for the Commodity Supplemental Food (CSF) Program; \$13.6 billion for the Food Stamp Program which includes \$908.3 million for Puerto Rico and a \$10 million earmark for equipment necessary to improve accountability in the coupon redemption process; \$239.1 million for cash and commodities for selected groups including the Needy Family and Elderly Feeding Programs; \$47.3 million for the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) and \$145.0 million for TEFAP commodity purchases; and \$92.0 million for food program administration; provides \$2 million from surplus TEFAP administrative funds, if any, to fund the WIC farmers' market coupon demonstration program; directs the Food and Nutrition Service to provide the States with techniques to help them identify, catch, and punish vendors who abuse the WIC program; specifies that adult day care centers are eligible for participation in the child care food program and directs USDA to issue regulations to assure maximum participation.

International Programs: Contains \$100.9 million for the Foreign Agricultural Service; \$851.9 million for P.L. 480 Titles I and III, Credit Sales; and \$630.0 million for P.L. 480 Title II, Commodities for Distribution Abroad; limits transfer authority between Title II and Titles I and III to ten percent.

Related Agencies: Contains \$533.9 million for the Food and Drug Administration (FDA); \$40.4 million for AIDS research and \$26.5 million for construction of new laboratory facilities at the National Institutes of Health campus to accommodate expansion of FDA's AIDS-related work; and \$35.5 million for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission; makes \$5.5 million of the funds available to the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health available to the FDA for increased inspection of the Nation's blood banks; imposes class II regulations on certain contact lenses unless FDA determines that they meet the class III definition; provides for the appointment of peer review groups by the FDA Commissioner; provides funds in FY 1989 for devices and radiological programs for small businesses to obtain training and technical assistance in the FDA approval process; permits FDA to make grants to public and nonprofit institutions to train health professionals and scientists in the field of regulatory review medicine; and provides for a demonstration project in biotechnology.

General Provisions: Provides prepayment authority for REA guaranteed loans made by the Federal Financing Bank in the amount of \$150 million for telephone program borrowers and \$350 million for electric program borrowers; permits Rural Telephone Bank (RTB) borrowers with unadvanced funds under RTB loans made prior to October 1, 1987, to rescind and reapply to the Bank during FY 1989, without prejudice, for a new loan under the new cost of money interest rate formula; makes not less than \$10 million, nor more than \$20 million, of section 32 funds available in FY 1989-90 to purchase sunflower oil for export through the Sunflower Oil Assistance Program; requires that agencies funded under this bill absorb any pay raise in FY 1989; requires the Director of OMB and agency heads to comply with the statement of managers accompanying the conference report in implementing programs and activities funded under this Act; reduces certain funds for consulting services with the resulting savings used to offset the Federal pay raise for employees covered by this bill; requires that statements and other documents describing projects or programs funded in whole or part with Federal money state the percentage of the total cost of the program or project financed with Federal money and the dollar amount of the funds; prohibits use of funds to implement the sugar quota increase announced on July 22, 1988, unless it would not result in forfeiture of domestically produced sugar to the CCC; and bases the trust fund assessments of Farm Credit System member institutions on a percentage of bonds actually issued by the Financial Assistance Corporation rather than on the Corporation's total unused bond-issuing authority.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 279

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 1, 1988. 4:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10471

FAIR HOUSING (TRANVESTITES)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1158

AMENDMENT NO.: 2779

TITLE: "Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Helms amendment (to the Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment No. 2777) which clarifies that, for the purposes of this Act and chapter 16, title 29, U.S.C., the terms "individual with handicaps" and "handicap" do not apply to an individual solely because he/she is a transvestite.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment was needed because of a 1968 District Court decision stating that while homosexuals are not handicapped, "transvestites are because many experience strong social rejection in the work place as a result of their mental ailment made blatantly apparent by their cross-dressing life style." Even though this case was lost by the plaintiff on a technicality, some Federal court may revisit the issue. Congress, therefore, should make it clear that it does not intend for transvestites to receive the benefits and protections provided for handicapped persons.

Opponents called the amendment a direct attack on the heart and soul of antidiscrimination laws, which protect individuals against discrimination based on stereotypes and arising out of ignorance and fear. The American Psychiatric Association considers the condition a mental disorder, and this group of people, who are already discriminated against, should not be singled out for exclusion of coverage under the Fair Housing Act.

H.R. 1158: Vote Nos. 279-283.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (89)

NAYS (2)

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (46 or 98%)

Republicans (43 or 98%)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Democrats (7)

Republicans (2)

Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Pressler
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Quayle
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Roth
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman
Daschle	Moynihan	Gramm	Simpson
DeConcini	Nunn	Grassley	Specter
Dixon	Pell	Hatch	Stafford
Exon	Proxmire	Hatfield	Stevens
Ford	Pryor	Hecht	Symms
Fowler	Riegle	Heinz	Thurmond
Glenn	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible
Gore	Sanford	Humphrey	Wallop
Graham	Sarbanes	Karnes	Warner
Harkin	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wilson
Hollings	Stennis	Kasten	
Inouye	Wirth		

Cranston Weicker

Biden⁻¹
Breaux⁻²
Dodd⁻²
Heflin⁻²
Reid⁻²
Sasser^{-2AY}
Simon⁻²

D'Amato⁻²
Garn⁻²

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

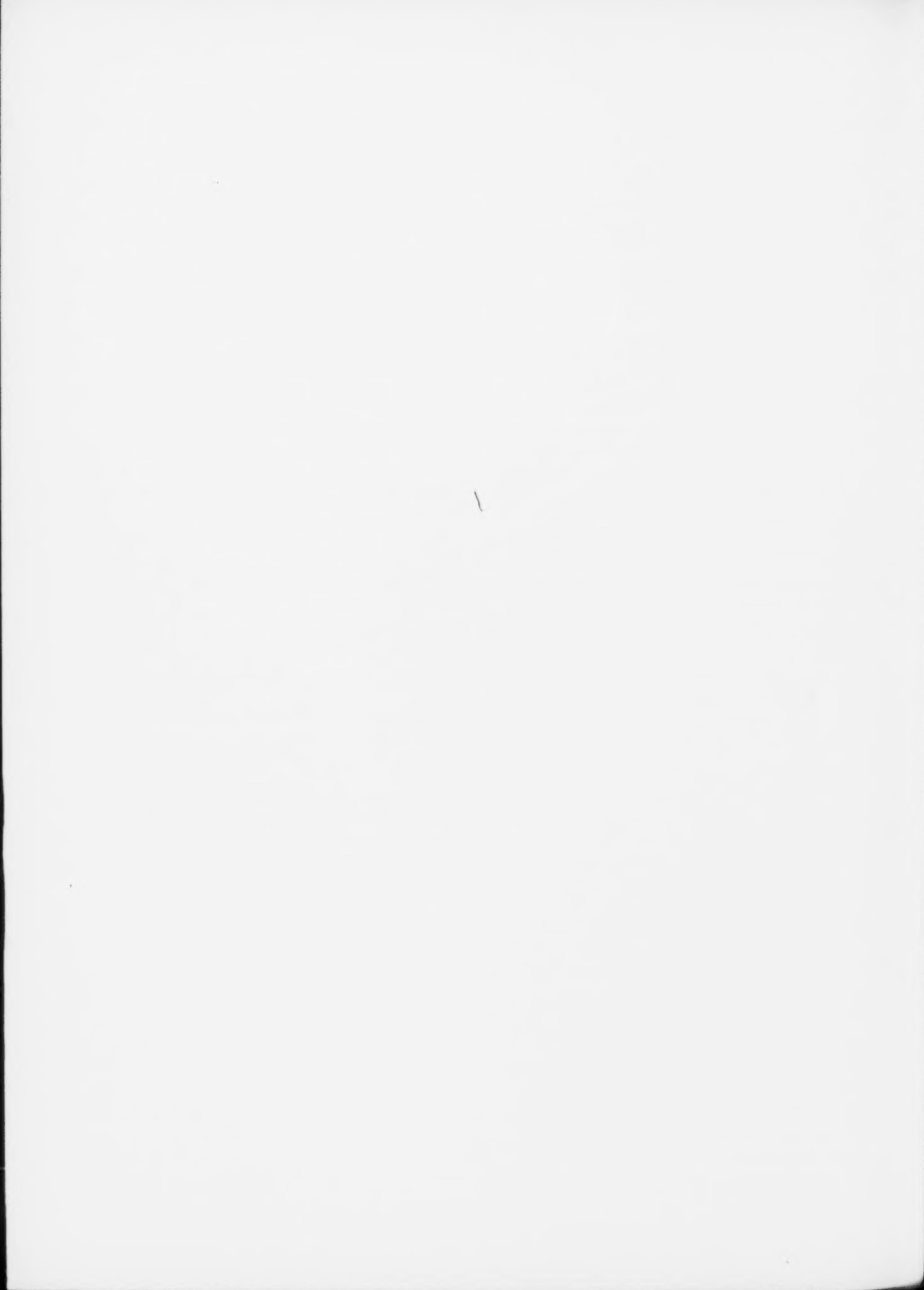
Party Cohesion

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Democrats—98%
Republicans—98%

For (89)
Democrats—46 or 52%
Republicans—43 or 48%

Against (2)
Democrats—1 or 50%
Republicans—1 or 50%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 280

August 1, 1988, 5:39 p.m.

Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10490

FAIR HOUSING (COURT-STRIPPING/SCHOOL PRAYER)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1158

AMENDMENT NO.: 2780

TITLE: "Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hatch-Kennedy-Specter motion to table the Helms amendment (to the Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment No. 2777) which prohibits the Supreme Court from reviewing any case arising from the interpretation or application of any State statute, ordinance, rule, regulation, or practice, which relates to voluntary prayer, Bible reading, or religious meetings in public schools or public buildings; and prohibits Federal district courts from having jurisdiction over any case or question over which the Supreme Court does not have jurisdiction.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that it would restore to American school children the right to voluntary prayer by restoring the freedom to the States which the Supreme Court wrongfully took from them. The Nation has grossly deviated from the course set by the Founding Fathers. Seventy percent of Americans support permitting prayer in public schools, according to a recent poll by the New York Times.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that the school prayer issue has been debated extensively many times and decisively rejected. In addition, if the Supreme Court could be stripped of its jurisdiction on first amendment issues of religious freedom, no other right in the Constitution would be sacrosanct. In effect, it would gut the Constitution. In this diverse nation of many beliefs, the Court would be stripped of its ability to assure religious freedom to all Americans. Regardless of the politics or the philosophies of the day, the Court stands ready to protect all citizens. While some supported a constitutional amendment to provide for silent prayer in schools, they rejected this approach as inappropriate and unconstitutional. Others saw school prayer as government-organized prayer and objected to the government imposing itself on religious decisions of this sort.

H.R. 1158: Vote Nos. 279-283.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (71)		NAYS (20)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (43 or 90%)	Republicans (28 or 65%)	Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (15 or 35%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Kennedy	Byrd	Armstrong	Biden ⁻¹	D'Amato ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Exon	Gramm	Breaux ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Ford	Hecht	Dodd ⁻²	Roth ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Heflin	Helms	Reid ⁻²	
Boren	Levin	Shelby	Humphrey	Sasser ^{-2AN}	
Bradley	Matsunaga		Kasten	Simon ⁻²	
Bumpers	Melcher		McClure		
Burdick	Metzenbaum		McConnell		
Chiles	Mikulski		Nickles		
Conrad	Mitchell		Pressler		
Cranston	Moynihan		Symms		
Daschle	Nunn		Thurmond		
DeConcini	Pell		Trible		
Dixon	Proxmire		Wallop		
Fowler	Pryor		Warner		
Glenn	Riegle				
Gore	Rockefeller				
Griffin	Sanford				
Harkin	Sarbanes				
Hollings	Stennis				
Inouye	Wirth				
Johnston					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—65%

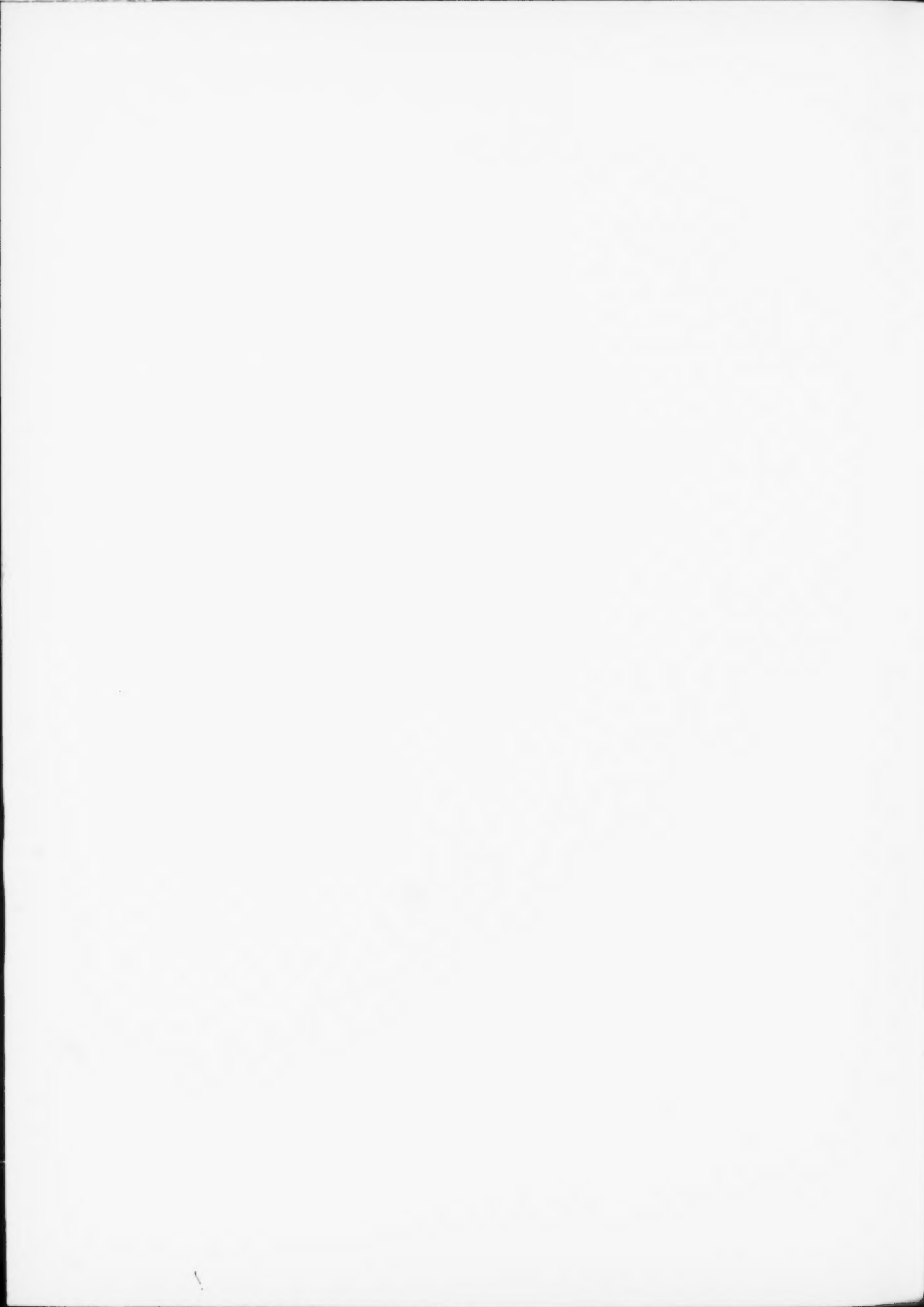
Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats—43 or 61%
Republicans—28 or 39%

Against (20)
Democrats—5 or 25%
Republicans—15 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 281

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 2, 1988, 11:17 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10536

FAIR HOUSING (ACCESSIBILITY)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1158

AMENDMENT NO.: 2782

TITLE: "Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Humphrey amendment (to the Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment No. 2777) which prohibits the provisions of the Act which affect the design and construction of housing to be sold to the general public from taking effect if they would increase the costs of such housing. (See also Vote No. 282.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment emphasized that the cost of housing has skyrocketed in recent years. Many citizens can no longer aspire to own homes. The design and building standards in this bill will raise the already high costs of housing by imposing a Federal building code which will supersede State and local building codes. Less than two months ago, HUD issued a regulation retaining the rule that only five percent of Federally assisted housing units must comply with handicapped access regulations.

Opponents of the amendment termed it "mean spirited," noting that millions of handicapped people have not been a part of the American dream of home ownership because of accessibility barriers. This bill sets minimum requirements that are supported by the homebuilders, the American Institute of Architects, and the National Association of Realtors. The bill does not establish a Federal building code requiring preclearance or approval from HUD for construction. It sets minimum standards for low-cost features of adaptive design that must be satisfied in order to insure equal housing opportunity for persons with disabilities. The Administration fully supports this compromise language of the substitute. Shifting to a percentage of units approach would destroy the standardization achieved and would result in segregating the handicapped which that community rejects.

H.R. 1158: Vote Nos. 279-283.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (88)				NAYS (7)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (39 or 85%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (7 or 15%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Lugar			Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain		Armstrong	Bumpers—3	
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell		Garn	Dodd—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski		Helms	Metzenbaum—2	
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles		Humphrey	Reid—2	
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood		McClure		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler		Stevens		
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Quayle		Symms		
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Trible				
Eaton	Riegle	Hecht	Wallop				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Karnes	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Gore	Sasser	Kasten					
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—49 or 56%
Republicans—39 or 44%

Against (7)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—7 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 282

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 2, 1988, 12:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10542

FAIR HOUSING (ACCESSIBILITY)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1158

AMENDMENT NO.: 2783

TITLE: "Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy motion to table the Humphrey amendment (to the Kennedy, et al., substitute amendment No. 2777) which limits the applicability of the Act's provisions regarding handicapped accessibility in multi-unit buildings to 20 percent of the units within a building or 20 percent of all units in multiple building developments and requires that at least one unit per development be handicapped accessible. (See also Vote No. 281.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that 20 percent of multi-unit housing should be designed and built to accommodate wheelchairs. HUD regulations presently require that five percent be accessible to the handicapped which experience has shown to be adequate for the fewer than one percent of Americans who are restricted to wheelchairs. This amendment would give a reasonable balance to the interests of these Americans and others who will be affected by increased construction costs.

Opponents of the amendment cited their arguments to the previous similar amendment and noted that the legislation does not affect the single family home. It, too, would result in segregating the disabled and would destroy the standardization that homebuilders like to have.

H.R. 1158: Vote Nos. 279-283.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (84)				NAYS (12)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (49 or 98%)		Republicans (35 or 76%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (11 or 24%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Kasten	Conrad	Armstrong	Biden— ³	
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar		Garn	Bumpers— ³	
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McCain		Gramm	Matsunaga— ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell		Helms	Reid— ²	
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Packwood		Humphrey		
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Pressler		McClure		
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle		Murkowski		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth		Nickles		
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman		Stevens		
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson		Symms		
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Specter		Wallop		
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatfield	Trible				
Dodd	Pryor	Hecht	Warner				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Weicker				
Ford	Rockefeller	Karnes	Wilson				
Fowler	Sanford	Kassebaum					
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats—49 or 58%
Republicans—35 or 42%

Against (12)
Democrats—1 or 8%
Republicans—11 or 92%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 283

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 2, 1988, 2:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10562

FAIR HOUSING

BILL NO.: H.R. 1158

TITLE: "Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends the Fair Housing Act to create an enforcement system for the Federal fair housing laws and extend coverage to handicapped persons and families with children under age 18.

NOTE: The bill was cleared for the President on August 8, 1988, after the House agreed to the Senate amendments. H.R. 1158 became Public Law 100-430, approved September 13, 1988.

H.R. 1158: Vote Nos. 279-283.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (94)				NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 93%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain		Helms	Bumpers—3	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure		Humphrey	Reid—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell		Symms		
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle				
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Hatfield	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Kasten					
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—93%

For (94)
Democrats—51 or 54%
Republicans—43 or 46%

Against (3)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—3 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Administrative Enforcement: Authorizes HUD to prosecute cases of discriminatory housing practices before Administrative Law Judges (ALJ's), or in Federal district court if either party so requests; requires investigation of an alleged discriminatory housing practice, upon receipt of a complaint or on the Secretary's own initiative; and extends the statute of limitations from 180 days from the time the alleged discrimination occurred or terminated to one year from such time.

Requires the Secretary to notify both the aggrieved person and the respondent of the complaint filing and of the procedures and legal rights and obligations accorded under the Act; allows the respondent to file an answer to the complaint; requires complaints and answers to be under oath and allows their amendment at any time; requires the Secretary to complete each complaint investigation and make a determination within 100 days of its filing and to notify the affected parties of any delays in meeting the deadline.

Continues current law conciliation procedures; provides for enforcement by HUD if conciliation fails; makes any conciliation agreement subject to the Secretary's approval and requires that the agreement be made public, unless the involved parties agree otherwise and the Secretary concurs; requires the Secretary to refer a suspected breach of a conciliation agreement to the Attorney General for enforcement; and authorizes the Secretary to initiate appropriate action for temporary or preliminary relief when considered necessary.

Requires HUD to file a charge against any party accused of discrimination as a result of the Secretary's investigation which triggers the administrative proceedings under the Act; provides that dismissal of a complaint does not preclude an aggrieved person(s) from filing a civil action.

Provides for adjudication of discrimination charges by ALJ's unless either party requests, within 20 days, a jury trial in Federal district court; establishes deadlines for the initiation and conclusion of an administrative hearing and the issuance of the ALJ's findings in the case; authorizes the ALJ to award appropriate relief including compensatory damages; establishes maximum civil penalties of \$10,000 for a first violation, \$25,000 for the second violation within a five-year period, and \$50,000 for two or more violations within a seven-year period; makes the time limitations regarding multiple violations inapplicable to discriminatory housing practices committed by the same person; requires public disclosures of all dismissals by the Secretary and ALJ's; provides for judicial review of an ALJ's order in the Federal Court of Appeals.

Continues the private right of action for discriminatory housing practices under existing law and extends the statute of limitations from 180 days to two years from the time the alleged discrimination occurred or terminated, or a conciliation agreement was breached; allows the court to appoint attorneys and waive fees and costs for either or both parties based on financial need; removes the \$1,000 limitation on punitive damages; and allows the Attorney General to intervene in private cases of general public importance.

Consolidates in the Department of Justice (DOJ) the authority to represent the Federal government in all enforcement actions under the Act; continues the DOJ's "pattern or practice" jurisdiction, and, specifies the types of relief that may be awarded in such cases, including the assessment of civil penalties up to \$50,000 for the first violation and \$100,000 for any subsequent violation.

Coverage of Handicapped Persons: Makes it unlawful to discriminate or otherwise make unavailable a dwelling to a handicapped buyer or renter, an associate of that individual, or a handicapped resident or potential resident; prohibits special restrictive covenants or other conditions, or denials of services because of an individual's handicap; excludes from coverage current illegal users of or addicts to controlled substances; stipulates that an individual does not qualify as "handicapped" solely because he/she is a transvestite; makes it illegal to refuse to (1) permit reasonable and necessary modifications to existing premises, at the disabled tenant's own expense and his/her agreement to return the premises to its prior condition upon vacating, at the landlord's request, and (2) make reasonable accommodation in rules, policies, practices, or services if necessary to permit a handicapped person equal opportunity to use and enjoy a dwelling; establishes minimum design standards for reasonable access and adaptability to handicapped persons which must be incorporated in new multifamily housing with four or more units (applicable only to ground-level units in buildings without elevators); provides that it shall not be considered discrimination on the basis of handicap to deny a dwelling to an individual whose tenancy constitutes a direct threat to the health or safety of other individuals or would result in substantial property damage (must be established on the basis of a history of overt acts or current conduct); provides that compliance with State or local laws incorporating the adaptability and accessibility requirements for new multifamily dwellings will suffice for the purpose of compliance with the relevant Fair Housing Act provisions.

Coverage of Families with Children: Prohibits discrimination against families with children under age 18, and any person who is pregnant or is in the process of securing legal custody of a child under age 18; exempts housing: (1) provided under State or Federal programs that assist the elderly; (2) intended for and occupied solely by persons aged 62 or over, or (3) which is at least 80 percent occupied by person(s) aged 55 or over per unit, provides significant facilities and services specifically designed to meet the needs of the elderly, and adheres to policies and procedures which demonstrate an intent by the owner or manager to provide housing for older persons.

Miscellaneous Provisions: Prohibits discrimination in residential real estate-related transactions; excludes from coverage individuals convicted of illegally manufacturing or distributing a controlled substance; and requires the Secretary to report annually to Congress on the progress made in eliminating discriminatory housing practices, and data about applicants, participants, and beneficiaries in HUD-administered programs or activities subject to coverage by the Fair Housing Act.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 284

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 3, 1988, 10:00 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10660

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (SOVIET EMIGRATION/FUR)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4848

AMENDMENT NO.: 2785

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Bentsen motion to table the Durenberger, et al., amendment which delays the repeal of the prohibition on Soviet fur skin imports, contained in the bill, until the President submits to Congress a written certification that (1) the Soviet Union does not deny its citizens the right to emigrate, or (2) that the President has received assurances that the Soviet Union's emigration practices will be relaxed and that the repeal of the import prohibition will contribute to relaxed emigration practices.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate would be undermining Jackson-Vanik if it were to grant the Soviet Union any significant trade concession without receiving a pledge for improved emigration. Lifting the trade barrier on fur skin imports without gaining improved emigration would drive U.S. fur farmers out of business for no purpose. While this would affect only 3,200 small family fur farmers, they are important to the diversity and strength of the rural economy. Since Soviet fur farms are state-owned and subsidized, the USSR can establish virtually any price for its furs and undercut U.S. fur farmers. The trade bill has too much support for this one amendment to adversely affect it. The only reason the provision is in the bill is because the late Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige urged its adoption. The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews supports the amendment.

Opponents of the amendment stated that the provision lifting the embargo was strongly defended by the House and the Administration and was one of the concessions made in conference. Secretary Baldrige supported its termination in return for improved U.S. access to markets in the Soviet Union. While the domestic fur industry is going to lose a form of protection that few U.S. industries have—a complete embargo—it will still have all the protections U.S. trade laws provide to all industries, including a new remedy for dumping by Communist countries. Moreover, the acceptance of any amendment could endanger the whole trade bill.

H.R. 4848: Vote Nos. 284-288.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (64)			NAYS (32)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (14 or 31%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (31 or 69%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Melcher	Armstrong	McCain	Biden— ³	Cochran— ²
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee		Boschwitz	McClure	Bumpers— ³	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen		D'Amato	McConnell	Stennis— ²	
Bingaman	Kerry	Danforth		Dole	Murkowski		
Boren	Lautenberg	Evans		Domenici	Nickles		
Bradley	Leahy	Hatfield		Durenberger	Pressler		
Breaux	Levin	Heinz		Garn	Quayle		
Burdick	Matsunaga	Kassebaum		Gramm	Simpson		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Packwood		Grassley	Specter		
Chiles	Mikulski	Roth		Hatch	Stevens		
Conrad	Mitchell	Rudman		Hecht	Symms		
Cranston	Moynihan	Stafford		Helms	Thurmond		
Daschle	Nunn	Weicker		Humphrey	Trible		
DeConcini	Pell	Wilson		Karnes	Wallop		
Dixon	Proxmire			Kasten	Warner		
Dodd	Pryor			Lugar			
Eaton	Reid						
Ford	Riegle						
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—69%

For (64)
Democrats—50 or 78%
Republicans—14 or 22%

Against (32)
Democrats—1 or 3%
Republicans—31 or 97%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 285

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 3, 1988, 11:29 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10674

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (USTR AUTHORITY)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4848

AMENDMENT NO.: 2787

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Bentsen-Packwood motion to table the Wallop-Hecht amendment which strikes the provision authorizing the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) to determine (under section 301 of the Trade Act) whether a foreign trade practice is actionable, whether action should be taken, and what actions should be "subject to the specific direction, if any, of the President"; and replaces this provision with the requirement that any action taken by the USTR be "subject to the specific direction of the President."

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that section 301 of the trade bill transfers too much decision making power from the President to the USTR. Section 301 gives the USTR the authority to suspend trade concessions, impose import restrictions, or take any other appropriate action to enforce U.S. rights under a trade agreement or to respond to unfair foreign trade practices. Giving such authority to an appointed official could undercut U.S. leadership in ongoing GATT negotiations; result in actions which are inconsistent with the wishes of the President; and lead to retaliatory action against the U.S., since none of this Nation's trading partners will approve of the USTR having the authority to initiate actions against them, they argued. In addition, it could lead to an awkward situation if the USTR takes retaliatory action before GATT has reached a decision on a dispute, and then that decision is made against the U.S. While urging a greater Presidential role, they criticized the concept of section 301, calling it the most protectionist aspect of the bill, and expressed the fear that it would propel the Nation into a series of no-win bilateral trade negotiations under arbitrary deadlines, which would result in highly nationalistic anti-U.S. trade restrictions.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that it would require the President to second-guess every decision the USTR made, thereby reducing his authority and sending the message that the Nation's chief
(OVER)

H.R. 4848: Vote Nos. 284-288.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (69)			NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)	Republicans (19 or 42%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (26 or 58%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Bond		Armstrong	Biden ³	Cochran ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee		Boschwitz	Bumpers ³	
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen		Domenici	Chiles ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato		Evans	Stennis ²	
Boren	Leahy	Danforth		Garn		
Bradley	Levin	Dole		Gramm		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Durenberger		Hatch		
Burdick	Melcher	Grassley		Hatfield		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Heinz		Hecht		
Conrad	Mikulski	Kasten		Helms		
Cranston	Mitchell	McConnell		Humphrey		
Daschle	Moynihan	Murkowski		Karnes		
DeConcini	Nunn	Packwood		Kassebaum		
Dixon	Pell	Pressler		Lugar		
Dodd	Proxmire	Roth		McCain		
Exon	Pryor	Rudman		McClure		
Ford	Reid	Specter		Nickles		
Fowler	Riegle	Weicker		Quayle		
Glenn	Rockefeller	Wilson		Simpson		
Gore	Sanford			Stafford		
Graham	Sarbanes			Stevens		
Harkin	Sasser			Symms		
Heflin	Shelby			Thurmond		
Hollings	Simon			Trible		
Inouye	Wirth			Wallop		
				Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (69)
Democrats—50 or 72%
Republicans—19 or 28%

Against (26)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—26 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

negotiator on trade matters is essentially a messenger for the President. The USTR must be a decisionmaker, they stressed, with the authority to carry out negotiations, make substantive agreements, and initiate retaliation subject to the discretion of the President. With such authority, he or she will be more likely to reach agreements with other countries and prevent retaliation.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 286

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 3, 1988, 12:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10679

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (MFN/USSR)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4848

AMENDMENT NO.: 2788

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Bensten-Packwood motion to table the McClure amendment which requires the President to take into account the human rights and humanitarian compliance record of any nation which is a signator of the Helsinki Final Act before extending Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status to it; directs the President, in considering a nation's compliance record, to take into account the extent to which judicial means of redress are available to facilitate and encourage the exercise of their fundamental freedoms under the Helsinki Act, and the ability of the nation's citizens as well as the citizens of other nations, to monitor Helsinki Accord compliance; and requires that, if MFN status is granted, the President must report to Congress to what extent he considers such country in compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. (See also Vote No. 206.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that before granting MFN status to the Soviet Union, the President should first consider the extent to which it is in compliance with the Helsinki Accords and report to Congress. This action would serve as some measure of support for the refuseniks and dissidents in the Soviet Union who want to see a broadening of basic rights and freedoms, and feel that their country should adhere to an agreement that it freely entered into. Unlike an earlier amendment offered by the sponsor, this amendment does not impose any requirements on the Soviets; nor does it undercut Jackson-Vanik, require compliance with the Helsinki accords, or force the Soviet Union to carry out any action that might cause that nation to "lose face." It would not hurt Soviet emigration, since, as observed in the case of Romania, there is no correlation between emigration and other human rights. While there is pressure to pass this bill without modification, this amendment, some argued, would enhance the bill's likelihood of being signed into law.

(OVER)

H.R. 4848: Vote Nos. 284-288.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (67)			NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (49 or 96%)		Republicans (18 or 41%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (26 or 59%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	DeConcini	Armstrong	Biden—3	Cochran—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Melcher	Boschwitz	Bumpers—3	Thurmond—2AN
Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen		D'Amato	Stennis—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth		Domenici		
Boren	Leahy	Dole		Durenberger		
Bradley	Levin	Evans		Garn		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Gramm		Grassley		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Hatfield		Hatch		
Byrd	Mikulski	Heinz		Hecht		
Chiles	Mitchell	Kassebaum		Helms		
Conrad	Moynihan	Kasten		Humphrey		
Cranston	Nunn	McConnell		Karnes		
Daschle	Pell	Packwood		Lugar		
Dixon	Proxmire	Roth		McCain		
Dodd	Pryor	Simpson		McClure		
Exon	Reid	Stafford		Murkowski		
Ford	Riegle	Weicker		Nickles		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Wilson		Pressler		
Glenn	Sanford			Quayle		
Gore	Sarbanes			Rudman		
Graham	Sasser			Specter		
Harkin	Shelby			Stevens		
Heflin	Simon			Symms		
Hollings	Wirth			Trible		
Inouye				Wallop		
				Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats—49 or 73%
Republicans—18 or 27%

Against (28)
Democrats—2 or 7%
Republicans—26 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of the amendment asserted that people should have the right to emigrate from a country but contended that it would be a mistake to widen Jackson-Vanik to include other forms of freedoms and civil rights. While the Senate cannot expect other nations to accept U.S. standards for the basic freedoms that are enjoyed in this country, Jackson-Vanik has been effective in promoting emigration so that people can enjoy greater civil rights elsewhere. The vast majority of Jewish leadership organizations, they noted, opposes this amendment which threatens the agreement not to amend the trade bill.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 287

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 3, 1988, 2:54 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10692

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (COMPETITIVENESS POLICY COUNCIL)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4848

AMENDMENT NO.: 2789

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Bentsen-Packwood motion to table the Wallop amendment which strikes the provision establishing the Competitiveness Policy Council, an independent body charged with recommending national strategies for enhancing U.S. productivity and international competitiveness, commenting on private sector requests for government assistance, evaluating the impact of Federal policy on U.S. competitiveness, and reporting on these trade matters to Congress and the President.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Nation does not need the Competitiveness Policy Council, but a Congress committed to creating a business climate conducive to job creation and economic prosperity. The Council would duplicate research efforts already being pursued at the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture and the National Science Foundation. Spending the \$10 million on Contra aid, they suggested, would do more good for competitiveness than this Council.

Opponents of the amendment explained that the Competitiveness Policy Council would be a bipartisan body that would eliminate the existing fragmented approach that encourages special pleading for trade relief and assistance. The Council would focus on broad, long-term public interest with respect to the problems of economic competitiveness, bringing together leaders from business, labor, government, academia, and public interest groups. It would serve as an ideal forum for dealing with such problems as the enormous trade deficit. The Governmental Affairs Committee held extensive hearings on the need for creating the council.

H.R. 4848: Vote Nos. 284-288.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (62)			NAYS (33)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)	Republicans (11 or 25%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (33 or 75%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Cohen		Armstrong	Biden— ³	Cochran— ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Danforth		Bond	Bumpers— ³	Thurmond— ^{2AN}
Bentsen	Kerry	Domenici		Boschwitz	Stennis— ²	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Durenberger		Chafee		
Boren	Leahy	Heinz		D'Amato		
Bradley	Levin	Kasten		Dole		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Packwood		Evans		
Burdick	Melcher	Roth		Garn		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Rudman		Gramm		
Chiles	Mikulski	Stafford		Grassley		
Conrad	Mitchell	Weicker		Hatch		
Cranston	Moynihan			Hatfield		
Daschle	Nunn			Hecht		
DeConcini	Pell			Helms		
Dixon	Proxmire			Humphrey		
Dodd	Pryor			Karnes		
Exon	Reid			Kassebaum		
Ford	Riegle					
Fowler	Rockefeller					
Glenn	Sanford					
Gore	Sarbanes					
Graham	Sasser					
Harkin	Shelby					
Heflin	Simon					
Hollings	Wirth					
Inouye						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—75%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats—51 or 82%
Republicans—11 or 18%

Against (33)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—33 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 288

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 3, 1988, 6:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10731

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: H.R. 4848

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which contains provisions identical to H.R. 3 (the vetoed bill) except for the deletion of provisions requiring advanced notice of plant closings and mass layoffs (which were enacted separately in S. 2527—P.L. 100-379), and the provisions dealing with the export of Alaskan crude oil to Canada and the export of Alaskan refined petroleum products. (The conference report language on H.R. 3 dealing with the Alaskan oil and petroleum products exports is retained by reference in this bill). (See Vote No. 110 on the conference report on H.R. 3 for major provisions of the bill and Vote No. 289 regarding technical changes to the ethanol provision in the bill.)

NOTE: H.R. 4848 became Public Law 100-418, approved August 23, 1988.

H.R. 4848: Vote Nos. 284-288.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (85)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (35 or 78%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (10 or 22%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	McConnell	Proxmire	Boschwitz	Biden—3	Cochran—2
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Murkowski		Evans	Bumpers—3	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	Nickles		Hatfield	Stennis—2	
Bingaman	Kerry	Cohen	Packwood		Helms		
Boren	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Pressler		Humphrey		
Bradley	Leahy	Danforth	Quayle		Kassebaum		
Breaux	Levin	Dole	Roth		McCain		
Burdick	Matsunaga	Domenici	Rudman		McClure		
Byrd	Melcher	Durenberger	Simpson		Stevens		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Garn	Specter		Symms		
Conrad	Mikulski	Gramm	Stafford				
Cranston	Mitchell	Grassley	Thurmond				
Daschle	Moynihan	Hatch	Trible				
DeConcini	Nunn	Hecht	Wallop				
Dixon	Pell	Heinz	Warner				
Dodd	Pryor	Karnes	Weicker				
Exon	Reid	Kasten	Wilson				
Ford	Riegle	Lugar					
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats—50 or 59%
Republicans—35 or 41%

Against (11)
Democrats—1 or 9%
Republicans—10 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 289

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 3, 1988, 6:36 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10737

ETHANOL PRODUCTION/TRADE ACT ENROLLMENT CORRECTIONS

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 135

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which makes enrollment corrections in the Trade and Competitiveness Act (H.R. 4848) and makes the importation of ethanol contingent on the Secretaries of Agriculture, Energy, and Treasury submitting to Congress a statement certifying that domestic ethyl alcohol production is not fully meeting the demand and that the quantity to be imported duty-free is necessary to maintain adequate U.S. supplies.

NOTE: The House took no action on this resolution.

S. Con. Res. 135: Vote No. 289.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (62)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (25 or 49%)	Republicans (37 or 82%)		Democrats (26 or 51%)	Republicans (8 or 18%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Armstrong	Lugar	Boren	Chafee	Biden— ³	Cochran— ²
Baucus	Bond	McClure	Bradley	Evans	Bumpers— ³	
Bentsen	Boschwitz	McConnell	Breaux	Gramm	Stennis— ²	
Bingaman	Cohen	Murkowski	Chiles	Hatfield		
Burdick	D'Amato	Pressler	Cranston	McCain		
Byrd	Danforth	Quayle	DeConcini	Nickles		
Conrad	Dole	Roth	Dodd	Packwood		
Daschle	Domenici	Rudman	Fowler	Weicker		
Dixon	Durenberger	Simpson	Gore			
Exon	Garn	Specter	Graham			
Ford	Grassley	Stafford	Inouye			
Glenn	Hatch	Stevens	Johnston			
Harkin	Hecht	Symms	Kennedy			
Heflin	Heinz	Thurmond	Kerry			
Hollings	Helms	Trible	Lautenberg			
Leahy	Humphrey	Wallop	Matsunaga			
Levin	Karnes	Warner	Mitchell			
Melcher	Kassebaum	Wilson	Moynihan			
Metzenbaum	Kasten		Nunn			
Mikulski			Pell			
Riegle			Proxmire			
Rockefeller			Pryor			
Sasser			Reid			
Shelby			Sanford			
Simon			Sarbanes			
			Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—51%
Republicans—82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats—25 or 40%
Republicans—37 or 60%

Against (34)
Democrats—26 or 76%
Republicans—8 or 24%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 290

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 4, 1988, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10831

NOMINATION OF JOHN P. LAWARE TO THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

POSITION: Member of the Federal Reserve Board

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of John P. LaWare, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that Mr. LaWare had a distinguished career in banking, both as leader of the Shawmut Bank in Boston, and through his role in such banking organizations as the American Bankers Association and the Association of Bank Holding Companies. His contributions to the ongoing debate over the future of financial institutions and regulatory reforms have been notable, making him an ideal candidate at a time of unprecedented economic volatility and enormous budget and trade deficits. In addition, he has been a civic leader in Massachusetts, serving as chairman of the Massachusetts Business Roundtable, as a trustee of several educational institutions, and as chairman of the Coordinating Committee, a Boston business leadership organization. No opposing arguments were presented.

Vote No. 290.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (90)				NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (44 or 94%)		Republicans (46 or 100%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten	Conrad		Biden ⁻³	
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Lugar	Gore		Bumpers ⁻³	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McCain	Sasser		Dixon ⁻²	
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McClure			Dodd ⁻²	
Boren	Levin	Cochran	McConnell			Fowler ⁻²	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski			Metzenbaum ⁻²	
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles			Mikulski ⁻²	
Burdick	Mitchell	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Moynihan	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Nunn	Domenici	Quayle				
Cranston	Pell	Durenberger	Roth				
Daschle	Proxmire	Evans	Rudman				
DeConcini	Pryor	Garn	Simpson				
Exon	Reid	Gramm	Specter				
Ford	Riegle	Grassley	Stafford				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Hatch	Stevens				
Graham	Sanford	Hatfield	Symms				
Harkin	Sarbanes	Hecht	Thurmond				
Heflin	Shelby	Heinz	Trible				
Hollings	Simon	Helms	Wallop				
Inouye	Stennis	Humphrey	Warner				
Johnston	Wirth	Karnes	Weicker				
		Kassebaum	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats—44 or 49%
Republicans—46 or 51%

Against (3)
Democrats—3 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 291

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 4, 1988, 12:08 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10840

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (VETERANS)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5026

AMENDMENT NO.: 2796

TITLE: "Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: Cranston motion to waive the Budget Act to allow the consideration of the Cranston-DeConcini-Murkowski amendment which provides \$233.3 million to meet expenditures required by law for the FY 1988 VA compensation COLA and for the implementation of veterans health-care entitlements enacted in P.L. 100-322, of which \$21.7 million would be transferred from the VA Loan Guaranty Revolving Fund; and strikes the provisions enacted in the FY 1988 Continuing Resolution which prohibit the VA from spending \$6.4 billion of the FY 1988 medical care appropriation for any expenses other than personnel compensation and benefits. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the motion stated that the waiver is necessary to fully fund entitlements for veterans' health care as required by P.L. 100-322. The amendment would provide funding to meet expenditures required by law for FY 1988 Veterans' Administration compensation cost-of-living adjustments, entitlement caseload increases, and veterans' health care entitlements. They expressed criticism of OMB's failure to clear and transmit to Congress a budget amendment which it had approved making emergency supplemental appropriations to the VA medical care account. OMB, they argued, is "playing fast and loose with the VA's ability to meet veterans' health care needs."

No opposing arguments were presented.

H.R. 5026: Vote Nos. 291, 292, 304.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO

YEAS (89)				NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (47 or 98%)		Republicans (42 or 91%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	McCain	Proxmire	Evans	Biden—3	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McClure		Garn	Bumpers—3	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McConnell		Helms	Chiles—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	Murkowski		Humphrey	Daschle—2	
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Nickles			Metzenbaum—2	
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Packwood			Mikulski—2AY	
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle				
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Domenici	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Durenberger	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Exon	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Tribble				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wallop				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Warner				
Graham	Shelby	Kasten	Weicker				
Harkin	Simon	Lugar	Wilson				
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats—47 or 53%
Republicans—42 or 47%

Against (5)
Democrats—1 or 20%
Republicans—4 or 80%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 292

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 4, 1988, 2:18 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10853

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (MILITARY PAY)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5026

AMENDMENT NO.: 2804

TITLE: "Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: Warner amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that the Congress should expeditiously pass legislation authorizing a military pay raise, effective January 1, 1989, of 4.1 percent for basic pay and subsistence and 7.0 percent for basic allowance for quarters.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that a military pay raise is essential and that all Senators should have an opportunity to be recorded in favor of this raise. While agreeing that the raise was very important, others argued that because the Senate fully supports the raise, a roll call vote is "unnecessary, redundant and meaningless" and that the Senate could be run more efficiently without such votes.

H.R. 5026: Vote Nos. 291, 292, 304.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (47 or 98%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten	Proxmire		Biden ⁻³	Kassebaum ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar			Chiles ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain			Cranston ⁻²	
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure			Metzenbaum ^{-2AY}	
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell			Mikulski ^{-2AY}	
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski			Sasser ⁻²	
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Daschle	Nunn	Evans	Rudman				
DeConcini	Pell	Garn	Simpson				
Dixon	Pryor	Gramm	Specter				
Dodd	Reid	Grassley	Stafford				
Exon	Riegle	Hatch	Stevens				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Fowler	Sanford	Hecht	Trible				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Heinz	Wallop				
Gore	Shelby	Helms	Warner				
Graham	Simon	Humphrey	Weicker				
Harkin	Stennis	Karnes	Wilson				
Hefner	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

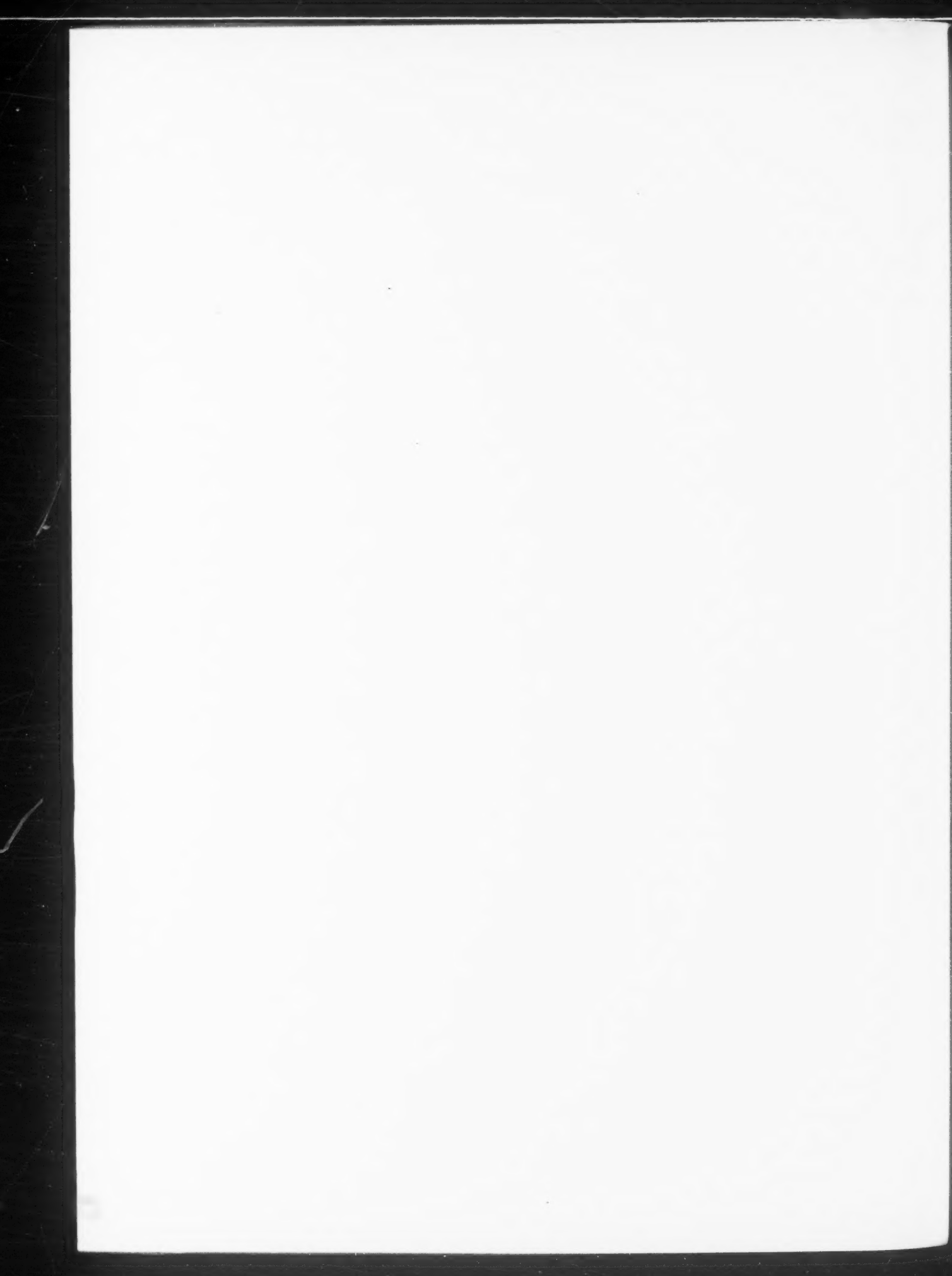
Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 47 or 52%
Republicans— 44 or 48%

Against (1)
Democrats— 1 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 293

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 4, 1988, 7:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10867

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill.

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: MOTION TO CONSIDER AGREED TO

YEAS (93)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten			Biden ⁻³	Bond ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Lugar			Cranston ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McCain			Mikulski ⁻²	Symms ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McClure			Sasser ⁻²	
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	McConnell				
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski				
Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Domenici	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Rudman				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Specter				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Reid	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

For (93)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 294

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 5, 1988, 9:32 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10928

CENTRAL AMERICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 63

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should encourage and assist, as requested, the Central American countries of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Belize, and Nicaragua in their planning, formulation, and implementation of a regional economic development and recovery program for Central America, and should encourage other countries to join in extending assistance to those Central American countries that have made substantial progress toward peaceful relations.

S. Con. Res. 63: Vote No. 294.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (92)		NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)	Republicans (42 or 93%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye			Biden ⁻³	Symms ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston		Domenici	Cranston ⁻²	
Bentsen	Kennedy		Gramm	Sasser ⁻²	
Bingaman	Kerry		Helm	Wirth ^{-2AY}	
Boren	Lautenberg				
Bradley	Leahy				
Breaux	Levin				
Bumpers	Matsunaga				
Burdick	Melcher				
Byrd	Metzenbaum				
Chiles	Mikulski				
Conrad	Mitchell				
Daschle	Moynihan				
DeConcini	Nunn				
Dixon	Pell				
Dodd	Proxmire				
Exon	Pryor				
Ford	Reid				
Fowler	Riegle				
Glenn	Rockefeller				
Gore	Sanford				
Graham	Sarbanes				
Harkin	Shelby				
Hellin	Simon				
Hollings	Stennis				
	Armstrong				
	Bond				
	Boschwitz				
	Chafee				
	Cochran				
	Cohen				
	D'Amato				
	Danforth				
	Dole				
	Durenberger				
	Evans				
	Garn				
	Grassley				
	Hatch				
	Hatfield				
	Hecht				
	Heinz				
	Humphrey				
	Karnes				
	Kassebaum				
	Kasten				
	Lugar				
	McCain				
	McClure				
	McConnell				
	Murkowski				
	Nickles				
	Packwood				
	Pressler				
	Quayle				
	Roth				
	Rudman				
	Simpson				
	Specter				
	Stafford				
	Stevens				
	Thurmond				
	Trible				
	Wallop				
	Warner				
	Weicker				
	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats—50 or 54%
Republicans—42 or 46%

Against (3)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—3 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 295

August 5, 1988, 12:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10947

100th Congress
2nd Session

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (AEGIS/JAPAN)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

AMENDMENT NO.: 2808

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Bradley, et al., amendment to strike section 8119 which prohibits the sale or transfer of the AEGIS weapons system, or any part of the system, to Japan for integration into a naval vessel unless the vessel is constructed in a U.S. shipyard. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that selling the AEGIS system to Japan is in America's national interest and should not be made contingent on the purchase of a U.S.-constructed vessel. The sale would lead to Japan accepting more of its defense burden, create thousands of U.S. jobs and generate as much as \$2 billion in sales, and increase the safety and effectiveness of U.S. forces in the Pacific. The Japanese have not purchased a major naval vessel from another country for more than 100 years and will abandon AEGIS rather than do so now. Japan has a number of alternatives to the system, including equipping its destroyers with less effective Tartar systems, purchasing a European system, or developing its own AEGIS-like weapons system. The AEGIS weapons system would be sold to the Japanese Defense Agency which has a perfect record in protecting classified U.S. technology; moreover, the system would be installed by U.S. technicians hired by Japan, and DOD claims that the system cannot be reverse engineered.

Opponents of the amendment countered that selling the AEGIS system without the U.S.-built ship is analogous to selling an AWACS system without the Boeing plane. As part of burden sharing, the Japanese should be willing to share in the burden of the cost of defense by purchasing the whole AEGIS package, rather than just the weapons system. Selling just the weapons system will further devastate the already struggling U.S. shipbuilding industry. Moreover, AEGIS is classified technology and, making reference to the difficulties with Toshiba, the U.S. would lose control of the technology, they argued, if Japan were allowed to install the system itself. As an alternative, they suggested having the U.S. install the AEGIS system in the hull of a U.S. vessel, and allowing the Japanese to complete construction of the ship.

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (20)		NAYS (75)				NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (13 or 26%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (37 or 74%)		Republicans (38 or 84%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Breaux	Cochran	Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Biden ⁻³	Symms ⁻²
Burdick	Cohen	Baucus	Inouye	Bond	Kasten	Cranston ⁻²	
Conrad	Helms	Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar	Sasser ⁻²	
Dixon	McClure	Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McCain	Wirth ⁻²	
Heflin	Stevens	Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	McConnell		
Johnston	Weicker	Bradley	Levin	Danforth	Murkowski		
Leahy	Wilson	Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Nickles		
Metzenbaum		Byrd	Melcher	Domenici	Packwood		
Mikulski		Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Pressler		
Mitchell		Daschle	Sunn	Evans	Quayle		
Sarbanes		DeConcini	Pell	Garn	Roth		
Shelby		Dodd	Proxmire	Gramm	Rudman		
Stennis		Eaton	Pryor	Grassley	Simpson		
		Ford	Reid	Hatch	Specter		
		Fowler	Riegle	Hatfield	Stafford		
		Glenn	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond		
		Gore	Sanford	Heinz	Tinley		
		Graham	Simon	Humphrey	Wallop		
		Harkin		Karnes	Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 74%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (20)
Democrats— 13 or 65%
Republicans— 7 or 35%

Against (75)
Democrats— 37 or 49%
Republicans— 38 or 51%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 296

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 5, 1988, 1:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10954

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (SDI/ NASA)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

AMENDMENT NO.: 2809

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Wallop amendment which increases funding for SDI research and development by transferring an additional \$500 million from the account for NASA defense-related activities.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that SDI funding should be increased to the original Senate-authorized level of \$4.4 billion, now that the \$600 million funding taken from SDI for the space station is no longer needed. Since the HUD-independent agencies conference has provided sufficient funds for NASA, that money should be returned to SDI. The amendment would allow \$100 million of that amount to be used for NASA defense-related activities. Without adequate funding for planned research and testing, the Office of SDI will not be able to make precise decisions as to which technology should go forward, which requires further study, and which should be abandoned, leading to waste and lost time. SDI has been instrumental in negotiations with the Soviets. Continued SDI research is essential, since the U.S. has no defense against ballistic missiles, and the Soviets are nearing a breakout capability to deploy a new land-based ABM system.

Opponents of the amendment claimed that even though the defense appropriation bill has been vetoed, the will of Congress with respect to funding for SDI remains and should not be changed. While SDI is a justifiable research program, they pointed out that its potential for success has been inflated. It would never be cost effective at the margin, and would destroy less than 16 percent of incoming Soviet missiles. Moreover, funds should be reallocated through the authorizing committee, not on the floor of the Senate. These funds are more urgently needed in conventional defense than in SDI.

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (50)		NAYS (44)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (45 or 90%)	Republicans (5 or 11%)	Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (39 or 89%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Bingaman	Armstrong	Lugar
Baucus	Kerry	Durenberger	DeConcini	Bond	McCain
Benken	Lautenberg	Grassley	Heflin	Boschwitz	McConnell
Boren	Leahy	Hatfield	Hollings	Cochran	Murkowski
Bradley	Levin	Weicker	Shelby	Cohen	Nickles
Breaux	Matsunaga			D'Amato	Packwood
Bumpers	Melcher			Danforth	Pressler
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Dole	Quayle
Burd	Mikulski			Domenici	Roth
Chiles	Mitchell			Evans	Rudman
Conrad	Moynihan			Garn	Simpson
Daschle	Nunn			Gramm	Specter
Dixon	Pell			Hatch	Stafford
Dodd	Proxmire			Hecht	Stevens
Eaton	Pryor			Heinz	Thurmond
Ford	Reid			Helms	Trible
Fowler	Riegle			Humphrey	Wallop
Glenn	Rockefeller			Karnes	Warner
Gore	Sanford			Kassebaum	Wilson
Graham	Sarbanes			Kasten	
Harkin	Simon				
Inoué	Stennis				
Johnston					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

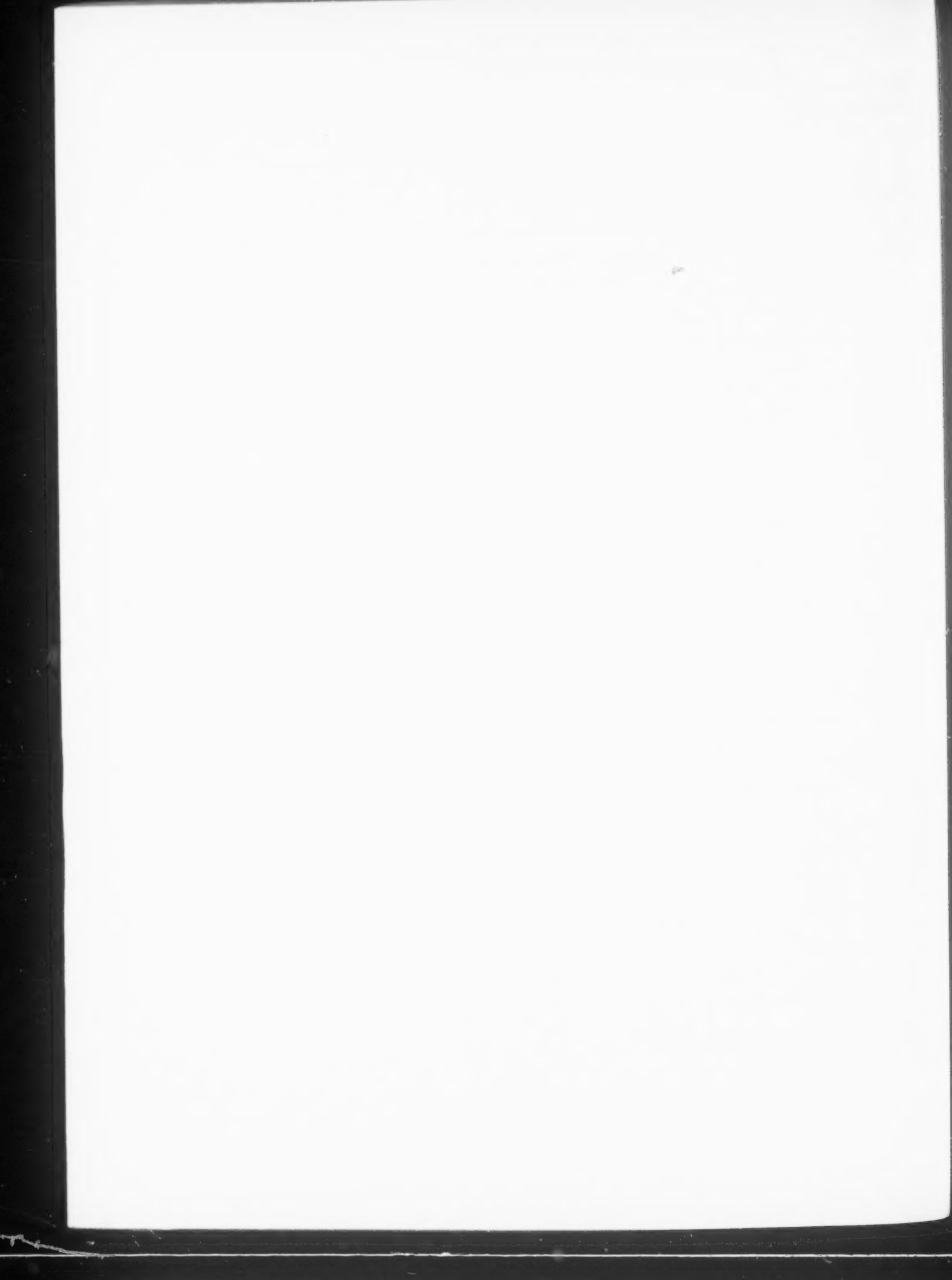
Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats—45 or 90%
Republicans—5 or 10%

Against (44)
Democrats—5 or 11%
Republicans—39 or 89%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 297

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 8, 1988, 2:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11078

DROUGHT ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 5015 (S. 2631)

TITLE: "Drought Assistance Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which provides emergency assistance to livestock producers and commodities farmers affected by the 1988 drought.

NOTE: H.R. 5015 became Public Law 100-387, approved August 11, 1988.

H.R. 5015 (S. 2631): Vote Nos. 272, 273, 297.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (92)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	McCain			Biden-3	Cohen-2
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McClure			Cranston-2	Gramm-2
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McConnell			Nunn-2	Hatch-2AY
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	Murkowski				Kasten-2AY
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Nickles				Weicker-2AY
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood				
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler				
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Quayle				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Roth				
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatfield	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Symms				
Dodé	Reid	Heinz	Thurmond				
East	Riegle	Helms	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Karnes	Warner				
Glen	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Gore	Sasser	Lugar					
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inoué							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats—51 or 55%
Republicans—41 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Consolidates and revises current laws providing emergency livestock feed assistance to livestock producers adversely affected by natural disasters; provides assistance to livestock producers who grow feed for their livestock, have suffered a substantial loss in feed production, and have insufficient feed of adequate nutritive value for each of the producer's types of livestock for the estimated duration of the livestock emergency; and gives the Secretary of Agriculture the discretionary authority to provide specified additional assistance, as deemed necessary, to livestock producers regardless of whether they grow their own food.

Authorizes various forms of assistance to livestock producers including making feed available to them at reasonable costs and providing transportation assistance for feed, hay and forage, or livestock; authorizes emergency water assistance and the donation of CCC commodities for eligible livestock producers; authorizes a program to reimburse livestock producers for up to 50 percent of the cost of burning prickly pear cactus to make it suitable for animal feed; and requires the Secretary to implement an emergency program to provide for reseeding of forage crops for established pasture damaged by the drought or related condition in 1988.

Rescinds the Secretary's authority to reduce the milk price support level by 50 cents per hundredweight on January 1, 1989, and increases the support level by 50 cents from April 1, 1989, to June 30, 1989.

Provides disaster payments for commodities producers who have suffered over a 35 percent loss in production as a result of the drought or other natural disaster in 1988; establishes disaster payment rates at 65 percent of the established crop price, loan rate, or average market price, as applicable, for a production deficiency between 35 and 75 percent, and 90 percent for any deficiency greater than 75 percent; allows producers who did not participate in the 1988 production adjustment program to receive prevented planting credit on intended plantings of certain crops in 1988; gives the Secretary the discretionary authority to make disaster payments to producers of certain crops who suffer losses between 35 and 75 percent of the farm program payment yield because of a reduction in crop quality due to the drought, and limits the payment rate to a maximum of 10 percent of the established crop price, loan rate, or average market price, as applicable; provides disaster assistance for the 1988 crops of sugarcane and sugarbeets, if producers are unable to process the commodity due to the inability of local processing plants to operate as a result of the drought or related conditions; reduces disaster payments to producers who receive Federal Crop Insurance payments for their crop losses; requires that, in order to be eligible for disaster payments under the Act, 1988 emergency loans under subtitle C of the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act, or forgiveness of advance deficiency payments, producers with losses over 65 percent must purchase multiperil crop insurance for the 1989 crops of the commodity for which the payments, loans, or forgiveness are sought and allows waiver of this requirement under specified circumstances.

Provides disaster assistance to eligible tree farmers for replanting or replacing lost seedlings in excess of 35 percent of seedlings planted during the past two years, adjusted for normal mortality; limits benefits to tree farmers and commercial growers who own 1,000 acres or fewer and a maximum of \$25,000 per person.

Limits benefits payable to any one person to \$50,000 for livestock feed assistance and \$100,000 for disaster payments or a combined total of \$100,000; makes any person with qualifying gross revenues in excess of \$2.5 million annually ineligible for livestock emergency benefits and in excess of \$2.0 million annually ineligible for crop disaster benefit payments; limits combined crop insurance benefits and disaster payments to an amount not to exceed income that would result from normal yields; requires the Secretary to make full disaster payments as provided for in the Act.

Forgives advance deficiency payments on production losses up to 35 percent for the 1988 wheat, feed grains, upland cotton, and rice crops; defers until July 31, 1989, any repayment of advance deficiency payments which the Secretary may require because disaster payments were also received.

Allows the discounted sale of up to 12 million bushels each month of government-owned corn, or other feed grain, to ethanol plants suffering economic distress because of the drought; requires that the grain be used only for ethanol production; excludes ethanol producers that use over 30 million bushels a year; and sunsets the program on September 1, 1989.

Gives the Secretary the discretionary authority to establish *de minimis* yields for each crop eligible for disaster payments; permits the Secretary to take certain steps to help correct supply and demand imbalances for soybeans, oats, upland cotton, wheat, and feed grains including permitting producers to (1) plant soybeans and sunflowers on 10 to 20 percent of base acreage for wheat, feed grain, cotton, or rice without the loss of base history, and (2) under certain conditions, switch an acreage base designation (other than soybeans) to oats in 1989 and 1990 without the loss of base history; authorizes export and other assistance to cottonseed and sunflower seed oil producers to alleviate any adverse affect on prices due to increased soybean and sunflower plantings.

Permits generic certificates redeemable for CCC-owned commodities to be used to repay loans made through the producer-owned reserve, if the substitute and redemption take place within the same county.

Establishes a guaranteed loan program to assist rural businesses and organizations in alleviating distress and to refinance or restructure debt as the result of losses incurred because of natural disasters in 1988; waives the requirement that crop insurance have been carried by producers affected by the 1988 drought in order to be eligible for an FmHA disaster emergency loan; makes FmHA operating loan guarantees available in FY 1989, to refinance and reamortize 1988 operating debt of producers that incurred major losses as a result of 1988 natural disasters and to refinance and reamortize all or portions of 1988 operating loans on real estate debt, farm equipment or building debt, livestock loans, or other operating debt; authorizes the use of Agricultural Credit Insurance Fund monies to provide guaranteed FmHA operating loans in 1989 after FmHA emergency disaster loan needs are met.

Authorizes various conservation enhancement, wildlife management, and water management programs to help repair environmental damage from the drought and to help rural areas cope with any future water deficiencies; authorizes the Interior Department to sell surplus water supplies at Federal reclamation projects on a temporary basis to help alleviate drought damage; establishes an emergency loan program to provide funds for the acquisition, conservation, management, and transportation of water to mitigate losses and damages resulting from drought conditions in 1987-89.

Provides \$5 million, by transfer from the FEMA Disaster Relief Program, to assist low-income agricultural workers affected by the drought through the Job Training Partnership Act programs; and requires exclusion of emergency assistance provided to third parties on behalf of migrant or seasonal farmworker households while they are in the job stream from household income for purposes of the food stamp program, effective only for new allotments.

Requires the Secretary of Agriculture to report to Congress (1) on the financial impact on producers and grain marketers of forward contracting, hedging, and associated margin requirements for wheat, feed grains, and soybeans during the recent drought-related period of price volatility; (2) a study of food and commodity prices as of December 31, 1988, to determine the effects of the drought on recipients of Federal nutrition and hunger benefits; and (3) a survey to determine the extent to which agribusinesses are being adversely affected by 1988 disaster conditions.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 298

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 8, 1988, 4:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11089

NUCLEAR REGULATION REORGANIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 2443 (H.R. 1315)

AMENDMENT NO.: 2817

TITLE: "Nuclear Regulation Reorganization and Reform Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Ford-Domenici-Johnston, et al., amendment which substitutes a government purchase program of domestic uranium in lieu of imposing fees on foreign uranium used in domestic reactors (as contained in S. 2097 passed by the Senate on March 30, 1988—Vote No. 81); retains the titles of S. 2097 establishing the Uranium Enrichment Corporation and the Uranium Tailings Reclamation Program; and establishes a \$1.75 billion Uranium Revitalization Fund of which \$1 billion is for tailings reclamation and \$750 million is for domestic uranium purchases; capitalizes the Fund from fees imposed on public utilities and the domestic uranium industry and from income earned by the Uranium Enrichment Corporation.

NOTE: Proponents explained that the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement (FTA) exempts Canadian uranium from section 161(v) of the Atomic Energy Act, regarding restrictions on the use of foreign uranium in domestic reactors. Since the U.S. uses a significant amount of Canadian uranium, the FTA impedes the effectiveness of section 161(v) in maintaining a viable domestic uranium industry. To support the domestic industry, the amendment substitutes a government domestic uranium purchase program for the charges levied for the use of foreign uranium, as contained in title I of S. 2097. Title II on mill tailings reclamation and title III on the government uranium enrichment corporation remain largely intact. While this uranium package meets the policy objectives of both S. 2097 and the FTA, it was not included in the FTA—implementing legislation that the Administration submitted to Congress. However, the Administration has made it clear it will support this amendment. Funds for mill tailings cleanup and for the purchase of domestic uranium will come from the mining industry and the U.S. Enrichment Corporation—not the U.S. treasury.

Opponents countered that the government's domestic uranium purchase program is a "bailout" for the domestic uranium industry, noting that the U.S. government has stockpiled 124 million pounds of uranium. Others expressed opposition to the Uranium Enrichment Corporation and the Uranium Tailings Reclamation Program (retained from S. 2097), claiming that they will help a few companies, but will not revitalize the industry as a whole and put people back to work.

S. 2443 (H.R. 1315): Vote Nos. 298, 299.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (78)				NAYS (17)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (41 or 79%)		Republicans (37 or 86%)		Democrats (11 or 21%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Heflin	Armstrong	McClure	Adams	Chafee	Biden—3	Gramm—2
Bentsen	Hollings	Bond	McConnell	Bradley	Cohen	Cranston—2	Kasten—2AY
Bingaman	Inouye	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Kennedy	Durenberger		Weicker—2
Boren	Johnston	Cochran	Nickles	Kerry	Hatfield		
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood	Lautenberg	Humphrey		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler	Leahy	Roth		
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Quayle	Mitchell			
Burd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Rudman	Pell			
Chiles	Mikulski	Evans	Simpson	Proxmire			
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Specter	Reid			
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stafford	Riegle			
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Symms				
Dodd	Sanford	Heinz	Thurmond				
Don	Sarbanes	Helms	Trible				
Ford	Sasser	Karnes	Wallop				
Fowler	Shelby	Kassebaum	Warner				
Glenn	Simon	Lugar	Wilson				
Gore	Stennis	McCain					
Graham	Wirth						
Harkin							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—79%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (78)
Democrats—41 or 53%
Republicans—37 or 47%

Against (17)
Democrats—11 or 65%
Republicans—6 or 35%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 299

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 8, 1988, 4:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11090

NUCLEAR REGULATION REORGANIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1315 (S. 2443)

TITLE: "Nuclear Regulation Reorganization and Reform Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which replaces the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), which is abolished under this Act, with the Nuclear Safety Agency (NSA) and transfers to it all the current functions of the NRC; authorizes \$427.8 million in FY 1988 and \$450 million in 1989 for the NSA; sets forth procedures for NSA consideration of Department of Energy applications for construction authorizations for nuclear waste repositories; requires the NSA Administrator, within one year of enactment, to issue a proposed rule providing for standardized nuclear power plant designs; establishes a three-member Nuclear Reactor Safety Investigations Board to investigate significant safety events as the Board deems necessary as well as other safety matters at the Administrator's request; and includes provisions to establish programs to provide for uranium revitalization, tailings reclamation, and a government purchase program of domestic uranium.

H.R. 1315 (S. 2443): Vote Nos. 298, 299.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (89)				NAYS (6)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (48 or 92%)		Republicans (41 or 95%)		Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	McCain	Bradley	Hatfield	Biden— ³	Gramm— ²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McClure	Lautenberg	Humphrey	Cranston— ²	Kasten— ²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McConnell	Leahy			Weicker— ²
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	Murkowski	Proxmire			
Boren	Levin	Cochran	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Quayle				
Byrd	Mikulski	Doie	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Evans	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Garn	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Symms				
Evan	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Wallop				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Warner				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Lugar					
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 48 or 54%
Republicans— 41 or 46%

Against (6)
Democrats— 4 or 67%
Republicans— 2 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Nuclear Energy Regulation Reorganization and Reform: Replaces the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), which is abolished under this Act, with the Nuclear Safety Agency (NSA), to be headed by an Administrator appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and authorizes therefor \$427.8 million in FY 1988 and \$450 million in 1989; sets forth procedures and time limits for OMB review of agency regulations; directs the NSA to keep the Congressional authorizing committees fully and currently informed of its activities.

Establishes procedures for NSA consideration of Department of Energy (DOE) applications for construction authorizations for nuclear waste repositories; directs the Nuclear Waste Technical Review Board, within 60 days of the effective date of the repository site designation, to nominate at least six persons for appointment to a three-member licensing board which will consider DOE's application; requires the Administrator to select two board members from the nominees and to appoint a third member qualified to conduct administrative proceedings; authorizes the Administrator to affirm the board's final decision on DOE's application or to remand it to the board for further action if it is unsupported by substantial evidence on the record.

Establishes an independent Office of Inspector General for the NSA responsible for auditing agency programs and investigating internal agency conduct; provides for appointment of the Inspector General, subject to Senate confirmation and, in accordance with the Inspector General Act of 1978, removable only by the President.

Codifies the Office of Investigation (OI) within the NSA to be headed by an Assistant Administrator who is to report directly to the NSA Administrator; specifies that the OI's responsibilities are to include the investigation of intentional wrongdoing by NSA licensees in violation of the statutes which the Agency is charged with implementing; authorizes the Assistant Administrator to initiate an investigation on his/her own, unless the Administrator determines that the public health and safety specifically requires otherwise.

Establishes a three-member Nuclear Reactor Safety Investigations Board to investigate significant safety events as the Board deems necessary as well as other safety matters at the Administrator's request; provides for appointment of the Board's members, for three-year terms, by the President, subject to Senate confirmation, on the basis of technical qualification, professional standing, and demonstrated competence and knowledge relevant to the Board's investigative functions; permits removal of board members by the President only for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office; requires NSA to respond in writing to any Board recommendation and explain its actions in response thereto and/or reasons for inaction; and authorizes \$5.5 million in each FY 1989-93 for the Board.

Directs the Administrator, within one year of enactment, to issue a proposed rule, consistent with the public health and safety, providing for standardized nuclear power plant designs.

Miscellaneous Provisions: Clarifies application of the following statutory provisions:

Provides a firm statutory basis for NSA's existing Part 21 regulations promulgated to implement Section 206 of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974 (which requires firms to adopt and implement procedures for the proper evaluation of information suggesting potential hazards and informing directors or responsible officers) and imposes civil penalties for failing to implement required evaluation and reporting procedures by specifying that firms constructing, owning, operating, or supplying the components of nuclear power plants and other facilities regulated by the Agency, and individual directors and responsible officers of such firms, are directly responsible for notifying the NSA of violations or defects that could create substantial safety hazards.

Specifies that the NSA is authorized to withhold from public disclosure certain categories of sensitive generic safeguards information when unauthorized disclosure would provide substantial assistance in compromising or negating site-specific security measures required by the NSA pursuant to its statutory responsibilities to protect NRC licensed nuclear materials and facilities against theft, diversion, or sabotage.

Specifies that low-level radioactive waste with concentrations of radionuclides exceeding NRC's limits for Class C radioactive waste (disposal of which, under the 1985 Low-Level Radioactive Waste Policy Amendments, is a Federal responsibility) owned or generated under license or regulation of the Agency (or an Agreement State) must be stored or disposed of in a facility that is licensed by the Agency (or the Agreement State).

Directs the Administrator of the NSA, within nine months of enactment, to prescribe regulations requiring licensees of operating reactors to establish a program for the testing of employees responsible for safety-sensitive functions for the unlawful use of alcohol or controlled substances.

Requires NSA to establish a system for the transmission of data from a utility to the Agency during a qualified emergency at a nuclear plant site; requires that the NSA data system be the only such system in the U.S., except for any system in existence on the date of enactment; and allows States to receive data from the NSA during an emergency unless transmission would interfere with NSA's functions.

Prohibits NSA from designating West Chicago, Illinois, as a permanent site for low-level wastes (Thorium) until the Agency has studied the safest alternative sites.

Uranium and Uranium Mill Tailings: Substitutes a government purchase program of domestic uranium in lieu of imposing fees on foreign uranium used in domestic reactors (as contained in S. 2097 passed by the Senate on March 30, 1988—Vote No. 81); establishes a \$1.75 billion Uranium Revitalization Fund of which \$1 billion is for tailings reclamation and \$750 million is for domestic uranium purchases; capitalizes the Fund from fees imposed on public utilities and the domestic uranium industry and from income earned by the Uranium Enrichment Corporation; and retains the titles of S. 2097 establishing the Uranium Enrichment Corporation and the Uranium Tailings Reclamation Program.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 300

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 9, 1988, 4:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11187

OCEAN DUMPING REFORM

BILL NO.: S. 2030

TITLE: "Ocean Dumping Reform Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act and other related statutes to end ocean and water disposal of certain types of waste; establishes a framework to end the ocean disposal of sewage sludge by December 31, 1991; bans the dumping of all medical wastes in oceans and navigable waters; sets forth a number of requirements to aid the Coast Guard in controlling the dumping of municipal and commercial waste into oceans and coastal waters; and establishes civil and criminal penalties for violations.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on October 18, 1988. S. 2030 became Public Law 100-688, approved November 18, 1988.

S. 2030: Vote No. 300.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kassebaum			Biden— ³	Kasten— ^{2AY}
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar				Specter— ²
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles			SYMBOLS:	
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth			AY—Announced Yea	
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman			AN—Announced Nay	
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Simpson			PY—Paired Yea	
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Stafford			PN—Paired Nay	
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 53 or 55%
Republicans— 44 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Sewage Sludge: Amends title I of the Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act to end all ocean disposal of sewage sludge by December 31, 1991.

Prohibits any person who is not now ocean dumping sewage sludge from beginning to dump and prohibits existing dumpers from dumping sewage sludge within six months of enactment unless the dumper has entered into a compliance agreement to end the dumping of sewage sludge; makes it unlawful to ocean dump sewage sludge after December 31, 1991; requires the Governors of New York and New Jersey to report to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) annually on the progress being made in implementing the schedules to end ocean dumping and requires EPA to report to Congress on the progress.

Establishes civil penalties for violations which exceed the costs of implementing land-based alternatives, and establishes permit fees to cover the costs of monitoring any associated research and to determine compliance with the Act; provides that penalties and fees will be deposited in a newly established Clean Oceans Fund to be used by EPA and the Coast Guard to implement the Ocean Dumping Act and by EPA to implement technologies and management practices necessary for controlling pollutant inputs adversely affecting the New York Bight.

Requires EPA and NOAA to conduct a monitoring program at sewage sludge dump sites and surrounding waters which may be affected by ocean dumping of sewage sludge; requires EPA to report on progress in using electronic surveillance to monitor sewage sludge dumping.

Medical Waste: Amends the Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to ban the dumping of all medical wastes into oceans and navigable waters; establishes criminal penalties of \$250,000 and/or five years imprisonment for violations.

Shore Protection: Establishes a number of requirements to address the problem of garbage in the ocean and coastal waters and on the beaches; requires vessels carrying any garbage, defined in the bill as municipal or commercial waste, to obtain identification numbers from the Coast Guard; requires facilities loading and unloading garbage and vessels carrying garbage to take measures to prevent garbage from being deposited into the water; requires EPA to establish specific waste handling measures by regulation; provides penalties for violations; and requires EPA and the Coast Guard to undertake a study to determine if additional tracking systems for garbage barges are necessary.

National Estuary Program: Adds the Barataria-Terrebonne Estuary Complex in Louisiana to the list of estuaries included in the National Estuary Program established under the Clean Water Act Amendments of 1987.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 301

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 9, 1988, 6:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11233

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4800

TITLE: "Department of Housing and Urban Development—Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which appropriates \$59,386,045,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Housing and Urban Development for FY 1989.

NOTE: H.R. 4800 became Public Law 100-404, approved August 19, 1988.

H.R. 4800: Vote Nos. 244-247, 301.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (88)				NAYS (8)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (48 or 94%)		Republicans (40 or 89%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (5 or 11%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Kasten	Conrad	Armstrong	Bentsen ²	Specter ²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Lugar	Proxmire	Helms	Biden ³	
Bingaman	Kennedy	Chafee	McCain	Pryor	Humphrey	Melcher ^{2AY}	
Boren	Kerry	Cochran	McClure		Roth		
Bradley	Lautenberg	Cohen	McConnell		Symms		
Breaux	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski				
Bumpers	Levin	Danforth	Nickles				
Burdick	Matsunaga	Dole	Packwood				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Pressler				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Quayle				
Cranston	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman				
Daschle	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson				
DeConcini	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Pell	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Hatfield	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—48 or 55%
Republicans—40 or 45%

Against (8)
Democrats—3 or 37.5%
Republicans—5 or 62.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates \$59,386,045,000 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development for FY 1989.

Housing Programs: Contains \$9.7 billion for housing programs; includes \$7.2 billion in new budget authority for the assisted housing program; \$1.6 billion for public housing operating subsidies; and \$46.5 million for the Emergency Shelter Grants Program; rescinds \$2.0 million in contract authority and \$50.0 million in budget authority for the Rental Housing Assistance Program; limits loans for housing for the elderly or handicapped at \$480.1 million and requires that 25 percent of the loan authority provided be used only for handicapped projects, with priority given to the mentally ill handicapped; maintains a 1989 FHA mortgage and loan insurance commitment limitation of \$96 billion and limits temporary mortgage assistance payments to \$103.4 million; and places a \$144 billion limitation on GNMA loan guarantee commitments.

Urban Development Action Grant Program: Eliminates additional funding for UDAG.

Community Development: Contains \$3 billion for Community Development Block Grants consisting of an appropriation of \$2.7 billion and a transfer of \$350 million from the Rehabilitation Loan Fund; provides \$1.2 million for lead-based paint studies.

Consumer Product Safety Commission: Contains \$34.5 million for the activities of the Consumer Product Safety Commission.

Environmental Protection Agency: Contains \$5.2 billion in net budget authority for EPA; includes \$202.5 million for EPA R&D, and \$715.6 million for EPA's abatement and control effort.

Superfund: Contains \$1.4 billion for Superfund; makes \$150.0 million available from the general fund, as authorized under the Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act of 1986.

Federal Emergency Management Agency: Contains \$633.7 million for FEMA, including \$114 million for the Emergency Food and Shelter program.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration: Contains \$10.7 billion for NASA; provides \$15 million to establish a new Science, Space, and Technology Trust Fund and grants to the Challenger Center and other educational programs on a matching basis.

National Science Foundation: Contains \$1.9 billion for the National Science Foundation; limits total funding for advanced scientific computing, networking, and communications research and infrastructure to \$73.5 million.

Veterans' Administration (VA): Contains \$28.2 billion for the VA which includes \$14.8 billion for VA benefits and compensation, \$597.6 million for VA readjustment benefits, and \$10.5 billion for VA medical care.

Other: Requires the absorption of FY 1989 pay raises within the bill's appropriation levels.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations.....	\$57,359,891,000
1989 Budget Estimate	58,666,772,000
Approved by House.....	59,709,920,000
Approved by Senate	59,077,033,000
Enacted.....	59,386,045,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 302

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 10, 1988, 9:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11306

NOMINATION OF KAREN B. PHILLIPS TO THE ICC

POSITION: Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of Karen B. Phillips, of Virginia, to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

NOTE: The nomination was reported favorably by the Commerce Committee with two dissenting votes. Proponents cited her experience in the transportation field while working for the Department of Transportation, the Commerce Committee, and the Senate Finance Committee. Opposition centered on criticism of the ICC which has shirked its responsibility to assure reasonable rates where railroads have monopoly power. During extensive questioning, the nominee endorsed abolishing the ICC and farming out its remaining duties. The current Administration's policy of inaction has resulted in increased costs to industry and agriculture and severe economic damage to those who are dependent on shipment by rail.

Vote No. 302.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (71)			NAYS (24)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (29 or 56%)	Republicans (42 or 98%)		Democrats (23 or 44%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Adams	McConnell	Biden-3	Cochran-2
Boren	Bond	Lugar	Baucus		Dodd-2	Kasten-2AY
Bradley	Boschwitz	McCain	Bingaman			Weicker-2
Breaux	Chafee	McClure	Bumpers			
Burdick	Cohen	Murkowski	Byrd			
Cranston	D'Amato	Nickles	Chiles			
DeConcini	Danforth	Packwood	Conrad			
Dixon	Dole	Pressler	Daschle			
Exon	Domenici	Quayle	Gore			
Ford	Durenberger	Roth	Graham			
Fowler	Evans	Rudman	Harkin			
Glenn	Garn	Simpson	Inouye			
Heflin	Gramm	Specter	Kennedy			
Hollings	Grassley	Stafford	Kerry			
Johnston	Hatch	Stevens	Lautenberg			
Leahy	Hatfield	Symms	Melcher			
Levin	Hecht	Thurmond	Mikulski			
Matsunaga	Heinz	Trible	Mitchell			
Metzenbaum	Helms	Wallop	Proxmire			
Moynihan	Humphrey	Warner	Rockefeller			
Nunn	Karnes	Wilson	Sarbanes			
Pell			Sasser			
Pryor			Simon			
Reid						
Riegle						
Sanford						
Shelby						
Stennis						
Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—56%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats—29 or 41%
Republicans—42 or 59%

Against (24)
Democrats—23 or 96%
Republicans—1 or 4%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 303

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 10, 1988, 10:48 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11308

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.
H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (72)		NAYS (22)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)	Republicans (19 or 46%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (22 or 54%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Johnston		Armstrong	Biden-3	Cochran-2
Baucus	Kennedy		Bond		Kasten-2
Bentsen	Kerry		Chafee		Roth-2
Bingaman	Lautenberg		D'Amato		Simpson-2
Boren	Leahy		Evans		Weicker-2
Bradley	Levin		Garn		
Breaux	Matsunaga		Gramm		
Bumpers	Melcher		Hecht		
Burdick	Metzenbaum		Heinz		
Byrd	Mikulski		Helms		
Chiles	Mitchell		Humphrey		
Conrad	Moynihan		Karnes		
Cranston	Nunn		McCain		
Daschle	Pell		McClure		
DeConcini	Proxmire		McConnell		
Dixon	Pryor		Murkowski		
Dodd	Reid		Nickles		
Exon	Riegle		Quayle		
Ford	Rockefeller		Specter		
Fowler	Sanford		Symms		
Glenn	Sarbanes		Wallop		
Gore	Sasser		Wilson		
Graham	Shelby				
Harkin	Simon				
Heflin	Stennis				
Hollings	Wirth				
Inouye					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—54%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats—53 or 74%
Republicans—19 or 26%

Against (22)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—22 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 304

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 10, 1988, 6:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11352

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (CONTRA AID)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5026

AMENDMENT NO.: 2834

TITLE: "Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to table the Dole, et al., amendment which provides, from October 1, 1988, to March 31, 1989, \$27.4 million in humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan Contras for civic action, and non-military training and human rights programs; authorizes the immediate release of \$16 million in lethal aid which was previously appropriated and fenced contingent on the peace process; authorizes the Administration to permit the exchange of more-needed lethal items for less-needed lethal items of equal value; permits the President to designate the mode of delivering the aid, including the CIA, if he determines that the Agency for International Development or a similar agency cannot provide safe or effective transportation because of the conduct of the Nicaraguan government; eliminates the current law provision that prohibits U.S. personnel from being in the 20-mile zone paralleling the Nicaraguan land borders; and establishes economic incentives for the Nicaraguan government to establish democracy, including termination of the trade embargo and \$10 million in relocation assistance for the Nicaraguan Contras. (See also Vote No. 305.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted its major differences with the Byrd, et al., amendment (Vote No. 305): it releases lethal aid already in the pipeline without requiring another vote, and it provides that the present delivery mechanism utilizing AID and the humanitarian organization PADF be used unless the President finds them unworkable, whereupon he may designate another means of delivery. They noted that some Senators want to vote for Contra aid but do not want it enacted. In this regard, the President, they stressed, will veto this bill if it is mired down with too many other items. Some said they had given peace a chance, and it had not gotten anyone closer to a peaceful resolution.

(OVER)

H.R. 5026: Vote Nos. 291, 292, 304.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)			NAYS (39)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (51 or 96%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (37 or 86%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Heflin	Armstrong	Lugar	Biden—3	Cochran—2PN
Baucus	Kennedy	Durenberger	Shelby	Bond	McCain		Kasten—2AN
Bentsen	Kerry	Hatfield		Boschwitz	McClure		Weicker—2PY
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Packwood		Cohen	McConnell		
Boren	Leahy	Specter		D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bradley	Levin	Stafford		Danforth	Nickles		
Breaux	Matsunaga			Dole	Pressler		
Bumpers	Melcher			Domenici	Quayle		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Evans	Roth		
Byrd	Mikulski			Garn	Rudman		
Chiles	Mitchell			Gramm	Simpson		
Conrad	Moynihan			Grassley	Stevens		
Cranston	Nunn			Hatch	Symms		
Daschle	Pell			Hecht	Thurmond		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Heinz	Trible		
Dixon	Pryor			Helms	Wallop		
Dodd	Reid			Humphrey	Warner		
Eaton	Riegle			Karnes	Wilson		
Ford	Rockefeller			Kassebaum			
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

GENERAL PAIRS
Weicker—Cochran

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—51 or 89%
Republicans—6 or 11%

Against (39)
Democrats—2 or 5%
Republicans—37 or 95%

Opponents of the amendment voiced support for the Byrd, et al., amendment in preference to this proposal. Some felt that the CIA should never be involved with delivery of this aid, and that the CIA should never be charged with overt policy. The Byrd approach, they asserted, has worked toward acceptance by a consensus in the Senate and most likely in the House.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 305

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 10, 1988, 7:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11368

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (CONTRA AID)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

AMENDMENT NO.: 2833

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Byrd-Dodd-Boren, et al., perfecting amendment (to the Byrd, et al., amendment No. 2813) which provides \$27 million in humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan Contras from October 1, 1988, to March 31, 1989; provides \$5 million in medical assistance, to be administered by the Catholic Church, for civilian victims of the war in Nicaragua; requires that the humanitarian aid be dispersed only by the Agency for International Development, the Organization of American States, or another nongovernmental organization; permits the President to request Congress to authorize the release of \$16.5 million of previously appropriated lethal aid if he determines that the aid should be resumed and has consulted with the four democratic presidents in the region; and makes any joint resolution passed by the House which authorizes the release of lethal aid a privileged matter in the Senate to be considered under expedited procedures. (See also Vote No. 304.)

NOTE: Proponents noted the hours and hours of negotiation among Senators and representatives from the Administration to come up with a bipartisan approach to Contra aid that encourages the peace process at this critical stage. Now that the White House refuses to signal its support, Republican Senators are withdrawing their support for this reasonable compromise. The opportunity to send a strong unified message will be lost because politics has overridden the desire for a bipartisan foreign policy that promotes the peace process while promising an expedited vote for release of military aid. For the Contra supporters, it provides humanitarian aid and sets up a procedure for releasing previously authorized military equipment. For Contra opponents, it delays a vote on military aid for two months, allowing time for the peace process to get back on track. Some supported the amendment as the only way of preventing adoption of a more sweeping proposal for prompt release of military aid (such as the Dole amendment—Vote No. 304).

(OVER)

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (49)		NAYS (47)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (49 or 92%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (43 or 100%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Inouye	Adams	Armstrong	Lugar	
Bentsen	Johnston	Leahy	Bond	McCain	
Bingaman	Kennedy	Melcher	Boschwitz	McClure	
Boren	Kerry	Proxmire	Chafee	McConnell	
Bradley	Lautenberg		Cohen	Murkowski	
Breaux	Levin		D'Amato	Nickles	
Bumpers	Matsunaga		Danforth	Packwood	
Burdick	Metzenbaum		Dole	Pressler	
Byrd	Mikulski		Domenici	Quayle	
Chiles	Mitchell		Durenberger	Roth	
Conrad	Moynihan		Evans	Rudman	
Cranston	Nunn		Garn	Simpson	
Daschle	Pell		Gramm	Specter	
DeConcini	Pryor		Grassley	Stafford	
Dixon	Reid		Hatch	Stevens	
Dodd	Riegle		Hatfield	Symms	
Eaton	Rockefeller		Hecht	Thurmond	
Ford	Sanford		Heinz	Trible	
Fowler	Sarbanes		Helms	Wallop	
Glenn	Sasser		Humphrey	Warner	
Gore	Shelby		Karnes	Wilson	
Graham	Simon		Kassebaum		
Harkin	Stennis				
Heflin	Wirth				
Hollings					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats—49 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (47)
Democrats—4 or 9%
Republicans—43 or 91%

Opponents contended this was the wrong legislative vehicle for the issue of Contra aid since it will probably be vetoed. This package is not supported by the Contras themselves, and the White House has not lent its support. Others objected to the amendment because of their opposition to an expedited vote on military lethal aid and to funneling humanitarian aid which is not designed to allow the Contras to get out but to sustain them as a military force. Military aid at this time would play into the hands of the Sandinistas as an excuse to reimpose a state of emergency and further repress civil liberties. This amendment makes clear that Congress deserves a diplomatic solution rather than a military solution.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 306

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 10, 1988, 10:15 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11392

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (DOD AUTHORIZATION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

AMENDMENT NO.: 2838

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Nunn-Warner-Johnston amendment which incorporates into the bill by reference, the provisions of S. 2355, the DOD Authorization bill, as passed by the Senate on May 27, 1988.

NOTE: Proponents expressed their desire for a Defense Authorization bill even though it was recently vetoed. This amendment incorporates the Senate-reported measure, as amended on the floor, except for two amendments which must be deleted for technical budgetary reasons. Its adoption will allow the measure to return to conference with the House if it takes similar action.

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (90)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (49 or 96%)		Republicans (41 or 100%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Harkin		Biden—3	Bond—2
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	McCain	Proxmire		Sanford—2	Cochran—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Chafee	McClure			Stennis—2	Kasten—2AY
Bingaman	Kerry	Cohen	McConnell				Pressler—2
Boren	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Murkowski				Weicker—2AY
Bradley	Leahy	Danforth	Nickles				
Breaux	Levin	Dole	Packwood				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Domenici	Quayle				
Burdick	Melcher	Durenberger	Roth				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Evans	Rudman				
Chiles	Mikulski	Garn	Simpson				
Conrad	Mitchell	Gramm	Specter				
Cranston	Moynihan	Grassley	Stafford				
Daschle	Nunn	Hatch	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatfield	Symms				
Dixon	Pryor	Hecht	Thurmond				
Dodd	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Exon	Riegle	Helms	Wallop				
Ford	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wilson				
Glenn	Sasser	Kassebaum					
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats—49 or 54%
Republicans—41 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats—2 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 307

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 11, 1988, 9:42 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11537

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (DOD DEPENDENTS ABROAD)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

AMENDMENT NO.: 2837

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the McCain-Glenn, et al., modified amendment (as a substitute for the Johnston-Nunn-Warner, et al., amendment No. 2836) to strike the provisions in the underlying amendment which (1) cap the maximum number of dependents of U.S. military personnel who are stationed overseas at the level in place at the end of FY 1987 (413,020), effective October 1, 1989; (2) require the Secretary of Defense to implement policies that will reduce the number of such dependents overseas by ten percent, by October 1, 1991; and (3) make other changes to burden sharing among NATO nations and Japan. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) pointed out that the number one issue affecting retention in the military today is family separation. A 10 percent reduction in overseas dependents would dramatically exacerbate the problems of maintaining a viable All Volunteer Force and result in plummeting morale. Shortening overseas tours, as recommended in conjunction with this cap and an eventual cutback, would significantly increase costs for additional changes of station and training. In 1985, the Senate accepted legislation directing increases in tour lengths to reduce costs. The heavy-handedness of the underlying amendment would do far more to damage U.S. alliances than to reduce U.S. defense expenditures. Its burden-sharing provisions are a classic example of congressional micromanagement.

Opponents of the substitute (voting yea) favored their amendment which softened the reported language while stressing the need for each NATO country to contribute whatever it does best for the mutual defense. For example, the U.S. cannot afford to station more support forces in Europe or transport forces to Europe quickly enough to influence the early stages of a conflict, whereas West Germany has a large pool of trained reservists. Since the baby boom is over, there should be no need to increase the cap on dependents and thereby get a better handle on these increasing costs. Since 1974, the number

(OVER)

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (36)			NAYS (59)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (33 or 62%)		Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (20 or 38%)	Republicans (39 or 93%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Graham	McClure	Boren	Armstrong	Karnes	Biden— ³	Cochran— ²
Baucus	Harkin	Rudman	Bradley	Bond	Kassebaum		Kasten— ²
Bentsen	Hollings	Stevens	DeConcini	Boschwitz	Lugar		Pressler— ²
Bingaman	Inouye		Dodd	Chafee	McCain		Weicker— ²
Breaux	Johnston		Glenn	Cohen	McConnell	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Bumpers	Lautenberg		Heflin	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Burdick	Leahy		Kennedy	Danforth	Nickles		
Byrd	Matsunaga		Kerry	Dole	Packwood		
Chiles	Nunn		Levin	Domenici	Quayle	SYMBOLS:	
Conrad	Pell		Melcher	Durenberger	Roth		
Canston	Proxmire		Metzenbaum	Evans	Simpson		
Daschle	Pryor		Mikulski	Garn	Specter		
Dixon	Reid		Mitchell	Gramm	Stafford	AY—Announced Yea	
Eaton	Sasser		Moynihhan	Grassley	Symms	AN—Announced Nay	
Ford	Simon		Riegle	Hatch	Thurmond	PY—Paired Yea	
Fowler	Stennis		Rockefeller	Hatfield	Tribble	PN—Paired Nay	
Gore			Sanford	Hecht	Wallop		
			Sarbanes	Heinz	Warner		
			Shelby	Helms	Wilson		
			Wirth	Humphrey			

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—62%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (36)
Democrats—33 or 92%
Republicans—3 or 8%

Against (59)
Democrats—20 or 34%
Republicans—39 or 66%

of troops has risen by almost 50,000 and dependents by 80,000 even while the U.S. is putting up a higher percentage of GNP than its allies. In addition to these increasing costs is an increasing concern for the safety of American dependents. They also questioned whether there was a retention problem and stressed that the cutback is not mandated in their amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 308

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 11, 1988, 2:23 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11585

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which appropriates \$282,572,013,000 for the Department of Defense and related agencies in FY 1989; includes \$78.9 billion for procurement, \$37.4 billion for RDT&E, \$85.3 billion for operation and maintenance, \$78.5 billion for military personnel, \$4.3 million for the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, \$3.5 for the U.S. Court of Military Claims, \$500 million for DOD compliance with the Superfund legislation, \$668.5 million for DOD's revolving and management funds, \$13 million for the transport of excess DOD non-lethal supplies for humanitarian assistance to refugees, \$144.5 million for the CIA Retirement and Disability System Fund, and \$23.7 million for the intelligence community staff; and incorporates into the bill by reference, the provisions of S. 2355, the DOD Authorization bill, as passed by the Senate on May 27, 1988.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations	\$275,534,118,000
1989 Budget Estimate	283,159,445,000
Approved by House	282,602,828,000
Approved by Senate	282,572,013,000
Enacted	282,412,350,000

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on September 30, 1988. H.R. 4781 became Public Law 100-463, approved October 1, 1988.

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (90)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (41 or 98%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar	Conrad	Hatfield	Biden-3	Cochran-2
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain	Pell		Exon-2	Kasten-2AY
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure	Proxmire			Pressler-2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				Weicker-2AY
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Quayle				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Roth				
Byrd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Wallop				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Gore	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats—49 or 54%
Republicans—41 or 46%

Against (4)
Democrats—3 or 75%
Republicans—1 or 25%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Pay Raise: Fully funds the recommended 4.3 percent pay raise for military personnel.

MX/Small ICBM: Funds the MX Peacekeeper/rail garrison ICBM at a level of \$686.9 million and the small ICBM program at \$50 million in order to permit the next Administration to determine whether or not the program should be terminated; provides \$732 million to procure 12 MX missiles and \$40 million for the MX flight test program. NOTE: (An additional \$13.1 million for RDT&E-related military construction for the MX/rail garrison program is contained in the FY 1989 Military Construction Appropriation bill.)

SDI: Contains \$4.0 billion for SDI; specifies minimum funding levels for seven high priority projects within SDI; contains additional guidance regarding SDI's funding allocations in a classified annex to the Committee's report; makes all the funds in the Advanced Launch System (ALS) program subject to the terms and conditions established in the FY 1987 Supplemental Appropriations Act; the FY 1988 DOD Appropriations Act; the Joint Explanatory Statements of the Conferees for both statutes; the President's January 1984-88 ALS Report to Congress; the March 9, 1988, agreement between the Air Force and the Appropriations Committee; and the March 1, 1988, Program Plan for ALS Liquid Rocket Propulsion and Propulsion Focus Technology, signed by the Air Force ALS program manager and the NASA manager of the ALS Propulsion Task Team; and calls for submission of a comprehensive report by the Secretary of Defense, within 60 days of enactment but not later than January 31, 1989, on whether and how the SDI program is being restructured in response to the May 1988 recommendations of the Defense Science Board Task Force Subgroup on Strategic Air Defense together with the cost, schedule, and technological risk implications of program restructuring.

Trident/SSN Submarine: Contains \$1.1 billion to procure one Trident submarine and \$1.7 billion to procure one SSN submarine plus \$393 million for advanced procurement.

DDG-51 Aegis Destroyers: Contains \$2.1 billion to procure three DDG-51 destroyers and \$11.3 million for advance procurement for a fourth destroyer; provides funding, by transfer, for an additional destroyer through identified savings by the committee.

AIDS Research: Contains \$27 million for the Army's AIDS research program.

Chemical Agents and Munitions: Contains \$179.5 million for chemical agents and munitions destruction.

Persian Gulf Operations: Contains \$120 million to support ongoing naval operations in the Persian Gulf.

Stealth: Fully funds the authorized classified amounts for the Advanced Technology Bomber and the Advanced Cruise Missile.

Drug Interdiction: Provides an additional \$199.1 million for DOD's drug interdiction activities of which \$30 million is to be made available for drug interdiction activities of the Army and Air National Guard and prohibits obligation of funds in excess of that amount until the Secretary submits a report to Congress detailing how the funds will be used and 30 days have lapsed following receipt of the report.

Contra Aid: Provides \$27 million in humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan Contras from October 1, 1988, to March 31, 1989, and \$5 million in medical assistance, to be administered by the Catholic Church, for civilian victims of the war in Nicaragua; requires that humanitarian aid be dispersed only by the Agency for International Development, the Organization of American States, or another nongovernmental organization; permits the President to request Congress to authorize the release of \$16.5 million of previously appropriated lethal aid if he determines that the aid should be resumed and has consulted with the four democratic presidents in the region; and makes any joint resolution passed by the House authorizing the release of lethal aid a privileged matter in the Senate to be considered under expedited procedures.

DOD Authorization: Incorporates into the bill by reference, the provisions of S. 2355, the DOD Authorization bill, as passed by the Senate on May 27, 1988. NOTE: (The FY 1989 DOD Authorization bill was vetoed by the President.)

Burdensharing Initiative: Contains, throughout the bill, a number of provisions designed to achieve a more balanced sharing for both defense and foreign aid burdens among the U.S., NATO member nations, Japan, and the Republic of South Korea, including a ban on the sale of Aegis technology to Japan, unless the Japanese government agrees to purchase the Aegis ship.

Organotin Paint: Restates the prohibition on painting vessels with organotin paint.

Navy Personnel Deaths: Requires a report on all deaths of Navy personnel during training since January 1, 1986.

Unemployment Compensation: Caps unemployment payments for military and civilian employees at \$182.4 million.

Administrative Withholding of Obligations: Prohibits withholding the obligation of funds for a program that has been clearly authorized and appropriated unless DOD submits a rescission or deferral under existing procedures, and sets out a process for DOD to follow when a program is not clearly authorized and appropriated.

Administrative Leave: Authorizes DOD to offer administrative leave in lieu of cash awards to civilian employees participating in productivity-based incentive award programs.

Consultant Services: Reduces certain funding for consulting services and provides that the resulting savings would be used to offset the four percent civilian pay raise.

Independent R&D and Bid Proposal Costs: Limits to \$5.8 billion the amount of independent R&D and bid proposal costs which DOD can consider for purposes of reimbursement.

Contractor Registration: Requires all consultants who work directly for DOD or for prime government contractors who are working on DOD projects to register with the Office of Standards and Conduct at DOD.

Overseas Dependents: Caps the maximum number of dependents of U.S. military personnel who are stationed overseas at the level in place at the end of FY 1987 (413,020), effective October 1, 1989, and requires the Secretary of Defense to implement policies that will reduce the number of dependents overseas by ten percent, by October 1, 1991.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 309

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 11, 1988, 3:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11598

ROMANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 461

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which condemns Romania for its human rights abuses, particularly its plan to raze agricultural villages in traditionally Hungarian areas; urges the Romanian government to institute meaningful human rights reforms and comply with international agreements that are binding on Romania; urges the Romanian government to revise its human rights policies and institute meaningful reforms to comply with international agreements binding on Romania; and urges the President to make clear to the Romanian government that Most-Favored-Nation status will not be restored or other favorable trading privileges extended to Romania until it reforms its human rights practices.

S. Res. 461: Vote No. 309.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (93)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar			Biden ⁻¹	Cochran ⁻²
Alonso	Kennedy	Bond	McCain			Exon ⁻²	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure				Kasten ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				Pressler ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Dole	Quayle				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Roth				
Burd	Mikulski	Durenberger	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Simpson				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Stevens				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Symms				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Weicker				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Wilson				
Gore	Sarbanes	Kassebaum					
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Healin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 52 or 56%
Republicans— 41 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 310

100th Congress
2nd Session

August 11, 1988, 5:47 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11616

NOMINATION OF RICHARD L. THORNBURGH TO BE ATTORNEY GENERAL

POSITION: Attorney General of the U.S.

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of Richard L. Thornburgh, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. Attorney General.

NOTE: The nominee, who was reported unanimously from the Judiciary Committee, has served as U.S. attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania, as Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and as Governor of Pennsylvania. He is currently a partner in the Kirkpatrick & Lockhart law firm, and is director of the Institute of Political Science at the JFK School of Government at Harvard. He has written numerous legal articles and is widely regarded as one of the Nation's most able attorneys. Such qualifications will be particularly useful in restoring credibility to the office of Attorney General in the wake of Ed Meese. Others pointed out that a person of his capability will be able to make an impact in the remaining months of the Reagan Administration.

Vote No. 310.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (85)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (15)	
Democrats (48 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	McClure			Bentsen ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McConnell			Biden ⁻³	Durenberger ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Murkowski			Boren ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Chafee	Nickles			Chiles ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Packwood			Faxon ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Quayle			Reid ⁻²	Kasten ^{-2AY}
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Roth				McCain ⁻²
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Rudman				Pressler ⁻²
Conrad	Mikulski	Domenici	Simpson				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Cranston	Mitchell	Evans	Specter			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Daschle	Moinihan	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pell	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Proxmire	Heinz	Thurmond			SYMBOLS:	
Ford	Pryor	Helms	Trible				
Fowler	Riegle	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sanford	Kassebaum	Wilson			AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Graham	Sarbanes	Lugar					
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Holings	Simon						
Hooye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats—48 or 56%
Republicans—37 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 311

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988, 12:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11790

NUCLEAR ACCIDENT CONVENTIONS

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-4, "Two Conventions: (A) The Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident, with Declaration; and (B) the Convention on Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency, with Declarations; Both Adopted in Vienna at a Special Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency on September 26, 1986, and Signed by the United States on that Date"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution of ratification of (1) the Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident which requires state parties to promptly notify potentially affected states and the International Atomic Energy Agency of certain nuclear accidents and to provide and update specified basic information relevant to minimizing an accident's radiological consequences; and (2) the Convention on Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency which establishes a stand-by framework under which assistance may be provided, but does not require any state party to provide or accept assistance.

NOTE: The Notification and Assistance Conventions entered into force internationally on October 27, 1986, and February 26, 1987, respectively, in accordance with their provision for taking effect 30 days after three states expressed their consent to be bound. The Conventions will enter into force for a particular state 30 days after the date the state expressed its consent to be bound.

Treaty Doc. 100-4: Vote No. 311.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			DeConcini—2AY	Hatfield—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar				Stafford—2
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Biden	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood			SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Chiles	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Conrad	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Cranston	Peli	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats—53 or 55%
Republicans—44 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 312

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988, 12:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11790

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY STATUTE AMENDMENTS

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 99-7, "An Amendment to Paragraph A.1 of Article VI of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, as Amended, Relating to the Composition of the Board of Governors, which was Approved by the Agency's General Conference on September 27, 1984"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the amendment to Article VI of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), as amended, which increases from nine to ten the number of IAEA members designated for a seat on its Board of Governors by virtue of their status as most advanced in the technology of atomic energy without regard to geographical distribution. This amendment will ensure that the People's Republic of China will be able to occupy a seat on the Board of Governors without displacing the other designated members—Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Japan, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

NOTE: The amendment will enter into force when two-thirds of the members have deposited instruments of acceptance.

Treaty Doc. 99-7: Vote No. 312.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			DeConcini—2AY	Hatfield—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar				Stafford—2
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Biden	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles			SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Braun	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrn	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Chafee	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Coburn	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Craig	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Cranston	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Daschle	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dixon	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Dodd	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Dun	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Ford	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gale	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inoué							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats—53 or 55%
Republicans—44 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 313

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988, 12:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11790

INTERNATIONAL NATURAL RUBBER AGREEMENT

TREATY DOC.

NO.: 100-9, "The International Natural Rubber Agreement, 1987, Done at Geneva, March 20, 1987, and Signed on Behalf of the United States on August 28, 1987"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the International Natural Rubber Agreement which is a multilateral commodity agreement designed to stabilize natural rubber prices without interfering with long-term market trends and to foster expanded natural rubber supplies at reasonable prices; and provides for the continuation of the buffer stock of not more than 550,000 metric tons established by the 1979 agreement to be used to defend a price range that is adjusted regularly in accordance with market conditions.

NOTE: The Agreement will enter into force provisionally when governments accounting for at least 75 percent of net exporters and 75 percent of net importers have deposited their instruments of ratification.

Treaty Doc. 100-9: Vote No. 313.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (53 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			DeConcini—2AY	Hatfield—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar				Stafford—2
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Biden	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles			SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Quayle				
Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger	Roth				
Chiles	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Conrad	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Craxton	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Eaton	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inoué							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 53 or 55%
Republicans— 44 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 314

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988, 1:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11790

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2662

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings, et al., motion to close further debate on the bill.

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on August 10, 1988, was signed by Senators Hollings, Reid, Johnston, Simon, Exon, Moynihan, Pell, Ford, Levin, Proxmire, Thurmond, Rockefeller, Sanford, Pryor, Stennis, Shelby, Burdick, Mitchell, Helms, and Daschle.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (68)		NAYS (29)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (50 or 94%)	Republicans (18 or 41%)	Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (26 or 59%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Johnston	Adams	Armstrong	DeConcini ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Glenn	Boschwitz		Stafford ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Matsunaga	Chafee		
Bingaman	Iaenbergl		Danforth		
Boren	Leahy		Durenberger		
Bradley	Levin		Evans		
Breaux	Melcher		Garn		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum		Gramm		
Burdick	Mikulski		Grassley		
Byrd	Mitchell		Hecht		
Chiles	Moynihan		Humphrey		
Conrad	Nunn		Karnes		
Cranston	Pell		Kassebaum		
Daschle	Proxmire		Lugar		
Dixon	Pryor		McCain		
Dodd	Reid		McClure		
Exon	Riegle		Murkowski		
Ford	Rockefeller		Nickles		
Fowler	Sanford		Packwood		
Gore	Sarbanes		Pressler		
Graham	Sasser		Quayle		
Harkin	Shelby		Simpson		
Heilin	Simon		Stevens		
Hollings	Stennis		Symms		
Inouye	Wirth		Wallop		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats— 50 or 74%
Republicans— 18 or 26%

Against (29)
Democrats— 3 or 10%
Republicans— 26 or 90%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 315

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988, 1:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11794

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE

BILL NO.: S. 2662

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Gramm point of order that consideration of the bill violates Article I, Section 7, of the Constitution, which requires that "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives," and is therefore out of order.

NOTE: Proponents of the point of order stated that the Constitution is quite clear that all revenue-raising bills shall originate in the House. Regardless of any agreement made, the fundamental rule of the Senate is that no other rule shall override the Constitution.

Opponents of the point of order noted that there had been an opportunity in the Finance Committee to include this legislation in the trade bill, but its sponsors agreed to keep it off that bill inasmuch as it might cause a veto since a similar textile bill was vetoed in 1985. The managers stated their intention to move to substitute the Senate-passed text for the House bill at the appropriate time after debate has been completed.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (71)			NAYS (24)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)	Republicans (20 or 47%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (23 or 53%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	DeConcini ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cochran		Boschwitz	Matsunaga ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Cohen		Chafee		Stafford ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato		Dole		
Boren	Leahy	Danforth		Durenberger		
Bradley	Levin	Domenici		Evans		
Breaux	Melcher	Hatch		Garn		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Heinz		Gramm		
Burdick	Mikulski	Helms		Grassley		
Byrd	Mitchell	Kasten		Hecht		
Chiles	Moynihan	McConnell		Humphrey		
Conrad	Nunn	Murkowski		Karnes		
Cranston	Pell	Roth		Kassebaum		
Daschle	Proxmire	Rudman		McCain		
Dixon	Pryor	Specter		McClure		
Dodd	Reid	Stevens		Nickles		
Eaton	Riegle	Thurmond		Packwood		
Ford	Rockefeller	Trible		Pressler		
Fowler	Sanford	Warner		Quayle		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Weicker		Simpson		
Gore	Sasser			Symms		
Graham	Shelby			Wallop		
Harkin	Simon			Wilson		
Hefflin	Stennis					
Hollings	Wirth					
Inouye						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats—51 or 72%
Republicans—20 or 28%

Against (24)
Democrats—1 or 4%
Republicans—23 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 316

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988, 3:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11801

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2881

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Packwood amendment to make the annual import quotas on each category of textiles and textile products inapplicable if the Secretary of Commerce determines that the average return on assets of U.S. textile and textile product manufacturers for the preceding calendar year exceeded the national average return on assets of all U.S. manufacturing industries.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the bill should not go into effect if the textile industry proves to be more profitable than other U.S. manufacturing industries. Without such a qualification, the Senate would be creating the impression that the textile industry is being singled out for special protection, whether needed or not, and regardless of the performance of other U.S. industries. If the textile industry is as bad off as alleged by some Senators, this amendment would have no effect; however, the textile industry is so profitable that the bill is unnecessary, they claimed. The pretax return on equity in the textile industry in 1987 was 26 percent, and plant and equipment usage was 92 percent—higher than in any other industry. The unemployment rates in most textile-producing States is below the national average. Moreover, the bill violates the multifiber agreements and GATT, which will give other countries a legal right to take action against the U.S. The bill guarantees textile producers a profit, regardless of ability or management, and at the expense of consumers.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the uncertainty that would be created by the prospect of the bill either applying or not applying (depending on the year's profitability) would be a disincentive to continued investment in textile plant modernization, which would risk the loss of thousands of jobs.

(OVER)

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (62)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (46 or 88%)	Republicans (16 or 36%)		Democrats (6 or 12%)	Republicans (28 or 64%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (2)
Bentsen	Kennedy	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	DeConcini—2AY	Hatfield—2
Biden	Kerry	Cochran	Baucus	Boschwitz	Matsunaga—2	Stafford—2
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Bingaman	Chafee		
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Conrad	Danforth		
Breaux	Levin	Hatch	Graham	Dole		
Bumpers	Melcher	Heinz	Wirth	Domenici		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Helms		Durenberger		
Byrd	Mikulski	Kasten		Evans		
Chiles	Mitchell	McConnell		Garn		
Cranston	Moynihan	Roth		Gramm		
Daschle	Nunn	Rudman		Grassley		
Dixon	Pell	Specter		Hecht		
Dodd	Proxmire	Thurmond		Humphrey		
Eaton	Pryor	Trible		Karnes		
Ford	Reid	Warner		Kassebaum		
Fowler	Riegle	Weicker		Lugar		
Glenn	Rockefeller			McCain		
Gore	Sanford			McClure		
Harkin	Sarbanes			Murkowski		
Heflin	Sasser			Nickles		
Hollings	Shelby			Packwood		
Inouye	Simon			Pressler		
Johnston	Stennis			Quayle		
				Simpson		
				Stevens		
				Symms		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—88%
Republicans—64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats—46 or 74%
Republicans—16 or 26%

Against (34)
Democrats—6 or 18%
Republicans—28 or 82%

So far in 1988, 21,000 textile jobs have been lost. The bill provides the textile industry with certainty and predictability with respect to the government's policy toward textile imports, which is necessary to justify continued investment. The textile industry provides more jobs to women, minorities, and unskilled workers than any other industry and supplies opportunities for people who might otherwise take recourse in welfare benefits. In addition, the industry is considered critical to national security.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 317

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988. 3:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11803

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE ACT

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2862

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Gramm amendment to allow the President to suspend application of the Act's import limitations if he determines that they would impose a proportionately greater economic burden on the poor than on the U.S. population as a whole.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the restrictions in this bill would disproportionately affect the poor, who spend a larger percentage of their income on clothing, and senior citizens, who are on a fixed income. The average family of four already pays between \$300 and \$700 more for clothing because of existing tariffs, and this amendment would increase costs more. Rather than risk burdening further this group of Americans, the President should to be permitted to intervene on their behalf if this bill creates too great a hardship. Noting the profitability of the textile industry, its growth in employment, and high level of plant usage, they argued that it does not need the protections in this bill. The Senate accepted a similar amendment (by voice vote) to the trade bill.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the amendment is so loosely worded and ill-defined that it creates a loophole that could render the bill ineffective in the hands of any Administration that does not want to enforce it. It is legislatively unwise to give a President the authority to determine at any time that an act is bad for a segment of society. The similar amendment to the trade bill was dropped in conference for this reason.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)			NAYS (34)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (48 or 94%)		Republicans (12 or 28%)	Democrats (3 or 6%)		Republicans (31 or 72%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Kassebaum	DeConcini ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran	Bingaman	Boschwitz	Kasten	Gore ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Biden	Lautenberg	Cohen	Bradley	Chafee	Lugar	Matsunaga ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Helms		D'Amato	McCain		
Breaux	Levin	McConnell		Danforth	McClure		
Bumpers	Melcher	Roth		Dole	Murkowski		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Rudman		Domenici	Nickles		
Burd	Mikulski	Specter		Durenberger	Packwood		
Chiles	Mitchell	Thurmond		Evans	Pressler		
Conrad	Moynihan	Trible		Garn	Quayle		
Cranston	Nunn	Warner		Gramm	Simpson		
Daschle	Pell	Weicker		Grassley	Stevens		
Dixon	Proxmire			Hatch	Symms		
Dodd	Pryor			Hecht	Wallop		
Exon	Reid			Humphrey	Wilson		
Ford	Riegle			Karnes			
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Healin	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats—48 or 80%
Republicans—12 or 20%

Against (34)
Democrats—3 or 9%
Republicans—31 or 91%

NO. 318

September 7, 1988, 4:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11807

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2860

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table Division L of the Evans amendment which exempts from the Act's import limitations those countries which purchased more U.S.-produced textiles and textile products than they exported to the U.S. in 1987.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should not apply the restrictions in this bill to those nations that have a positive trade balance with the U.S., particularly since those that currently do not export to the U.S. would be prohibited from ever doing so under this bill. There are 52 such nations, most of which are underdeveloped, and many of which are located in Africa and have been receiving U.S. economic support for years. Exempting these nations would allow them to develop trading relationships with the U.S. that might lessen the need for this support. They further suggested that the bill is unnecessary, noting that with the fall in the value of the dollar and the increased productivity and competitiveness in the U.S. textile industry, these trade imbalances have begun to correct themselves.

Opponents of the amendment countered that among the 52 nations indicated are the Soviet Union, South Africa, Vietnam, and Cuba, none of which the U.S. should be granting any sort of exception to under this bill. The U.S. can provide greater assistance to developing nations through the globalization of quotas as provided for in this bill. Further, the President and the Secretary of Commerce would have discretion under the globalization of quotas to assure that good trading partners are not denied the opportunity to trade with the U.S.

S. 2662: Vote Nos 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (59)		NAYS (31)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (44 or 92%)	Republicans (15 or 36%)	Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (27 or 64%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (4)
Biden	Kerry	Bond	Arms;rong	Bentsen ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Baucus	Breaux ⁻²	Heinz ⁻² AY
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Bingaman	Dixon ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Bumpers	Levin	D'Amato	Wirth	Dodd ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
Burdick	Melcher	Hatch		Gore ⁻²	
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Helms		Matsunaga ⁻²	
Chiles	Mikulski	Kasten			
Conrad	Mitchell	McClure			
Cranston	Moynihan	McConnell			
Davchle	Nunn	Roth			
DeConcini	Pell	Rudman			
Don	Proxmire	Specter			
Ford	Pryor	Thurmond			
Fowler	Reid	Trible			
Glenn	Riegle	Warner			
Graham	Rockefeller				
Harkin	Sanford				
Heflin	Sarbanes				
Houngs	Sasser				
Inouye	Shelby				
Johnston	Simon				
Kennedy	Stennis				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yes
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yes
PN—Paired Nay

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats—44 or 75%
Republicans—15 or 25%

Against (31)

Democrats—4 or 13%
Republicans—27 or 87%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 319

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 7, 1988, 5:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11810

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE ACT

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2871

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Gramm amendment to exempt workers' coveralls, uniforms, workshoes, and workboots from the Act's import limitations.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that workers' coveralls, uniforms, workshoes, and workboots should be exempt from the bill, so that workers do not have to bear the additional costs for clothing that would occur as a result of the restrictions in this bill. The amendment is intended to give some degree of protection to working men and women whose wages fall behind the earnings of more affluent Americans.

Opponents of the amendment countered that exempting workers' clothing items would not lower costs to workers. This is just another attempt to weaken the bill by trying to garner support by singling out work clothes for the poor. Retailers and importers will still make enormous profits regardless of the origin of the product. The amendment creates a loophole that would gut the intent of the bill and jeopardize the jobs of this Nation's 140,000 footwear and supply employees.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (62)			NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (47 or 96%)		Republicans (15 or 37%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (26 or 63%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (5)
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Biden	Lautenberg	Cochran	Bingaman	Boschwitz	Dixon ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Boren	Leahy	Cohen		Chafee	Dodd ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato		Danforth	Gore ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Breaux	Melcher	Dole		Domenici	Matsunaga ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Hatch		Durenberger		
Burdick	Mikulski	Helms		Evans		
Byrd	Mitchell	Kasten		Garn		
Chiles	Moynihan	McConnell		Gramm		
Conrad	Nunn	Roth		Grassley		
Cranston	Pell	Rudman		Hecht		
Daschle	Proxmire	Specter		Humphrey		
DeConcini	Pryor	Thurmond		Kassebaum		
Faxon	Reid	Trible		Lugar		
Ford	Riegle	Warner		McCain		
Fowler	Rockefeller			McClure		
Glenn	Sanford			Murkowski		
Graham	Sarbanes			Nickles		
Harkin	Sasser			Packwood		
Heflin	Shelby			Pressler		
Hollings	Simon			Quayle		
Inouye	Stennis			Simpson		
Johnston	Wirth			Stevens		
Kennedy				Symms		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—63%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats—47 or 76%
Republicans—15 or 24%

Against (28)
Democrats—2 or 7%
Republicans—26 or 93%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 320

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 8, 1988, 3:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11987

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2864

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Gramm amendment which permits the President, after consulting with the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR), to exempt from the import quotas under the Act any country that imposes lower tariffs and quotas on U.S. exports than those imposed on that country's exports to the U.S.; and requires the President to submit to Congress, within 90 days of enactment, a written certification of any exemption under this provision.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that if the objective of the textile bill is to penalize nations engaging in unfair trade practices, then those nations that are less protectionist than the U.S. and are allowing U.S. goods to be imported fairly should be exempt from the restrictions in the bill. This would create more jobs and lead to fairer trade.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that by ignoring nontariff and nonquota trade barriers, the amendment is useless in determining which nations are "less protectionist" than the U.S. The USTR's annual report identifies 12 different categories of unfair foreign trade practices which in addition to tariffs and quotas include restrictive licensing practices, restrictive use of standards, and testing and labeling requirements. Criticizing attempts to weaken the bill, they stated that the economic strength of the U.S. was created through the intelligent use of government, which this bill is attempting to maintain with respect to textiles and apparel.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (68)			NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (49 or 96%)	Republicans (19 or 44%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (24 or 56%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Cochran	Bingaman	Boschwitz	Dixon ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen		Chafee	Matsunaga ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato		Danforth		
Breaux	Levin	Dole		Domenici		
Bumpers	Melcher	Hatch		Durenberger		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Heinz		Evans		
Byrd	Mikulski	Helms		Garn		
Chiles	Mitchell	Kasten		Gramm		
Conrad	Moynihan	McClure		Grassley		
Cranston	Nunn	McConnell		Hecht		
Daschle	Pell	Roth		Humphrey		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Rudman		Karnes		
Dodd	Pryor	Specter		Kassebaum		
Exon	Reid	Stevens		Lugar		
Ford	Riegle	Thurmond		McCain		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Trible		Murkowski		
Glenn	Sanford	Warner		Nickles		
Gore	Sarbanes	Weicker		Packwood		
Graham	Sasser			Pressler		
Harkin	Shelby			Simpson		
Heflin	Simon			Symms		
Hollings	Stennis			Wallop		
Inouye	Wirth			Wilson		
Johnston						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats—49 or 72%
Republicans—19 or 28%

Against (26)
Democrats—2 or 8%
Republicans—24 or 92%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 321

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 8, 1988, 4:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11991

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE (ATHLETIC FOOTWEAR)

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2861

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Cohen motion to table the Packwood amendment which exempts athletic footwear from the Act's footwear quotas. (See also Vote No. 323.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that there is essentially no domestic, athletic, nonrubber footwear manufacturer since these shoes are manufactured abroad and assembled of imported components. By limiting imports, the price of this kind of shoe which is not made in the U.S. will be driven up even though the barrier will not protect American jobs. Nike and Avia are not asking for this protection. By putting a flat limit on imports, the price will go up, resulting in a back-to-school tax on every parent with children. In addition, such barriers make it difficult to argue for freer trade or get rid of unfair trade practices.

Opponents of the amendment contended that the amendment would effectively exempt all footwear imports from the bill since lifting the limit on athletic footwear would increase the limit for all other footwear. This legislation would not be necessary, they maintained, if the Administration properly implemented the laws already on the books. The International Trade Commission (ITC) ruled that the shoe industry was in danger of being completely wiped out and was entitled to relief and protection under section 201 of the Trade Act. President Reagan chose to ignore the ITC's unanimous recommendation, making a mockery of U.S. trade law. In contrast to statements of the sponsors of this amendment, domestic footwear manufacturers do support this protection. Foreign imports have increased to 82 percent of the U.S. market. France, Italy, and Britain have decided to restrict shoe imports from Korea and Taiwan, when imports reached 10 to 12 percent of their market. The U.S. continues to be the world's only free trader in this increasingly hostile trading environment. This bill allows imports to continue at their current extraordinarily high levels of 940 million pairs of shoes—one-third more shoe imports than recommended by the ITC.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (66)			NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (46 or 90%)	Republicans (20 or 47%)		Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (23 or 53%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Biden	Kennedy	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Bentsen—2	Hatfield—2
Boren	Kerry	Cochran	Baucus	Boschwitz	Dixon—2	Quayle—2
Breaux	Lautenberg	Cohen	Bingaman	Chafee	Matsunaga—2	Stafford—2
Bumpers	Leahy	D'Amato	Bradley	Domenici		
Burdick	Levin	Danforth	Sasser	Durenberger		
Byrd	Melcher	Dole		Evans		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Hatch		Garn		
Conrad	Mikulski	Heinz		Gramm		
Cranston	Mitchell	Helms		Grassley		
Daschle	Moynihan	Humphrey		Hecht		
DeConcini	Nunn	Kassebaum		Karnes		
Dodd	Pell	Kasten		Lugar		
Exon	Proxmire	McClure		McCain		
Ford	Pryor	McConnell		Murkowski		
Fowler	Reid	Rudman		Nickles		
Glenn	Riegle	Specter		Packwood		
Gore	Rockefeller	Thurmond		Pressler		
Graham	Sanford	Trible		Roth		
Harkin	Sarbanes	Warner		Simpson		
Heflin	Shelby	Weicker		Stevens		
Hollings	Simon			Symms		
Inouye	Stennis			Wallop		
Johnston	Wirth			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats—46 or 70%
Republicans—20 or 30%

Against (28)
Democrats—5 or 18%
Republicans—23 or 82%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 322

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 8, 1988, 5:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12022

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE (CBI)

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2885

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hollings motion to table the Graham amendment which exempts Caribbean Basin Initiative countries from the Act's import limitations.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that this amendment would show this Nation's appreciation to those countries that have had a long, cooperative relationship with the U.S. The 807 program has been a mutually beneficial one which has allowed American fabric to be used to produce apparel which is sold to and worn by Americans. In addition, this message of friendship to such countries as Jamaica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic would have positive benefits to the U.S. in the areas of national security, political independence, and drug trafficking at minimal economic costs and in its potential long-term economic benefit.

Opponents of the amendment noted that the bill in no way penalizes the United States' Caribbean neighbors. There is no rollback, and there is a reward for those who buy U.S. agricultural products. The 807 program is not working as intended by Congress. Fifty percent of the fabric used under 807 is of Asiatic—not U.S.—origin. The bill gives the Administration the option to favor those CBI countries that buy American agricultural products.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (59)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (42 or 82%)	Republicans (17 or 40%)		Democrats (9 or 18%)	Republicans (25 or 60%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (4)
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Bentsen—2	Hatfield—2
Biden	Lautenberg	Cochran	Bingaman	Boschwitz	Dixon—2	Hecht—2
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Chiles	Chafee	Matsunaga—2	Quayle—2
Bradley	Melcher	D'Amato	Dodd	Danforth		Stafford—2
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Grassley	Graham	Dole		
Bumpers	Mikulski	Hatch	Harkin	Domenici		
Burdick	Mitchell	Heinz	Kerry	Durenberger		
Byrd	Moynihan	Helms	Leahy	Evans		
Conrad	Nunn	Kasten	Wirth	Garn		
Cranston	Pell	McConnell		Gramm		
Daschle	Proxmire	Roth		Humphrey		
DeConcini	Pryor	Rudman		Karnes		
Faxon	Reid	Specter		Kassebaum		
Ford	Riegle	Thurmond		Lugar		
Fowler	Rockefeller	Trible		McCain		
Glenn	Sanford	Warner		McClure		
Gore	Sarbanes	Weicker		Murkowski		
Heflin	Sasser			Nickles		
Hollings	Shelby			Packwood		
Inouye	Simon			Pressler		
Johnston	Stennis			Simpson		
				Stevens		
				Symms		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—82%
Republicans—60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats—42 or 71%
Republicans—17 or 29%

Against (34)
Democrats—9 or 26%
Republicans—25 or 74%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 323

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 9, 1988, 12:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12104

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE (ATHLETIC FOOTWEAR)

BILL NO.: S. 2662

AMENDMENT NO.: 2879

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Cohen motion to table the Chafee amendment (as a substitute for the bill) which strikes nonrubber footwear from the list of imports which would be regulated by the bill. (See also Vote No. 321.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that it would eliminate all footwear quotas since the bill's provisions only deal with nonrubber footwear. The quotas in the bill, they argued, would result in prices going up 15 to 25 percent for popular shoes, such as Reeboks or Adidas. Although 98 percent of athletic footwear is imported, the average price is at a record high, and stiff competition is needed to keep prices more reasonable. Limiting imports would only hinder competition and force prices up. The import quotas from 1971 to 1981 limiting imports from Korea and Taiwan increased shoe costs to American consumers by \$1.6 billion.

Opponents of the amendment contended that by eliminating the last 18 percent of the domestic shoe industry, Congress would guarantee that prices go up as they have in other industries when domestic competition has been eliminated. No American industry has come under greater assault from imports. Even though the International Trade Commission recommended relief, President Reagan has refused to act. The reasonableness of this Act should be contrasted with every other major consuming nation that has put tight control on imports when they have risen to 10 to 15 percent of their markets.

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (63)		NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (45 or 92%)	Republicans (18 or 45%)	Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (22 or 55%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (6)
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Adams	Bentsen ⁻²	Domenici ⁻¹
Biden	Lautenberg	Cochran	Armstrong	Bingaman ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Boschwitz	Dixon ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Chafee	Matsunaga ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Dole	Metzenbaum ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Burdick	Mikulski	Hatch	Durenberger		Stafford ⁻²
Byrd	Mitchell	Heinz	Evans		
Chiles	Moynihan	Helms	Garn		
Conrad	Nunn	Kasten	Gramm		
Cranston	Pell	McCain	Grassley		
Daschle	Proxmire	McConnell	Humphrey		
DeConcini	Pryor	Roth	Kassebaum		
Dodd	Reid	Rudman	Lugar		
Exon	Riegle	Specter	McClure		
Ford	Rockefeller	Thurmond	Murkowski		
Fowler	Sanford	Trible	Nickles		
Gore	Sarbanes	Warner	Packwood		
Graham	Sasser	Weicker	Pressler		
Heflin	Shelby		Simpson		
Hollings	Simon		Stevens		
Inouye	Stennis		Symms		
Johnston	Wirth		Wallop		
Kennedy			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats—45 or 71%
Republicans—18 or 29%

Against (26)
Democrats—4 or 15%
Republicans—22 or 85%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 324

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 9, 1988, 12:19 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12123

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE

BILL NO.: S. 2662

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which limits annual imports into the U.S. of all textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear. (See also Vote No. 329.)

S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (57)

Democrats
(40 or 82%)

Republicans
(17 or 43%)

Biden	Lautenberg	Bond
Boren	Leahy	Cochran
Breaux	Levin	Cohen
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole
Byrd	Mitchell	Hatch
Daschle	Moynihan	Heinz
DeConcini	Nunn	Helms
Dodd	Pell	Kasten
Exon	Proxmire	McConnell
Ford	Pryor	Roth
Fowler	Reid	Rudman
Gore	Riegle	Specter
Harkin	Rockefeller	Thurmond
Heflin	Sanford	Trible
Hollings	Sarbanes	Warner
Inouye	Sasser	Weicker
Johnston	Shelby	
Kennedy	Simon	
Kerry	Stennis	

NAYS (32)

Democrats
(9 or 18%)

Republicans
(23 or 58%)

Adams	Armstrong
Baucus	Boschwitz
Bradley	Chafee
Chiles	Danforth
Conrad	Durenberger
Cranston	Evans
Glenn	Garn
Graham	Gramm
Wirth	Grassley
	Humphrey
	Kassebaum
	Lugar
	McCain
	McClure
	Murkowski
	Nickles
	Packwood
	Pressler
	Simpson
	Stevens
	Symms
	Wallop
	Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (5)

Republicans (6)

Bentsen-2	Domenici-1
Bingaman-2AN	Hatfield-2
Dixon-2AY	Hecht-2
Matsunaga-2AN	Karnes-2AN
Metzenbaum-2	Quayle-2
	Stafford-2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—82%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—40 or 70%
Republicans—17 or 30%

Against (32)
Democrats—9 or 28%
Republicans—23 or 72%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Import Limits: Establishes annual import quotas on each category of textile, textile products, and nonrubber footwear from all sources based on the import level for each category in 1987; permits one percent growth in each textile and textile product category annually, consistent with long-term growth trends of the domestic market; freezes imports of nonrubber footwear at 1987 import levels; authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to establish regulations to implement the quotas, including rules to require reasonable spacing of the imports during each year and to reduce the import quotas for 1989 by the amount, if any, of 1988 imports which exceed the one percent growth rate; and requires the Administration to give preference in allocating textile, apparel, and footwear quotas to countries which increase their commercial purchases of U.S. agricultural products.

Tariff Compensation: Authorizes the President to negotiate reductions in U.S. textile and apparel tariffs as compensation for affected countries to the extent required under international trade agreements of the U.S.; permits tariff cuts on textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear of up to ten percent and requires that the cuts be staged equally over five years; requires the President, before entering into any trade agreement to reduce tariffs, to consider whether the country has violated trade concessions beneficial to the U.S. which have not been adequately offset by the actions of that country or the U.S.; prohibits the President, except as provided under this Act, from (1) entering into trade negotiations regarding duties on textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear, and (2) from reducing or proposing a reduction on such duties by any means, including proclamation or an implementing bill under section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974.

Reports and Review: Requires the President to report annually to Congress on the Act's administration; requires the Secretary of Commerce to review the Act's operation after ten years and report the results to Congress.

Pilot Program for Auctioning Import Licenses: Requires the Secretary of the Treasury to establish a one-year pilot program during 1989 to publicly auction to U.S. companies import licenses applicable to categories of textiles and textile products; authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, to select the categories of textiles and textile products for which import licenses will be auctioned and requires that the number of categories selected, in the aggregate, account for at least 20 percent of the value of imported textiles or textile products; requires 15 days public notice in the Federal Register before an import license auction; requires the Secretary of the Treasury, within 60 days of enactment, to prescribe regulations which (1) provide for the auctioning of quotas, on an historical basis, among retailers, importers, and manufacturers of textiles and apparel, (2) govern the transfer of auctioned import licenses among importers, and (3) ensure that no person obtains undue market power in the U.S. through the use of auctioned import licenses; requires that the revenues from import license sales be deposited in the General Fund; directs the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, to report to Congress by March 31, 1990 on the administration, benefits, and disadvantages of the program.

Effective Date: Makes the provisions of the Act applicable to textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption on or after the date of enactment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 325

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 9, 1988, 12:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12131

PRESIDENT ZIA OF PAKISTAN

BILL NO.: S. Res. 468

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution which expresses the Senate's regret at the death of President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan; reaffirms the long-standing commitment to the security and independence of Pakistan; and welcomes the commitment of the government of Pakistan under the leadership of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to follow the constitutional process, proceed with fair parliamentary elections scheduled for November 16, and continue Pakistan's support for the Afghan refugees and Resistance in their struggle for freedom in Afghanistan.

S. Res. 468: Vote No. 325.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (85)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (15)	
Democrats (48 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ⁻²	Domenici ⁻¹
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Bingaman ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Breaux ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure			Dixon ^{-2AY}	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Matsunaga ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Bumpers	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski			Metzenbaum ⁻²	Rudman ⁻²
Burdick	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				Stafford ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski	Danforth	Packwood				Warner ⁻²
Chiles	Mitchell	Dole	Pressler				Wilson ⁻²
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Cranston	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Grassley	Symms				
Exon	Reid	Hatch	Thurmond				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sarbanes	Kassebaum					
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Sheiby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 48 or 56%
Republicans— 37 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 326

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 13, 1988, 12:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12386

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ABORTION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Chiles motion to table the Weicker motion to insist on the Senate amendment No. 126 which makes a victim of rape or incest eligible for a Federally-funded abortion only if the incident is reported promptly to a law enforcement agency; permits payments for drugs to prevent the implantation of a fertilized ovum and for the termination of an ectopic pregnancy; and allows any State the right to refuse to fund an abortion except where the mother's life would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. (See also Vote Nos. 268 and 327.)

NOTE: Proponents of the Senate amendment (voting nay) asserted that poor women should be permitted to control their own destinies, particularly in cases of rape or incest. Abortion is a legal medical procedure that is available to women who can afford it; denying this option to poor women is discriminatory. Rape is such a traumatic experience that it is inconceivable, they argued, that any woman would lie about it in order to qualify for a Federally-funded abortion. They were critical of the President's threat to veto the entire Labor-HHS appropriations bill on the basis of this one provision, and pointed out that the Senate spends more time on abortion than it does on such issues as foreign policy, education, or the environment. The Senate already has voted to narrow the language of the amendment that was originally proposed by adding the prompt reporting requirement (Vote No. 268).

Opponents of the Senate amendment (voting yea) insisted that taxpayers should not have to pay for abortions under any circumstances. Permitting Federally-funded abortions for rape and incest would weaken the seven-year-old restriction on Federally-funded abortions, lead to false rape claims being made to qualify for Federally-funded abortions, and open the floodgates for taxpayer-funded abortions for other reasons. Currently, Federal funds are available to provide non-abortion medical treatment for victims of rape. The President has indicated he would veto the bill if this provision remains.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (44)			NAYS (46)			NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (16 or 33%)		Republicans (28 or 68%)	Democrats (33 or 67%)		Republicans (13 or 32%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (5)
Biden	Armstrong	Helms	Adams	Kennedy	Cohen	Bradley—2	Bond—2AY
Breaux	Boschwitz	Humphrey	Baucus	Lautenberg	Evans	DeConcini—2AY	Chafee—2
Byrd	Cochran	Karnes	Bentsen	Leahy	Heinz	Kerry—2AN	McClure—2
Conrad	D'Amato	Kasten	Bingaman	Metzenbaum	Kassebaum	Levin—2AN	Murkowski—2
Dixon	Danforth	Lugar	Boren	Mikulski	Packwood	Matsunaga—2	Quayle—2
Ford	Dole	McCain	Bumpers	Mitchell	Roth		
Fowler	Domenici	McConnell	Burdick	Moynihan	Rudman		
Graham	Durenberger	Nickles	Chiles	Pell	Simpson		
Healin	Garn	Pressler	Cranston	Pryor	Specter	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Johnston	Gramm	Symms	Daschle	Riegle	Stefford		
Melcher	Grassley	Thurmond	Dodd	Rockefeller	Stevens		
Nunn	Hatch	Trible	Exon	Sarbanes	Weicker		
Proxmire	Hatfield	Wallop	Glenn	Sasser	Wilson	SYMBOLS:	
Reid	Hecht	Warner	Gore	Shelby			
Sanford			Harkin	Simon			
Stennis			Hollings	Wirth			
			Inouye			AY—Announced Yea	
						AN—Announced Nay	
						PY—Paired Yea	
						PN—Paired Nay	

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—67%
Republicans—68%

For (44)
Democrats—16 or 36%
Republicans—28 or 64%

Against (46)
Democrats—33 or 72%
Republicans—13 or 28%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 327

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 13, 1988, 2:24 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12388

LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ABORTION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4783

TITLE: "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Reconsideration of Vote No. 326 by which the Senate failed to table the Weicker motion to insist on the Senate amendment No. 126 which makes a victim of rape or incest eligible for a Federally-funded abortion only if the incident is reported promptly to a law enforcement agency; permits payments for drugs to prevent the implantation of a fertilized ovum and for the termination of an ectopic pregnancy; and allows any State the right to refuse to fund an abortion except where the mother's life would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. (See also Vote No. 268.) Prior to this vote, the Senate agreed by voice vote to a motion to reconsider Vote 326. Subsequent to this vote, the Senate agreed to recede from its position on amendment No. 126 by voice vote.

NOTE: Proponents of the Senate amendment (voting nay) asserted that poor women should be permitted to control their own destinies, particularly in cases of rape or incest. Abortion is a legal medical procedure that is available to women who can afford it; denying this option to poor women is discriminatory. Rape is such a traumatic experience that it is inconceivable, they argued, that any woman would lie about it in order to qualify for a Federally-funded abortion. They were critical of the President's threat to veto the entire Labor-HHS appropriations bill on the basis of this one provision, and pointed out that the Senate spends more time on abortion than it does on such issues as foreign policy, education, or the environment. The Senate already has voted to narrow the language of the amendment that was originally proposed by adding the prompt reporting requirement (Vote No. 268).

Opponents of the Senate amendment (voting yea) insisted that taxpayers should not have to pay for abortions under any circumstances. Permitting Federally-funded abortions for rape and incest would weaken the seven year old restriction on Federally-funded abortions, lead to false rape claims being made to qualify for Federally-funded abortions, and open the floodgates for taxpayer-funded abortions for other reasons. Currently, Federal funds are available to provide non-abortion medical treatment for victims of rape. The President has indicated he would veto the bill if this provision remains.

H.R. 4783: Vote Nos. 254, 255, 262-270, 326, 327.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (47)

Democrats (20 or 40%)	Republicans (27 or 68%)
Biden	Armstrong
Breaux	Cochran
Byrd	D'Amato
Chiles	Danforth
Conrad	Dole
Cranston	Domenici
Dixon	Durenberger
Ford	Garn
Fowler	Gramm
Graham	Grassley
Heflin	Hatch
Inouye	Hatfield
Jonnstun	Hecht
Melcher	Helms
Nunn	
Proxmire	
Reid	
Rockefeller	
Sanford	
Stennis	

NAYS (43)

Democrats (30 or 60%)	Republicans (13 or 33%)
Adams	Kennedy
Baucus	Lautenberg
Bentsen	Leahy
Bingaman	Metzenbaum
Boren	Mikulski
Bradley	Mitchell
Bumpers	Moynihan
Burdick	Pell
Daschle	Pryor
Dodd	Riegle
Exon	Sarbanes
Glenn	Sasser
Gore	Shelby
Harkin	Simon
Hollings	Wirth

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (4)	Republicans (5)
DeConcini-2AY	Bond-2AY
Kerry-2AN	Chafee-2PN
Levin-2AN	McClure-2
Matsunaga-2	Murkowski-2
	Quayle-2

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING:	RECEIVING:
Boschwitz (PY)	Chafee (PN)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—60%
Republicans—68%

For (47)
Democrats—20 or 43%
Republicans—27 or 57%

Against (43)
Democrats—30 or 70%
Republicans—13 or 30%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 328

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 14, 1988, 1:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12469

NOMINATION OF NICHOLAS F. BRADY TO BE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

POSITION: Secretary of the Treasury

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of Nicholas F. Brady, of New Jersey, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

NOTE: The Finance Committee reported the nomination favorably by a unanimous vote. Mr. Brady is currently a managing director of the brokerage house of Dillon, Read where he has worked since 1954. In 1982, he was appointed from New Jersey to the U.S. Senate, served eight months, and sat on the Armed Services and Banking Committees. Following his period in the Senate, he served on a number of presidential commissions. Most recently, he headed the Presidential Task Force on Market Mechanisms to investigate the October 1987 stock market crash. He is a trustee of the Rockefeller University and serves on the board of the Economic Club of New York. As demonstrated in his testimony before the Finance Committee, he is committed to continuing the policies of this Administration. He also was recognized for having raised private funds for the construction of Alexander Calder's Mountains and Clouds in the atrium of the Hart Senate Office Building. Opponents were critical of Mr. Brady's position on the budget and trade deficits and his statement that the U.S. can simply "grow" out of these problems. Under this Administration, there has been a tripling of the national debt, a sixfold increase in the trade deficit, and the U.S. has become a debtor nation for the first time in history.

Vote No. 328.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (92)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (42 or 100%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten	Conrad		Bentsen- ²	Bond- ²
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Lugar	Reid		Matsunaga- ²	Danforth- ²
Biden	Kennedy	Chafee	McCain				Murkowski- ^{2AY}
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	McClure				Quayle- ²
Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	McConnell				
Bradley	Leahy	D'Amato	Nickles				
Breaux	Levin	Dole	Packwood				
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Pressler				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Roth				
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Garn	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

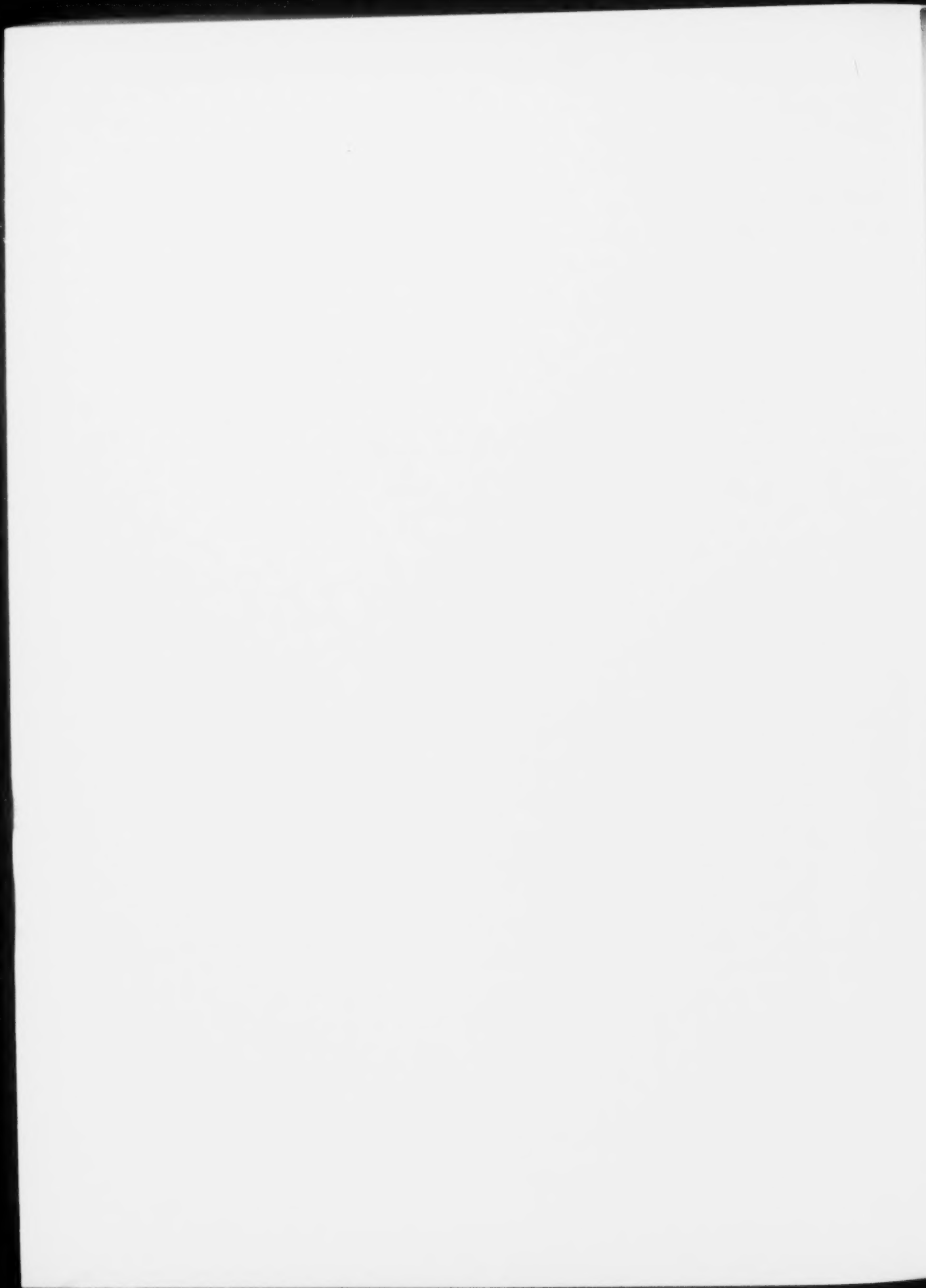
Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 42 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats— 2 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 329

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 15, 1988, 4:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12570

TEXTILE APPAREL AND FOOTWEAR TRADE

BILL NO.: H.R. 1154

TITLE: "Textile Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which limits annual imports into the U.S. of all textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear.

NOTE: The legislation is consistent with GATT article XIX since it includes a congressional, finding of injury to the domestic industry, global quotas, and authorization to negotiate compensation.

On September 28, the President vetoed H.R. 1154, saying it "would have disastrous effects on the U.S. economy" and "impose needless costs on American consumers, threaten jobs in our export industries, jeopardize our overseas farm sales, and undermine our efforts to obtain a more open trading system for U.S. exports."

H.R. 1154: Vote No. 329.
S. 2662: Vote Nos. 314-324.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (59)			NAYS (36)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (42 or 81%)	Republicans (17 or 40%)		Democrats (10 or 19%)	Republicans (26 or 60%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Biden	Lautenberg	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Baucus ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Bingaman	Boschwitz	Bentsen ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Bradley	Chafee		Quayle ⁻²
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Chiles	Danforth		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Conrad	Domenici		
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatch	Cranston	Durenberger		
Daschle	Mitchell	Heinz	Glenn	Evans		
DeConcini	Moynihan	Helms	Graham	Garn		
Dixon	Nunn	Kasten	Matsunaga	Gramm		
Dodd	Pell	McConnell	Wirth	Grassley		
Eaton	Proxmire	Roth		Hatfield		
Ford	Pryor	Rudman		Hecht		
Fowler	Reid	Specter		Humphrey		
Gore	Riegle	Thurmond		Karnes		
Harkin	Rockefeller	Trible		Kassebaum		
Heflin	Sanford	Warner		Lugar		
Hollings	Sarbanes	Weicker		McCain		
Inouye	Sasser			McClure		
Johnston	Shelby			Packwood		
Kennedy	Simon			Pressler		
Kerry	Stennis			Simpson		
				Stafford		
				Stevens		
				Symms		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 81%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 42 or 71%
Republicans— 17 or 29%

Against (36)
Democrats— 10 or 28%
Republicans— 26 or 72%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Import Limits: Establishes annual import quotas on each category of textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear from all sources based on the import level for each category in 1987; permits one percent growth in each textile and textile product category annually, consistent with long-term growth trends of the domestic market; freezes imports of nonrubber footwear at 1987 import levels; authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to establish regulations to implement the quotas, including rules to require reasonable spacing of the imports during each year and to reduce the 1989 import quotas by the amount, if any, of 1988 imports which exceed the one percent growth rate; and requires the Administration to give preference in allocating textile, apparel, and footwear quotas to countries which increase their commercial purchases of U.S. agricultural products.

Tariff Compensation: Authorizes the President to negotiate reductions in U.S. textile and apparel tariffs as compensation for affected countries to the extent required under international trade agreements of the U.S.; permits tariff cuts on textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear of up to ten percent and requires that the cuts be staged equally over five years; requires the President, before entering into any trade agreement to reduce tariffs, to consider whether the country has violated trade concessions beneficial to the U.S. which have not been adequately offset by the actions of that country or the U.S.; prohibits the President, except as provided under this Act, from (1) entering into trade negotiations regarding duties on textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear, and (2) from reducing or proposing a reduction on such duties by any means, including proclamation or an implementing bill under section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974.

Reports and Review: Requires the President to report annually to Congress on the administration of the Act; requires the Secretary of Commerce to review the Act's operation after ten years and report the results to Congress.

Pilot Program for Auctioning Import Licenses: Requires the Secretary of the Treasury to establish a one-year pilot program during 1989 to publicly auction to U.S. companies import licenses applicable to categories of textiles and textile products; authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, to select the categories of textiles and textile products for which import licenses will be auctioned and requires that the number of categories selected, in the aggregate, account for at least 20 percent of the value of imported textiles or textile products; requires 15 days public notice in the Federal Register before an import license auction; requires the Secretary of the Treasury, within 60 days of enactment, to prescribe regulations which (1) provide for the auctioning of quotas, on an historical basis, among retailers, importers, and manufacturers of textiles and apparel, (2) govern the transfer of auctioned import licenses among importers, and (3) ensure that no person obtains undue market power in the U.S. through the use of auctioned import licenses; requires that the revenues from import license sales be deposited in the General Fund; directs the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, to report to Congress by March 31, 1990 on the administration, benefits, and disadvantages of the program.

Effective Date: Makes the provisions of the Act applicable to textiles, textile products, and nonrubber footwear which enter into or are withdrawn from warehouse for consumption on or after the date of enactment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 330

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 15, 1988, 4:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12571

MINIMUM WAGE

BILL NO.: S. 837

TITLE: "Minimum Wage Restoration Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of the bill.

S. 837: Vote Nos. 330, 334-336.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (87)				NAYS (7)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (37 or 86%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (6 or 14%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Lugar	Exon	Armstrong	Baucus ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Biden	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain		Garn	Bentsen ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure		Gramm	Rockefeller ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell		Helms		
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Packwood		Humphrey		
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Pressler		Symms		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Roth				
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Rudman				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Simpson				
Chiles	Mikulski	Durenberger	Specter				
Conrad	Mitchell	Evans	Stafford				
Cranston	Moynihan	Grassley	Stevens				
Daschle	Nunn	Hatch	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatfield	Trible				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hecht	Wallop				
Dodd	Pryor	Heinz	Warner				
Ford	Reid	Karnes	Weicker				
Fowler	Riegle	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Glenn	Sanford	Kasten					
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats—50 or 57%
Republicans—37 or 43%

Against (7)
Democrats—1 or 14%
Republicans—6 or 86%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 331

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 16, 1988, 12:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12714

SOVIET ABM TREATY VIOLATIONS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 474

SUBJECT: Adoption of the resolution stating the sense of the Senate that it: (1) strongly supports the continuation of settled national policy, reiterated in the August 31 unilateral statement, that unequivocal Soviet violations of the ABM Treaty, as exemplified by the radar at Krasnoyarsk, must be corrected before the conclusions of any future agreements on strategic arms; (2) urges the President to work with Congress to develop appropriate, proportionate response options to the Krasnoyarsk radar and any other unequivocal ABM Treaty violations that would, if not corrected, deny the U.S. the essential benefits of the Treaty and be detrimental to U.S. security; and (3) expresses the Senate's willingness to consider as soon as possible any such responses that might require legislative action.

S. Res. 474: Vote No. 331.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (81)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (19)	
Democrats (47 or 100%)		Republicans (34 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (12)
Baucus	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten			Adams ⁻²	Cohen ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Bond	Lugar			Bentsen ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McCain			Chiles ⁻²	Hatfield ⁻²
Boren	Levin	Chafee	McClure			Cranston ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cochran	McConnell			Gore ^{-2AY}	Humphrey ⁻²
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles			Leahy ⁻²	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood			Reid ⁻²	Murkowski ⁻²
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				Quayle ⁻²
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Simpson				Roth ⁻²
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Specter				Rudman ⁻²
Daschle	Nunn	Evans	Stafford				Stevens ⁻²
DeConcini	Pell	Garn	Symms				Weicker ⁻²
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Thurmond				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Trible				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Wallop				
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats—47 or 58%
Republicans—34 or 42%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 332

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 19, 1988, 5:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12856

CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

BILL NO.: H.R. 5090

TITLE: "United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends current law as necessary to implement the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and approves the FTA entered into on January 2, 1988, and the Statement of Administrative Action proposed by the President to implement the FTA which establishes a free trade area consistent with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in order to (1) reduce barriers to trade in goods and services between the U.S. and Canada, (2) facilitate conditions of fair competition, (3) significantly liberalize conditions for investment, (4) establish effective procedures to administer the FTA and resolve disputes, and (5) lay the foundation for further bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the two countries.

NOTE: Under the FTA, the U.S. and Canada agree to take all necessary measures to ensure compliance with the FTA by their respective state, provincial, and local governments. The FTA generally will take precedence over pre-existing agreements, except where specified.

H.R. 5090 became Public Law 100-449, approved September 28, 1988.

H.R. 5090: Vote No. 332.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (83)				NAYS (9)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (43 or 86%)		Republicans (40 or 95%)		Democrats (7 or 14%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar	Bingaman	Cohen	Bentsen ⁻²	Garn ^{-2AY}
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain	Burdick	Domenici	Boren ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McConnell	Conrad		Lautenberg ^{-2AY}	McClure ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Chafee	Murkowski	Ford		Metzenbaum ^{-2AY}	Quayle ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cochran	Nickles	Levin			
Bumpers	Mikulski	D'Amato	Packwood	Melcher			
Byrd	Moynihan	Danforth	Pressler	Mitchell			
Chiles	Nunn	Dole	Roth				
Cranston	Pell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Daschle	Proxmire	Evans	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pryor	Gramm	Specter				
Dixon	Reid	Grassley	Stafford				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatch	Stevens				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hatfield	Symms				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Thurmond				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Helms	Trible				
Gore	Sasser	Humphrey	Wallop				
Graham	Shelby	Karnes	Warner				
Harkin	Simon	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Heflin	Stennis	Kasten	Wilson				
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 86%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats— 43 or 52%
Republicans— 40 or 48%

Against (9)
Democrats— 7 or 78%
Republicans— 2 or 22%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 333

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 20, 1988, 11:00 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p..S-12890

NOMINATION OF LAURO F. CAVAZOS TO BE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

POSITION: Secretary of Education

SUBJECT: Confirmation of the nomination of Lauro F. Cavazos, of Texas, to be Secretary of Education.

NOTE: The nomination was reported unanimously by the Labor Committee. Mr. Cavazos taught for ten years at the Medical College of Virginia, was dean of the Tufts Medical School, and in 1980 was appointed president of Texas Tech University and the Texas Tech University Health Sciences Center. He also served as chairman of the dropout task force for the Lubbock, Texas Independent School District. His credentials in the physical sciences, health issues, and health-medicine policy are impeccable. In his testimony before the Labor Committee, he stressed his belief in the Federal government's responsibility to provide resources for vulnerable students and to be an ally in education reform. He was recognized for building a successful career in education from his humble beginnings on a Texas ranch. Some described him as an "authentic American success story" who would serve as an inspiration to Hispanics throughout the United States.

Vote No. 333.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (94)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ²	Hecht ²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Boren ²	McClure ²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Stennis ²	Quayle ²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth				
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Thurmond				
Exon	Reid	Hatfield	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum					
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 334

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 22, 1988, 10:13 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13016

MINIMUM WAGE (ATTENDANCE)

BILL NO.: S. 837

TITLE: "Minimum Wage Restoration Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.

S. 837: Vote Nos. 330, 334-336.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (80)			NAYS (15)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (51 or 98%)	Republicans (29 or 67%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (14 or 33%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Boren	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Cochran		Bond	Inouye ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Biden	Lautenberg	Cohen		Chafee		Quayle ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	D'Amato		Evans		
Bradley	Levin	Danforth		Hecht		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Dole		Humphrey		
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici		Kasten		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		McCain		
Byrd	Mikulski	Garn		McConnell		
Chiles	Mitchell	Gramm		Murkowski		
Conrad	Moynihan	Grassley		Nickles		
Cranston	Nunn	Hatch		Symms		
Daschle	Pell	Hatfield		Wallop		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Helms		Weicker		
Dixon	Pryor	Karnes				
Dodd	Reid	Kassebaum				
Exon	Riegle	Lugar				
Ford	Rockefeller	Packwood				
Fowler	Sanford	Pressler				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Roth				
Gore	Sasser	Rudman				
Graham	Shelby	Simpson				
Harkin	Simon	Specter				
Heflin	Stennis	Stafford				
Hollings	Wirth	Stevens				
Johnston		Thurmond				
		Trible				
		Warner				
		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)
Democrats—51 or 64%
Republicans—29 or 36%

Against (15)
Democrats—1 or 7%
Republicans—14 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 335

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 22, 1988, 10:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13016

MINIMUM WAGE (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 837

TITLE: "Minimum Wage Restoration Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy, et al., motion to close further debate on the Committee substitute for the bill. (See also Vote No. 336 on a second cloture motion.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on September 19, 1988, was signed by Senators Kennedy, Inouye, Harkin, Sanford, Simon, Rockefeller, Dodd, Riegle, Proxmire, Cranston, Johnston, Leahy, Bingaman, Daschle, Bradley, Reid, and Byrd.

S. 837: Vote Nos. 330, 334-336.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (53)			NAYS (43)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (50 or 94%)		Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (3 or 6%)		Republicans (40 or 93%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Boren	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Bentsen ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Roth	Exon	Bond	Kasten		McClure ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Weicker	Shelby	Boschwitz	Lugar		Quayle ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg			Cochran	McCain		
Bradley	Leahy			Cohen	McConnell		
Breaux	Levin			D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Matsunaga			Danforth	Nickles		
Burdick	Melcher			Dole	Packwood		
Byrd	Metzenbaum			Domenici	Pressler		
Chiles	Mikulski			Durenberger	Rudman		
Conrad	Mitchell			Evans	Simpson		
Cranston	Moynihan			Garn	Specter		
Daschle	Nunn			Gramm	Stafford		
DeConcini	Pell			Grassley	Stevens		
Dixon	Proxmire			Hatch	Symms		
Dodd	Pryor			Hatfield	Thurmond		
Ford	Reid			Hecht	Trible		
Fowler	Riegle			Helms	Wallop		
Glenn	Rockefeller			Humphrey	Warner		
Gore	Sanford			Karnes	Wilson		
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 93%

For (53)
Democrats— 50 or 94%
Republicans— 3 or 6%

Against (43)
Democrats— 3 or 7%
Republicans— 40 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 336

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 23, 1988, 11:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13154

MINIMUM WAGE (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 837

TITLE: "Minimum Wage Restoration Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy, et al., second motion to close further debate on the Committee substitute amendment for the bill. (See also Vote No. 335.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on September 20, 1988, was signed by Senators Kennedy, Inouye, Harkin, Sanford, Simon, Rockefeller, Dodd, Riegle, Proxmire, Cranston, Johnston, Leahy, Bingaman, Bradley, Daschle, and Reid.

S. 837: Vote Nos. 330, 334-336.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (56)			NAYS (35)			NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (48 or 94%)		Republicans (8 or 20%)	Democrats (3 or 6%)		Republicans (32 or 80%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Boren	Armstrong	Karnes	Bentsen ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Hatfield	Exon	Bond	Kassebaum	Bradley ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Biden	Lautenberg	Heinz	Shelby	Boschwitz	Kasten	Chiles ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Packwood		Cochran	Lugar		Quayle ⁻²
Breaux	Levin	Roth		Cohen	McCain		Wallop ⁻²
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Specter		D'Amato	McConnell		Wilson ⁻²
Burdick	Melcher	Stafford		Danforth	Murkowski		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Weicker		Dole	Nickles		
Conrad	Mikulski			Domenici	Pressler		
Cranston	Mitchell			Durenberger	Rudman		
Daschle	Moynihan			Evans	Simpson		
DeConcini	Nunn			Garn	Stevens		
Dixon	Pell			Grassley	Symms		
Dodd	Proxmire			Hatch	Thurmond		
Ford	Pryor			Helms	Trible		
Fowler	Reid			Humphrey	Warner		
Glenn	Riegle						
Gore	Rockefeller						
Graham	Sanford						
Harkin	Sarbanes						
Heflin	Sasser						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats—48 or 86%
Republicans—8 or 14%

Against (35)
Democrats—3 or 9%
Republicans—32 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 337

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 23, 1988, 1:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13175

PROMPT PAYMENT ACT

BILL NO.: S. 328

AMENDMENT NO.: 3280

TITLE: "Prompt Payment Act Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: Sasser motion to table the Grassley-Armstrong amendment (to the House amendment) to establish a 15-member Presidential Advisory Panel for Coordination of Government Debt Collection and Delinquency Prevention Activities to review Federal policies on debt collection and delinquency prevention and recommend uniform policies, procedures, and guidelines for the U.S. government. (Subsequently, the Senate concurred in the House amendments, thereby clearing the measure for the President.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Federal government needs expert advice from the private sector on debt collection. The Federal government is involved in lending activity amounting to \$1.3 trillion but has a 15 to 20 percent ratio on debt collection, compared to 87 percent in the private sector. In 1986 alone, the government wrote off \$86 billion in delinquent loans—twice what is spent on farm programs. The amendment would create a temporary committee of 15 volunteers to examine government procedures, devise effective collection procedures, and disband within 18 months. The Senate has been discussing such a panel for over five years. The matter should be addressed in connection with this bill, they argued, since it is as important for the government to collect its debts on time as it is to pay its debts. A provision creating this panel was included in the Senate-passed version of the bill but was dropped by the House.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the amendment would kill prompt payment legislation for this Congress, since the bill would not move through conference before adjournment. Moreover, not only is this bill the wrong vehicle, but an advisory panel on debt collection is unnecessary. No hearings were held on the panel in the Senate; hearings in the House did not produce a single supporter; and the Director of OMB and the Coalition for Prompt Pay oppose it. It was a bipartisan decision in the House to delete it from the bill. Prompt payment is one of the few proposals from the 1986 White House Conference on Small Business on which the Congress has acted, and failure to pass this bill would hurt small businesses the most.

S. 328: Vote Nos. 318 (100th-1st) and 337 (100th-2nd).

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (54)			NAYS (33)			NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (47 or 96%)	Republicans (7 or 18%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (31 or 82%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Kennedy	Cohen	Harkin	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Bentsen ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Danforth	Lautenberg	Bond	Lugar	Bingaman ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
Biden	Leahy	Hatfield		Boschwitz	McCain	Bradley ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Boren	Levin	Kasten		Chafee	McConnell	Chiles ⁻²	McClure ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Roth		Cochran	Murkowski	Stennis ⁻²	Packwood ⁻²
Bumpers	Melcher	Trible		D'Amato	Nickles		Quayle ⁻²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Weicker		Dole	Pressler		Rudman ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski			Domenici	Simpson		Wilson ⁻²
Conrad	Mitchell			Durenberger	Specter		
Cranston	Moynihan			Evans	Stafford		
Daschle	Nunn			Garn	Stevens		
DeConcini	Pell			Grassley	Symms		
Dixon	Proxmire			Hatch	Thurmond		
Dodd	Pryor			Heinz	Wallop		
Exon	Reid			Helms	Warner		
Ford	Riegle			Karnes			
Fowler	Rockefeller						
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats—47 or 87%
Republicans—7 or 13%

Against (33)
Democrats—2 or 6%
Republicans—31 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 338

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 27, 1988, 6:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13356

COMMERCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4782

TITLE: "Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which appropriates \$14,849,392,000 for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies in FY 1989.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations	\$14,008,004,000
1989 Budget Estimate	15,504,004,000
Approved by House	7,966,708,000
Approved by Senate	15,006,408,000
Approved by Congress	14,849,392,000
Enacted	

NOTE: H.R. 4782 became Public Law 100-459, approved October 1, 1988.

H.R. 4782: Vote Nos. 258-261, 338.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (77)				NAYS (13)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (46 or 96%)		Republicans (31 or 74%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (11 or 26%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz	Kassebaum	Conrad	Armstrong	Bentsen—2	Bond—2
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee	Kasten	Proxmire	Garn	Dixon—2AY	Quayle—2
Biden	Kennedy	Cochran	Lugar		Gramm	Gore—2	Roth—2
Bingaman	Kerry	Cohen	McCain		Helms	Rockefeller—2AY	Stafford—2
Boren	Lautenberg	D'Amato	McConnell		Humphrey	Sasser—2	
Bradley	Leahy	Danforth	Murkowski		McClure	Simon—2	
Breaux	Levin	Dole	Packwood		Nickles		
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Domenici	Pressler		Symms		
Burdick	Melcher	Durenberger	Rudman		Trible		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Evans	Simpson		Warner		
Chiles	Mikulski	Grassley	Specter		Wilson		
Cranston	Mitchell	Hatch	Stevens				
Daschle	Moynihan	Hatfield	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Nunn	Hecht	Wallop				
Dodd	Pell	Heinz	Weicker				
Exon	Pryor	Karnes					
Ford	Reid						
Fowler	Riegle						
Glenn	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats—46 or 60%
Republicans—31 or 40%

Against (13)
Democrats—2 or 15%
Republicans—11 or 85%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates \$14,849,392,000 in new budget authority for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies in FY 1989.

Department of Commerce—\$2,699,162,000: Contains \$206.8 million for the Economic Development Administration; \$613.3 million for the Bureau of the Census; \$1.2 billion for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration; \$167.5 million for the International Trade Administration; \$40.1 million for the Bureau of Export Administration; \$33.0 million for continuation of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration; and \$159.0 million for the National Institute of Standards and Technology (formerly the National Bureau of Standards).

Department of Justice—\$5,369,469,000: Contains \$1.4 billion for the FBI which includes \$15.1 million for the FBI's classified activities in connection with the INF Treaty; \$505.0 million for the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA); \$1.2 billion for legal activities, including the U.S. Marshals Service, U.S. Attorneys, and Antrust Division; \$800.0 million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service; \$1.2 billion for the Federal Prison System; and \$229.1 million for Justice Assistance programs of which \$5 million is to reimburse States for the cost of incarcerating Mariel Cubans; allows the Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to waive termination of funds to States not in substantial compliance with the provisions of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act which mandate that juveniles be removed from adult jails as a condition of receiving grants; postpones the finalization of the new H-1 visa regulations until October 1, 1989; removes constraints which bar the uniting of orphaned illegitimate children with their adoptive American families.

Department of State—\$2,732,341,000: Contains \$2.2 billion for administration of foreign affairs and \$520.9 million for international organizations and conferences, which includes \$29.0 million for international peacekeeping activities including the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon and its Disengagement Observer Force on the Golan Heights, limits, effective July 1989, the housing benefits to individuals serving at the U.S. mission to the U.N. to no more than 18 Foreign Service Officers plus two persons who serve at the pleasure of the U.S. Representative to the U.N.; provides for the continuation of the provision of housing to the Representative and the Deputy Representative; provides for the Secretary of State to require an employee occupying housing pursuant to this provision to make a contribution from his or her salary toward the cost of the housing and permits the Secretary to reduce the employee's contribution to the extent of income taxes which are paid on the value of the leased or rented quarters; provides for a demonstration project involving ram-resistant barrier-gate security devices at U.S. diplomatic missions; creates the position of Special Envoy to the Afghan Resistance within the State Department (who shall hold the rank of Ambassador) to coordinate U.S. policies and programs involving the resistance.

The Judiciary—\$1,395,973,000 for the Supreme Court, Courts of Appeals, District Courts, Administrative Office, and other judicial services; establishes new bankruptcy judgeships in Alaska, Arizona, and Colorado.

Related Agencies—\$2,629,447,000: Contains \$177.0 million for the Maritime Administration; \$419.1 million for SBA; \$100.4 million for the FCC; \$306.6 million for the Legal Services Corporation; \$142.6 million for the Securities and Exchange Commission; \$227.9 million for the Board for International Broadcasting; \$882.4 million for the U.S. Information Agency; \$5.7 million for the Civil Rights Commission; and \$180.7 million for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC); prohibits changes in the administration and enforcement of FCC rules on newspaper-broadcast cross-ownership and directs the FCC to take administrative action to keep all obscene and indecent programming off of radio and TV regardless of the time of day; suspends for FY 1989, an EEOC regulation that would validate the waiver of employee rights under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act; permits the new Legal Services Board, nominated after January 20, 1989, to develop and implement after September 30, 1989, a system for the competitive award of grants and contracts; provides \$65 million for the acquisition and construction of Voice of America radio facilities and \$7.5 million for USIA to initiate a surrogate home television broadcasting service to Cuba to be known as Television Marti which meets the same requirements as Radio Marti; prohibits the use of funds by the Civil Rights Commission to enforce the Indian Civil Rights Act until 60 days after the Comptroller General submits an opinion as to the scope of the Commission's jurisdiction over tribal implementation of the Act.

Other: Requires that agencies funded under this act absorb any pay raises within their appropriated levels; provides that if any provision of this Act or its application is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and its application to persons or circumstances shall not be affected.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 339

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 28, 1988, 4:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13462

PARENTAL LEAVE (CHILD PORNOGRAPHY)

BILL NO.: S. 2488

AMENDMENT NO.: 3293

TITLE: "Parental and Medical Leave Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Thurmond, et al., modified amendment (to the second Committee amendment) which clarifies that current laws prohibiting advertisement of child pornography are applicable to computer advertisements; prohibits the buying and selling of children for use in child pornography; requires producers of sexually explicit material to document the ages of persons appearing in the material; provides for criminal and civil asset forfeiture in obscenity cases; includes child pornography violations as predicate offenses under the RICO statute; creates a new offense which prohibits certain business persons from receiving or possessing, with the intent to sell or distribute, obscene matter which has moved in interstate or foreign commerce; shifts the burden of proof in obscenity cases from the prosecutor to the defendant when the question of interstate commerce is to be decided in trial; makes it illegal to sell or possess obscene material or child pornography on Federal lands; increases the penalty for obscene Dial-a-Porn violations; makes it illegal to provide obscene programming on cable and subscription television services; and clarifies that States may regulate obscenity or matters not otherwise constitutionally protected.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that Federal law should be strengthened to protect children from sexual exploitation and to put an end to the multi-million-dollar child pornography industry. The amendment would revise the Federal role in prosecuting obscenity by enlarging the scope of the Federal government's jurisdiction over these offenses and by creating new offenses. It also would make changes in the Federal law regarding adult obscenity. While agreeing with the bill's intent, others were concerned that there had been no mark up in the Judiciary Committee. They raised questions about the constitutionality of the bill in three areas: the possession of obscene materials on Federal land where there is no intent to sell; the civil fine and the issue of whether the matter is regulatory or punitive; and how the statute would be viewed on repeal, since so much of it may be unconstitutional.

S. 2488: Vote No. 339, 344, 349, 355.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (97)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (45 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Lugar			Matsunaga ⁻²	
Biden	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McCain				
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Leahy	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 45 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 340

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 28, 1988, 5:57 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13471

DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1989 (CONFERENCE REPORT)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4481

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1989"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which, except for minor technical amendments and the following six substantive changes, is identical to H.R. 4264 (Vote No. 252), the vetoed FY 1989 DOD Authorization bill: (1) all earmarkings on SDI funding are deleted and the restriction on the Space Based Interceptor (SBI) Program is removed with a directive that the Secretary instead submit a detailed report prior to the adjournment of Congress on the restructured SBI program; (2) the amount available for the Rail-Garrison MX Program after February 15, 1989, if the new President decides to go forward with the program, is increased from \$250 million to \$350 million (by transfer); (3) the moratorium on flight testing of any U.S. depressed trajectory ballistic missile in FY 1989 is deleted; (4) technical changes to the provision which directed the deactivation of two Poseidon submarines are incorporated in order to facilitate the Navy's handling of the submarines while they await dismantling; (5) the effective date of the provision requiring that all DOD awards of grants and contracts to colleges and universities for the performance of research and development be made using competitive procedures is delayed for one year; and (6) the number of defense auditors who monitor industry contracts for possible fraud is substantially increased. (See Vote No. 252 for a summary of the conference report.)

NOTE: H.R. 4481 became Public Law 100-456, approved September 29, 1988.

H.R. 4481: Vote No. 340.

H.R. 4264: Vote Nos. 121-144, 251, 252.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (91)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (42 or 98%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten	Conrad	Hatfield	Bentsen-2	Kassebaum-2AY
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar	Harkin		Matsunaga-2	McCain-2AY
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure	Proxmire			Quayle-2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Roth				
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Rudman				
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Simpson				
Cranston	Nunn	Evans	Specter				
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pryor	Gramm	Stevens				
Dixon	Reid	Grassley	Symms				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatch	Thurmond				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Sanford	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Sasser	Humphrey	Weicker				
Gore	Shelby	Karnes	Wilson				
Graham	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—98%

For (91)
Democrats—49 or 54%
Republicans—42 or 46%

Against (4)
Democrats—3 or 75%
Republicans—1 or 25%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 341

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 29, 1988, 4:24 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13669

WELFARE OVERHAUL/WORKFARE

BILL NO.: H.R. 1720 (S. 1511)

TITLE: "Family Security Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which replaces, effective October 1, 1990, the Work Incentive (WIN), WIN Demonstration, Community Work Experience, Work Supplementation, and Job Search programs with a new Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS) which would offer welfare recipients a range of basic education and skills training services and activities, including job search and community work experience, in order to assist these individuals to leave welfare and enter the workforce; requires States to establish job training programs and requires welfare recipients, unless otherwise exempt, to participate in the program as a condition of receiving benefits; provides day care assistance if needed for an individual's participation; provides day care and Medicaid coverage for one year to individuals who leave the welfare rolls for a job; requires States to provide cash assistance (AFDC) to two-parent families in which the principal wage earner is unemployed and to provide full Medicaid coverage to all family members for one year, including months in which benefits are not paid; strengthens provisions to improve the enforcement of child support orders; and contains revenue provisions to fully offset the cost of this legislation.

NOTE: H.R. 1720 became Public Law 100-485, approved October 13, 1988.

H.R. 1720 (S. 1511): Vote Nos. 188, 189, 341.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (44 or 98%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten		Helms	Bentsen—2	Quayle—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Bumpers—2	
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain				
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Exon	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Ford	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Heinz	Wallop				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Gore	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE.

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Child Support Enforcement: Requires States to (1) establish, and review every four years, guidelines for child support awards, and (2) within five years of enactment, implement a periodic review and adjustment process for child support awards; requires judges to use the State guidelines in setting child support awards, unless application would be unjust or inappropriate in a particular case.

Requires States to implement immediate wage withholding (without waiting for arrearage) for all child support orders, unless the State finds good cause or both parties agree to an alternative arrangement; makes this requirement applicable to child support orders issued or modified after 25 months from enactment with respect to AFDC families and to all orders initially issued on or after January 1, 1994, for non-AFDC families; allows State child support agencies to request immediate withholding for orders enforced on behalf of welfare recipient families, regardless of any alternative agreement; authorizes the Secretary to grant waivers to five States allowing them to provide services to noncustodial parents under the JOBS program.

Requires every State to implement a Federally approved (90 percent matched) Statewide automated tracking and monitoring system to carry out its child support enforcement plan; mandates that States require parents to furnish their social security numbers upon the birth of a child with the information limited to child support enforcement program purposes; requires the Secretaries of Labor and HHS to give the Federal Parent Locator Service prompt access to wage and unemployment claims information that may help in locating an absent parent or his/her employer through the State "INTERNET" arrangement or other procedures and requires States to participate in order to receive unemployment compensation administration grants; authorizes \$2 million for a Commission on Interstate Child Support to make recommendations revising and improving the interstate enforcement system.

Requires the Secretary of HHS, after consulting with an advisory committee, to establish time limits within which States must respond to requests for assistance in establishing and enforcing support orders, and distribute child support collected by State agencies; requires CBO, subject to appropriation, to study the implementation of a national minimum payment standard under the child support supplement program.

Provides 90 percent Federal matching for lab tests to establish paternity, and requires States to meet Federal standards in establishing paternity; requires all parties in a contested paternity suit to take a genetic test if requested by any party.

Education, Employment, and Training: Replaces, effective October 1, 1990, the Work Incentive (WIN), WIN Demonstration, Community Work Experience, Work Supplementation, and Job Search programs with a new Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS) which would offer welfare recipients a range of basic education and skills training services and activities, including job search and community work experience; requires each State to establish a JOBS program under a plan approved by the Secretary of HHS and to make it available State-wide within two years of enactment, unless the State demonstrates to the Secretary that it is not feasible; requires States to coordinate Job Training Partnership Act and other relevant employment, training, and education programs with the JOBS program.

Makes participation mandatory for all AFDC recipients who are not otherwise exempt and to the extent resources are available; specifically exempts individuals: with children under three years of age (although States may require participation of parents with children as young as one year old), who are ill or incapacitated, needed at home to care for a household member, or working 30 hours or more a week, and children under 16 or attending school, pregnant women, and those individuals residing in an area where the program is unavailable; guarantees child care when necessary for participation; establishes JOBS participation rates and, beginning in 1990, penalizes States for failing to meet the participation requirements, but authorizes the Secretary to waive all or part of the penalty in certain circumstances; suspends an individual's benefits if he/she fails to take part in the program or to accept a bona fide job offer; contains provisions to prevent JOBS participants from displacing regular employees.

Provides Federal funding for the JOBS program as a capped entitlement limited to \$600 million for FY 1989, \$800 million in 1990, \$1 billion in each 1991-93, \$1.1 billion in 1994, and \$1.3 billion in 1995; establishes a Federal matching rate of 90 percent of a State's cost up to the amount allotted to a State for WIN in 1987, and establishes the Federal match for amounts above that level at the Medicaid matching rate with a minimum Federal match of 60 percent for non-administrative and personnel costs and a 50 percent Federal match for other administrative costs; funds child care costs at a matching rate pegged to the State's Medicaid rate; reduces to 50 percent Federal JOBS funding to States which fail to devote at least 55 percent of JOBS funds to specific target groups; contains provisions governing the operation of the JOBS program.

Directs the Secretary to evaluate the new JOBS program and to conduct an implementation study based on a representative sample of States and localities and to recommend to Congress a set of program performance standards, including participation rates, within three years of the program's effective date; calls for a separate study of the effectiveness of the JOBS program for Indians.

Work Transition Benefits: Requires States to provide transitional day care benefits for one year to families who leave welfare because of work, upon determining that child care is needed as a condition of employment, and to establish a sliding fee schedule based on the family's ability to pay; and provides Federal matching funds based on the State's Medicaid matching rate.

Requires States to extend Medicaid coverage for one year for families who lose their welfare benefits because of increased income from employment, but permits States to require families with incomes above the Federal poverty line to pay an income-related premium for this coverage; provides that this provision, which is effective April 1, 1990, would sunset on September 30, 1998, at which time the current four-month transitional benefit would be reinstated.

Requires States to provide funding to individuals participating in the JOBS program for transportation and supportive services necessary for the individual's participation; provides a 50 percent Federal match subject to the JOBS funding cap.

Cash Benefits: Requires States, effective October 1, 1990, to provide cash assistance (AFDC) to two-parent families in which the principal wage earner is unemployed; requires States that currently have these programs to continue them and provide benefits for a full year and permits other States to limit benefits to six months in any one-year period.

Requires that one parent in a two-parent AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) household participate for a minimum of 16 hours a week in either a work supplementation or a community work experience program; establishes participation rates for States.

Requires States to provide full Medicaid coverage to all family members for one year, including months in which AFDC benefits are not paid; permits States to require a minor under age 18 who has never married and is pregnant or has a child to reside with a parent or other adult guardian or adult-supervised supportive living arrangement to be eligible for assistance.

Demonstration Authority: Authorizes several demonstration projects including programs to employ welfare recipients as child care providers and to test financial incentives to reduce school dropouts.

Revenue Provisions: Contains a number of provisions to increase revenues by \$3.3 billion over the five-year period, FY 1989-93, including, extending through January 10, 1994, the Refund Offset Program under which the IRS is authorized to withhold the tax refunds of persons owing delinquent debts to the Federal government (estimated to generate \$2 billion over the five-year period).

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 342

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 30, 1988, 1:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13789

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (WORLD BANK)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4637

AMENDMENT NO.: 3319

TITLE: "Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Inouye motion to table the Symms modified amendment (to the House amendment to the Senate amendment No. 119) which strikes the six-year authorization for additional U.S. contributions to the World Bank.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that the conference report includes funds for the World Bank which neither the House nor Senate authorized and, therefore, it violates rule XXVII of the Senate. Funds should not be authorized, they argued, since the World Bank is crippling the economies of Third World governments, mauling their environments, and suppressing their people. World Bank loans reached \$14 billion in 1987, and the bank wants to double that amount over the next six years, even though many of those loans would be made to the most indebted nations in the world. Moreover, the World bank has moved away from its original purpose of promoting private foreign investment to making loans to nationalized industries in socialist countries.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that the Senate-passed foreign operations appropriation bill stated that these funds would be appropriated only if S. 2524 or another act authorizing funds for the World Bank is enacted. The Senate receded, and the House adopted a rule that incorporated by reference H.R. 4645 which contains a six-year authorization. Therefore, the provision in the conference report is germane.

H.R. 4637: Vote Nos. 228-231, 342, 343.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (38 or 81%)		Republicans (19 or 43%)	Democrats (9 or 19%)	Republicans (25 or 57%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Lautenberg	Bond	Byrd	Armstrong	Bentsen—2	Evans—2
Baucus	Leahy	Boschwitz	DeConcini	D'Amato	Bradley—2	Quayle—2
Biden	Levin	Chafee	Ford	Durenberger	Bumpers—2	
Bingaman	Matsunaga	Cochran	Fowler	Garn	Glenn—2	
Boren	Melcher	Cohen	Heflin	Gramm	Graham—2AY	
Breaux	Mikulski	Danforth	Hollings	Grassley	Kennedy—2	
Burdick	Mitchell	Dole	Metzenbaum	Hatch	Moynihan—2	
Chiles	Nunn	Domenici	Proxmire	Hecht		
Conrad	Pell	Hatfield	Shelby	Heinz		
Cranston	Pryor	Kassebaum		Helms		
Daschle	Reid	Kasten		Humphrey		
Dixon	Riegle	Lugar		Karnes		
Dodd	Rockefeller	Packwood		McCain		
Eaton	Sanford	Rudman		McClure		
Gore	Sarbanes	Simpson		McConnell		
Harkin	Sasser	Specter		Murkowski		
Inouye	Simon	Stafford		Nickles		
Johnston	Stennis	Warner		Pressler		
Kerry	Wirth	Weicker		Roth		
				Stevens		
				Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—81%
Republicans—57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—38 or 67%
Republicans—19 or 33%

Against (34)
Democrats—9 or 26%
Republicans—25 or 74%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 343

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 30, 1988, 3:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13798

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (OPIC)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4637

AMENDMENT NO.: 3321

TITLE: "Foreign Operations Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Sanford motion to table the Metzenbaum-Helms perfecting amendment (to the Pell amendment No. 3320) which prohibits the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) from insuring, reinsuring, or guaranteeing (1) projects which produce exports to the U.S. that are directly competitive with goods manufactured in the U.S. unless the project is located in a country whose annual per capita income is \$984 or less in 1986 U.S. dollars, (2) any petroleum producing project or hotel project, and (3) assistance to any financial institution that is not in an underdeveloped nation; makes these prohibitions applicable to notes issued after enactment; and requires OPIC to report to Congress within six months on the status of the implementation of all recommendations contained in the General Accounting Office report on OPIC operations issued in May, 1987.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that OPIC has been involved in projects that have encouraged the export of U.S. jobs, technology, and capital overseas, while doing little to meet the needs of less-developed nations. OPIC was created to insure the foreign investments of U.S. multinational companies and banks against the risks of war, expropriation, currency inconvertibility, and civil strife. However, according to a GAO study, the economic assumptions that OPIC makes in terms of the effect projects have on U.S. trade and employment are misleading. Twenty of 33 projects examined were expected to have negative consequences on U.S. employment. The amendment would protect U.S. jobs, while continuing to encourage development projects in Third World nations by limiting the types of projects OPIC can insure and requiring the Corporation to adopt GAO's recommendations.

Opponents of the amendment countered that curtailing the Corporation's authority and restricting U.S. markets to Third World goods would hurt the U.S. and many developing nations, particularly in the Caribbean Basin. If this amendment had been law in 1986 and 1987, nearly half of the approximately 300 projects supported by OPIC would have been denied assistance—projects creating \$216 million in net foreign exchange and generating U.S. exports of \$698 million and 4,000 person-years of U.S. (OVER)

H.R. 4637: Vote Nos. 228-231, 342, 343.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (72)				NAYS (23)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (31 or 60%)		Republicans (41 or 95%)		Democrats (21 or 40%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten	Baucus	Helms	Bentsen—2	Evans—2
Biden	Johnston	Bond	Lugar	Breaux	Pressler	Kennedy—2	Quayle—2
Bingaman	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain	Burdick			Wallop—2AY
Boren	Leahy	Chafee	McClure	Byrd			
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cochran	McConnell	Conrad			
Bumpers	Moynihan	Cohen	Murkowski	Cranston			
Chiles	Nunn	D'Amato	Nickles	DeConcini			
Daschle	Pryor	Danforth	Packwood	Exon			
Dixon	Riegle	Dole	Roth	Heflin			
Dodd	Rockefeller	Domenici	Rudman	Hollings			
Ford	Sanford	Durenberger	Simpson	Lautenberg			
Fowler	Sasser	Garn	Specter	Levin			
Glenn	Simon	Gramm	Stafford	Melcher			
Gore	Stennis	Grassley	Stevens	Metzenbaum			
Graham	Wirth	Hatch	Symms	Mikulski			
Harkin		Hatfield	Thurmond	Mitchell			
		Hecht	Trible	Pell			
		Heinz	Warner	Proxmire			
		Humphrey	Weicker	Reid			
		Karnes	Wilson	Sarbanes			
		Kassebaum		Shelby			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—60%
Republicans—95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats—31 or 43%
Republicans—41 or 57%

Against (23)
Democrats—21 or 91%
Republicans—2 or 9%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

employment. Encouraging overseas investment directly benefits U.S. exports. U.S. overseas subsidiaries buy more than 30 percent of all U.S. exports, according to the Commerce Department. In addition, OPIC operates at a profit and earned over \$100 million in 1987. U.S. competitors in Japan and Western Europe have programs similar to OPIC which they are continuing to expand. Any revisions to OPIC operations should be made through the Foreign Relations Committee so that the consequences of such changes will be closely examined.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 344

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 30, 1988, 5:14 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13817

PARENTAL LEAVE

BILL NO.: S. 2488

TITLE: "Parental and Medical Leave Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Byrd motion to table the Dole motion to postpone further consideration of the bill (which includes parental leave, child care, and child pornography programs) until Thursday, October 6, 1988, at 4:00 p.m.

NOTE: Proponents of postponing consideration of the bill (voting nay) contended that this measure was part of a political agenda to influence the election. They protested the method of consideration that precludes consideration of alternative proposals. Postponing consideration for almost a week would give the Senate the opportunity to take up the number one concern of Americans, which is drugs. The popular child pornography provisions should not be used to carry these other two programs which have not been carefully examined and create many new layers of bureaucracy to take care of children. Opponents of postponing consideration (voting yea) maintained that the crisis facing families across America is too serious for the Senate to leave this package of parental leave, child care, and child pornography unaddressed. A vote to postpone action is a vote to kill these important family programs. The parental leave bill has been the subject of extensive committee examination and has the full support of the ranking minority member, and the child pornography bill was passed by a vote of 97 to 0. These important programs would help families maintain stability during periods of childbirth, adoption, and medical crises. It would give them access to quality child care nationwide by helping States make child care more affordable for lower-income working parents. It, too, would protect America's children from sexual abuse and exploitation. Addressing these matters should not be further delayed.

S. 2488: Vote Nos. 339, 344, 349, 355.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (52)			NAYS (42)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (49 or 96%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (40 or 93%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Heflin	Armstrong	Kasten	Bentsen—2	Evans—2
Baucus	Kerry	Durenberger	Shelby	Bond	Lugar	Biden—2	Quayle—2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Weicker		Boschwitz	McCain	Kennedy—2	Wallop—2
Boren	Leahy			Cochran	McClure		
Bradley	Levin			Cohen	McConnell		
Breaux	Matsunaga			D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Melcher			Danforth	Nickles		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Dole	Packwood		
Byrd	Mikulski			Domenici	Pressler		
Chiles	Mitchell			Garn	Roth		
Conrad	Moynihan			Gramm	Rudman		
Cranston	Nunn			Grassley	Simpson		
Daschle	Pell			Hatch	Specter		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Hatfield	Stafford		
Dixon	Pryor			Hecht	Stevens		
Dodd	Reid			Heinz	Symms		
Exon	Riegle			Helms	Thurmond		
Ford	Rockefeller			Humphrey	Trible		
Fowler	Sanford			Karnes	Warner		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Kassebaum	Wilson		
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats—49 or 94%
Republicans—3 or 6%

Against (42)
Democrats—2 or 5%
Republicans—40 or 95%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 345

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 30, 1988, 5:56 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13834

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS, 1989

BILL NO.: H.R. 4784

TITLE: "Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which appropriates \$42,512,839,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies in FY 1989, plus \$4,101,083,000, by transfer from Section 32 (customs receipts), making a total of \$46,613,922,000 available in obligational authority.

Budget Authority Considered

1988 Appropriations	\$52,361,202,000
1989 Budget Estimate	42,539,915,000
Approved by House	40,038,072,000
Approved by Senate	43,605,071,000
Enacted	42,512,839,000

NOTE: H.R. 4784 became Public Law 100-460, approved October 1, 1988.

H.R. 4784: Vote Nos. 275-278, 345

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (90)				NAYS (4)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		Republicans (40 or 93%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Proxmire	Humphrey	Bentsen—2	Evans—2
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Kasten		Roth	Biden—2	Quayle—2
Bingaman	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar		Rudman	Kennedy—2	Wallop—2AY
Boren	Lautenberg	Chafee	McCain				
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	McClure				
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	McConnell				
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Murkowski				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Nickles				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Packwood				
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Pressler				
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Tribie				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Helms	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Wilson				
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats—50 or 56%
Republicans—40 or 44%

Against (4)
Democrats—1 or 25%
Republicans—3 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of \$42,512,839,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies in FY 1989, plus \$4,101,083,000, by transfer from section 32 (customs receipts), making a total of \$46,613,922,000 available in obligational authority.

Agricultural Programs: Contains \$591.7 million for the Agricultural Research Service; \$361.4 million for the Agricultural Extension Service; \$333.8 million for the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service; \$36.7 million for Agricultural Marketing Services; \$580 million, by transfer from the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC), for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; and \$314.0 million for the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation; provides a current indefinite appropriation of \$8.8 billion for reimbursement of CCC net realized losses.

Rural Development Programs: Contains \$1.8 billion in insured loans under FmHA's Rural Housing Insurance Fund; \$4.4 billion for programs under FmHA's Agricultural Credit Insurance Fund which includes \$569.0 million for farm ownership loans (\$95 million insured, \$474 million guaranteed); \$3.2 billion for farm operating loans (\$900 million insured, \$2.3 billion guaranteed); \$600.0 million for emergency disaster loans; \$14 million for soil and water loans (\$11 million insured; \$3 million guaranteed); \$1.6 billion in new budget authority and a loan limitation of \$521.8 million for FmHA's Rural Development Insurance Fund (\$330.4 million for water and waste disposal loans and \$95.7 million for each industrial development loan guarantees and community facility loans); \$109.4 million for water and waste disposal grants; \$641.9 million for the Soil Conservation Service (SCS); \$2.1 billion for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; and \$403.0 million for the Rural Electrification Administration; prohibits SCS from consolidating its four national technical centers.

Domestic Food Programs: Contains \$4.6 billion for the child nutrition programs (\$497.5 million in new budget authority plus \$4.1 billion from section 32 transfers); \$19.9 million for the special milk program; \$1.9 billion for the special supplemental food program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC); \$50 million for the Commodity Supplemental Food (CSF) Program; \$13.6 billion for the Food Stamp Program which includes \$908.3 million for Puerto Rico and a \$10 million earmark for equipment necessary to improve accountability in the coupon redemption process; \$239.1 million for cash and commodities for selected groups including the Needy Family and Elderly Feeding Programs; \$50.0 million for the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) and \$120.0 million for TEFAP commodity purchases; and \$89.2 million for food program administration; permits the use of up to \$2 million from surplus TEFAP administrative funds, if any, to fund the WIC farmers' market coupon demonstration program; specifies that adult day care centers are eligible to participate in the child care food program and directs USDA to issue regulations to assure maximum participation.

International Programs: Contains \$95.0 million for the Foreign Agricultural Service; \$851.9 million for P.L. 480 Titles I and III, Credit Sales; and \$630.0 million for P.L. 480 Title II, Commodities for Distribution Abroad; limits transfer authority between Title II and Titles I and III to ten percent.

Related Agencies: Contains \$531.4 million for the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), \$40.4 million for AIDS research, and \$23.9 million for construction of new laboratory facilities at the National Institutes of Health campus to accommodate expansion of FDA's AIDS-related work, and \$34.7 million for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission; provides for a demonstration project in biotechnology.

General Provisions: Provides prepayment authority for REA guaranteed loans made by the Federal Financing Bank in the amount of \$150 million for telephone program borrowers and \$350 million for electric program borrowers; makes \$20 million of section 32 funds available in FY 1989-90 to purchase sunflower oil for export through the Sunflower Oil Assistance Program; requires that agencies funded under this bill absorb any pay raise in FY 1989; requires that statements and other documents describing projects or programs funded in whole or part with Federal money state the percentage of the total cost of the program or project financed with Federal money and the dollar amount of the funds.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 346

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 30, 1988, 8:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13868

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (INTERIM RESTRAINT)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

AMENDMENT NO.: 3344

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Helms, et al., amendment (to the House amendment to the Senate amendment No. 78) which prohibits any funds from being obligated or spent after December 1, 1989, to dismantle any Poseidon submarines unless the President, using existing authority on that date, has certified to Congress that the Soviet Union has dismantled the Krasnoyarsk radar.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the U.S. is currently below the main SALT II sublimits for MIRVed ballistic missiles and the USSR is well above. Aside from the main sublimit violation, there are 26 separate presidentially-confirmed Soviet violations of the expired SALT II Treaty. The President vetoed the defense authorization bill, stating his opposition to dismantling two more Poseidon submarines. This amendment gives the Senate an opportunity to correct a mistake.

Opponents of the amendment pointed to the President's support for this revised authorization, and stated that changing it at this point would reopen the arms control debate which should not occur on an appropriations bill. This amendment would infringe upon the flexibility of this or the future President to act regarding Krasnoyarsk. It, too, would delay this bill past the end of the fiscal year. Each submarine dismantled, they noted, will save from \$125 million to \$150 million. The Administration plans to dismantle on October 1, and the Navy plans to dismantle these two to save money in FY 1990.

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (66)			NAYS (25)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (47 or 94%)	Republicans (19 or 46%)		Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (22 or 54%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Kerry	Armstrong	Heflin	Bond	Bentsen—2	Boschwitz—2
Baucus	Lautenberg	Chafee	Hollings	D'Amato	Biden—2	Evans—2
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	Shelby	Dole	Cranston—2	Gramm—2
Boren	Levin	Cohen		Garn	Kennedy—2	Quayle—2
Bradley	Matsunaga	Danforth		Grassley		Walters—2AN
Breaux	Melcher	Domenici		Hatch		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Durenberger		Hecht		
Burdick	Mikulski	Hatfield		Helms		
Byrd	Mitchell	Heinz		Humphrey		
Chiles	Moynihan	Kassebaum		Karnes		
Conrad	Nunn	Lugar		Kasten		
Daschle	Pell	Packwood		McCain		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Roth		McClure		
Dixon	Pryor	Rudman		McConnell		
Dodd	Reid	Specter		Murkowski		
Exon	Riegle	Stafford		Nickles		
Ford	Rockefeller	Stevens		Pressler		
Fowler	Sanford	Warner		Simpson		
Glenn	Sarbanes	Weicker		Symms		
Gore	Sasser			Thurmond		
Graham	Simon			Trible		
Harkin	Stennis			Wilson		
Inouye	Wirth					
Johnston						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—54%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats—47 or 71%
Republicans—19 or 29%

Against (25)
Democrats—3 or 12%
Republicans—22 or 88%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 347

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 30, 1988, 9:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13883

DOD APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (EARMARKED UNIVERSITY RESEARCH)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4781

AMENDMENT NO.: 3345

TITLE: "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Johnston motion to table the Nunn amendment (as a substitute for the House amendment for Senate amendment No. 89) which strikes the earmarking for nine university research projects contained in amendment No. 89; requires a report by the Secretary of Defense to Congress on what educational institutions are earmarked to receive project funding that were not in the President's budget request; and maintains the R&D funding level. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote. See Vote Nos. 177 and 153, 99th-2nd.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the defense bill is going to become a university set-aside bill. The Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations Committee should not have the authority to earmark funds for various universities without competition or an analysis of the merits. Some \$46 million of set-asides for universities emerged mysteriously out of conference, having not been in either the Senate or House-passed bills. In 1982, Congress earmarked \$3 million for specific universities. By last year it reached \$225 million, and this year the process has become so complex that a total is not easily available.

Opponents of the amendment argued that it was vague in its effect and violated the compromise that was agreed upon. It, too, would give the Administration a line item veto to pick and choose among projects. They insisted on the merits of the projects and the rights of Members to advance them for their constituents.

H.R. 4781: Vote Nos. 293, 295, 296, 303, 305-308, 346, 347.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE REJECTED

YEAS (35)			NAYS (53)			NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (31 or 65%)		Republicans (4 or 10%)	Democrats (17 or 35%)		Republicans (36 or 90%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Bingaman	Armstrong	Lugar	Bentsen—2	Boschwitz—2
Baucus	Leahy	Durenberger	Boren	Bond	McCain	Biden—2	Evans—2
Breaux	Matsunaga	Heinz	Bradley	Chafee	McClure	Chiles—2	Gramm—2
Bumpers	Melcher	Specter	Dixon	Cochran	McConnell	Cranston—2	Quayle—2
Burdick	Mikulski		Exon	Cohen	Murkowski	Kennedy—2	Stafford—2
Byrd	Mitchell		Fowler	Danforth	Nickles	Sarbanes—2	Wallop—2
Conrad	Moynihan		Glenn	Dole	Packwood		
Daschle	Reid		Gore	Domenici	Pressler		
DeConcini	Riegle		Graham	Garn	Roth		
Dodd	Rockefeller		Kerry	Grassley	Rudman		
Ford	Sanford		Levin	Hatch	Simpson		
Harkin	Sasser		Metzenbaum	Hatfield	Stevens		
Heflin	Shelby		Nunn	Hecht	Symms		
Hollings	Simon		Pell	Helms	Thurmond		
Inouye	Stennis		Proxmire	Humphrey	Trible		
Johnston			Pryor	Karnes	Warner		
			Wirth	Kassebaum	Weicker		
				Kasten	Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—65%
Republicans—90%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (35)
Democrats—31 or 89%
Republicans—4 or 11%

Against (53)
Democrats—17 or 32%
Republicans—36 or 68%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 348

100th Congress
2nd Session

September 30, 1988, 10:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13892

D.C. APPROPRIATIONS, 1989 (ABORTION/D.C. FUNDS)

BILL NO.: H.R. 4776

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1989"

SUBJECT: Nickles motion to table the Bradley motion to disagree to the House amendment No. 15 which prohibits District of Columbia funds (as well as Federal funds) from being used to perform abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. (See also Vote Nos. 232, 233, and 359, 100th-2nd, and 289, 100th-1st.)

NOTE: Proponents of the House amendment (voting yea) asserted that abortions should not be paid for with taxpayers' money unless the life of the mother is endangered. All District funds, regardless of their source, are appropriated by Congress which justifies Federal involvement in this issue. If the Senate disagrees to the House amendment, the conference report will not be passed by the midnight fiscal year deadline. It is very unlikely the House will accept this change since it has already voted three times in favor of this position. In addition, the President has indicated he would veto the bill if it did not include the Hyde abortion language.

Opponents of the House amendment (voting nay) countered that restricting the expenditure of locally-collected taxes violates the District of Columbia Act of 1973, which granted D.C. home rule. Every year since 1980, the Senate has agreed to abortion language in the D.C. appropriations bill—which President Reagan has signed into law every year of his Administration—permitting abortions in cases of rape, incest, or ectopic pregnancy. These exceptions would be excluded under the House amendment, and poor women in the District of Columbia would no longer be able to choose abortion even when their local taxes pay for it.

H.R. 4776: Vote Nos. 232-237, 348.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (45)			NAYS (44)			NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (14 or 29%)	Republicans (31 or 76%)		Democrats (34 or 71%)	Republicans (10 or 24%)		Democrats (6)	Republicans (5)
Breaux	Armstrong	Karnes	Adams	Leahy	Chafee	Bentsen ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Byrd	Bond	Kassebaum	Baucus	Levin	Cohen	Biden ^{-2AN}	Gramm ⁻²
Conrad	Boschwitz	Kasten	Bingaman	Matsunaga	Heinz	Boren ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
DeConcini	Cochran	Lugar	Bradley	Metzenbaum	Packwood	Cranston ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Dixon	D'Amato	McCain	Bumpers	Mikulski	Roth	Dodd ⁻²	Wallop ⁻²
Exon	Danforth	McClure	Burdick	Mitchell	Rudman	Kennedy ⁻²	
Ford	Dole	McConnell	Chiles	Moynihan	Specter		
Heflin	Domenici	Murkowski	Daschle	Nunn	Stevens		
Johnston	Durenberger	Nickles	Fowler	Pell	Weicker		
Melcher	Garn	Pressler	Glenn	Pryor	Wilson		
Proxmire	Grassley	Simpson	Gore	Riegle			
Reid	Hatch	Symms	Graham	Rockefeller			
Shelby	Hatfield	Thurmond	Harkin	Sanford			
Stennis	Hecht	Trible	Hollings	Sarbanes			
	Helms	Warner	Inouye	Sasser			
	Humphrey		Kerry	Simon			
			Lautenberg	Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 71%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (45)
Democrats— 14 or 31%
Republicans— 31 or 69%

Against (44)
Democrats— 34 or 77%
Republicans— 10 or 23%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 349

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 3, 1988, 1:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14051

PARENTAL LEAVE (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2488

TITLE: "Parental and Medical Leave Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Reid, et al., motion to close further debate on the Byrd motion to recommit the bill to Committee with instructions to report back forthwith with a substitute amendment containing provisions dealing with parental leave, child pornography, and child care.

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on September 29, 1988, was signed by Senators Reid, Proxmire, Levin, Bumpers, Rockefeller, Cranston, Fowler, Dodd, Kennedy, Pell, Wirth, Inouye, Baucus, Byrd, Sanford, and Riegle.

S. 2488: Vote Nos. 339, 344, 349, 355.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (85)				NAYS (6)		NOT VOTING (9)	
Democrats (50 or 96%)		Republicans (35 or 90%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (4 or 10%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	McConnell	Heflin	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Durenberger ^{-2AY}
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Melcher	Helms	Kerry ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
Biden	Kennedy	Chafee	Nickles		McClure		Hecht ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Packwood		Symms		Heinz ^{-2AY}
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Pressler				Humphrey ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Roth				Karnes ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Danforth	Rudman				Quayle ⁻²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Simpson				
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Specter				
Byrd	Mitchell	Evans	Stafford				
Chiles	Moynihan	Gramm	Stevens				
Conrad	Nunn	Grassley	Thurmond				
Cranston	Pell	Hatch	Trible				
Daschle	Proxmire	Hatfield	Wallop				
DeConcini	Pryor	Kassebaum	Warner				
Dixon	Reid	Kasten	Weicker				
Dodd	Riegle	Lugar	Wilson				
Exon	Rockefeller	McCain					
Ford	Sanford						
Fowler	Sarbanes						
Glenn	Sasser						
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

†Perm. Rec. Correction, CRS-14543, 10/5/88

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—90%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats—50 or 59%
Republicans—35 or 41%

Against (6)
Democrats—2 or 33%
Republicans—4 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 350

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 5, 1988, 11:51 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14566

BERNE COPYRIGHT CONVENTION IMPLEMENTATION

BILL NO.: S. 1301 (H.R. 4262)

TITLE: "Berne Convention Implementation Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which amends Title 17, U.S.C., to make changes to the U.S. copyright law as necessary for the U.S. to adhere to the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, signed at Berne, Switzerland, on September 9, 1986; gives guidance to the courts on how to construe U.S. adherence to the Convention; and defines the subject matter, scope of copyrights, and type of notice, filing, or registration required for a work to be protected against unauthorized use. (Subsequently, the Senate passed by voice vote the House companion bill, H.R. 4262, as amended by the text of this bill as passed. HR. 4262 became Public Law 100-568, approved October 31, 1988.)

S. 1301 (H.R. 4262): Vote No. 350.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (90)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (39 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	McCain			Bentsen ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McClure			Chiles ⁻²	D'Amato ^{-2AY}
Biden	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell			Simon ⁻²	Durenberger ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski				Humphrey ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles				Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Danforth	Packwood				Quayle ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Dole	Pressler				Weicker ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Roth				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Evans	Rudman				
Byrd	Mikulski	Garn	Simpson				
Conrad	Mitchell	Gramm	Specter				
Cranston	Moynihan	Grassley	Stafford				
Daschle	Nunn	Hatch	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatfield	Symms				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hecht	Thurmond				
Dodd	Pryor	Heinz	Trible				
Exon	Reid	Helms	Wallop				
Ford	Riegle	Kassebaum	Warner				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Kasten	Wilson				
Glenn	Sanford	Lugar					
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats—51 or 57%
Republicans—39 or 43%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 351

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 6, 1988, 12:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14864

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (EDUCATION SAVINGS BONDS)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3468

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy-Metzenbaum, et al., amendment which exempts from individual gross income the interest from U.S. savings bonds paid to an educational institution for tuition and reduces this tax exemption when adjusted gross income reaches \$60,000 or more until it is completely phased out at \$80,000.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Senate should affirm its commitment to education through this tax-free plan to promote savings for college expenses. The amendment would eliminate the tax completely on savings bonds used for college expenses, which would provide families with an incentive to save for this purpose. U.S. savings bonds are an ideal method of saving because they present no savings risk, are familiar and easily accessible to many people, and could be used at any educational institution, or (without the tax exemption) for other purposes. The proposal emphasizes the importance of investing in American education, which is necessary to ensure the Nation's economic competitiveness in the next century.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (94)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (43 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ⁻²	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar			Harkin ⁻²	Pressler ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McCain			Matsunaga ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure				
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Roth				
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Rudman				
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Simpson				
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Specter				
Cranston	Pell	Garn	Stafford				
Daschle	Proxmire	Gramm	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Symms				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatfield	Trible				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Wallop				
Ford	Sanford	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Helms	Weicker				
Glenn	Sasser	Humphrey	Wilson				
Gore	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Graham	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

NO. 352

October 6, 1988, 3:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14880

AMENDMENT NO.: 3499

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

Opponents of the amendment countered that if the Senate denies tax-exempt status to organizations on the basis of whether someone agrees with their objectives, then the tax-exempt status of almost every controversial organization would be jeopardized, as well as the intellectual diversity of the Nation. The attempt is being made to restrict the circumstances under which women may exercise their legal rights by threatening the tax-exempt status of hospitals and clinics; however, as a matter of policy, it is inconsistent to give tax-exempt status to such controversial organizations as the Creation Science Legal Defense Fund, the National Academy of Astrologers, and the Krishna Consciousness Movement, and then deny it to hospitals and clinics on the basis of the percentage of gross receipts from abortions. Nonprofit hospitals would be faced with crippling problems if the one percent gross receipt level were exceeded because they would lose their tax-exempt status over all operations and functions. The amendment is opposed by a number of organizations, including the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, and the Group Health Association.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 353

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 6, 1988, 6:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14906

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (BUDGET CUTS/DRUG PROGRAM)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3512

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Gramm motion to recommit the bill to the Finance Committee with instructions to report back forthwith with a Committee substitute amendment, as amended, by the Gramm amendment which provides for the transfer of the following funding amounts to the Attorney General and the Secretaries of HHS and Education for the purpose of funding the provisions of the drug bill (S. 2852): \$182.0 million from the Economic Development Administration; \$58.6 million from the Legal Services Corporation; \$584.0 million from Amtrak; \$196.2 million from the Low-Income Energy Assistance Fund; and \$21.9 million from the coal purchase account of the Defense Stock Fund.

NOTE: Proponents of the motion to recommit (and the Gramm amendment) claimed that the Senate exceeded President Reagan's budget request for FY 1989 by \$10 billion, while cutting his request for drug enforcement programs by \$800 million. In addition, only \$200-\$500 million of the \$2.6 billion the Senate had set aside for the drug effort remains because the Senate funded low-priority programs that do not justify a tax increase. If the Senate raises taxes to pay for the drug bill (S. 2852), as proposed by the Rudman amendment (Vote No. 354), it would, in effect, be raising taxes to fund those low-priority programs. Moreover, if the Rudman amendment were to pass, the level of spending it would achieve would be below that proposed in the President's budget request. This proposal would reduce the level of funding in five areas of the FY 1989 budget to levels proposed by the President (Economic Development Administration, Legal Services Corporation, Amtrak, low-income energy assistance, and the coal purchase account of the Defense Stock Fund) making \$850 million available for the drug bill. The recommitment motion was required to allow this amendment to be considered because the amendment tree to the Rudman amendment had been filled.

(OVER)

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO RECOMMIT REJECTED

YEAS (22)		NAYS (72)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (20 or 47%)	Democrats (49 or 96%)	Republicans (23 or 53%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Graham	Armstrong	Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Adams ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Proxmire	Bond	Biden	Kerry	Cochran	Bentsen ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
	Boschwitz	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Gore ⁻²	Wallop ⁻²
	Dole	Boren	Leahy	D'Amato		
	Garn	Bradley	Levin	Danforth		
	Gramm	Breaux	Matsunaga	Domenici		
	Hatch	Bumpers	Melcher	Durenberger		
	Hecht	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Evans		
	Helms	Byrd	Mikulski	Grassley		
	Humphrey	Chiles	Mitchell	Hatfield		
	Kassebaum	Conrad	Moynihan	Heinz		
	McClure	Cranston	Nunn	Kasten		
	McConnell	Daschle	Pell	Lugar		
	Nickles	DeConcini	Pryor	McCain		
	Rudman	Dixon	Reid	Murkowski		
	Symms	Dodd	Riegle	Packwood		
	Thurmond	Exon	Rockefeller	Pressler		
	Trible	Ford	Sanford	Roth		
	Warner	Fowler	Sarbanes	Simpson		
	Wilson	Glenn	Sasser	Specter		
		Harkin	Shelby	Stafford		
		Heflin	Simon	Stevens		
		Hollings	Stennis	Weicker		
		Inouye	Wirth			
		Johnston				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (22)
Democrats—2 or 9%
Republicans—20 or 91%

Against (72)
Democrats—49 or 68%
Republicans—23 or 32%

Opponents of the motion to recommit (and the Gramm amendment) countered that the Finance Committee should not be expected to reconsider major portions of the FY 1989 budget, parts of which are not even under that Committee's jurisdiction. The budget has been debated, passed, and signed into law by the President. If the Senate decides to reconsider the budget to meet an individual Senator's "wish list," then other members of the Senate, as well as the House, would be equally tempted to craft portions of the budget to their preference.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 354

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 6, 1988, 7:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14907

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (EXCISE TAX INCREASE/DRUG PROGRAM)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3510

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Baucus motion to table the Rudman amendment (and its amendment No. 3511 thereto) which increases the tax on cigarettes (two cents per pack), distilled spirits (\$1.50 per gallon), wines (five cents per bottle), and beer (five cents per six-pack) in order to fund the drug bill from the revenue resulting from these excise increases which have been deposited in a Drug Free America Trust Fund.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the drug bill (S. 2852), which has no funding, could be fully funded through small increases in excise taxes. Raising the tax on cigarettes an average of two cents a pack, distilled spirits by one percent, and beer by less than a penny a can, would yield \$2.85 billion in 1989 and \$1.2 billion in 1990 for a trust fund for a comprehensive drug program. Because cigarettes and alcohol are consumed throughout the country, the tax is uniform. Since these taxes have not been raised since 1954, the real tax rate on them has declined. Moreover, it is fair to tax addictive substances as a means of combatting illegal substances, they argued, since young people who use cigarettes and alcohol are known to have a greater likelihood of eventually using illegal drugs. Polls indicate there is strong public support for raising taxes to pay for drug programs.

Opponents of the amendment countered that including a tax increase on the technical corrections bill would kill the bill and suggested that funding for the drug bill should be considered when that legislation is pending before the Senate. They were critical of raising taxes that would not reduce the Federal deficit. Moreover, there is no guarantee that the revenue from these new taxes would be used for the programs under the drug bill after the first year. They pointed out that one year after passing the Omnibus Homeless Assistance Act, the programs under that act simply were cut. Some felt that the tax was regressive and would hurt small farmers. Others feared that the tax would never be eliminated, even though it is supposed to sunset after two years.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)		NAYS (33)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (36 or 71%)	Republicans (24 or 57%)	Democrats (15 or 29%)	Republicans (18 or 43%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (3)
Baucus	Johnston	Biden	Chafee	Adams ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Boren	Matsunaga	Bingaman	Cohen	Bentsen ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Breaux	Melcher	Bradley	D'Amato	Gore ⁻²	Wallop ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Chiles	Durenberger		
Burdick	Mikulski	DeConcini	Evans	VOTING PRESENT (1)	
Byrd	Mitchell	Glenn	Garn		
Conrad	Nunn	Graham	Hatch	EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
Cranston	Proxmire	Kennedy	Hatfield		
Daschle	Pryor	Kerry	Kassebaum	1—Official Business	
Dixon	Reid	Lautenberg	Lugar	2—Necessarily Absent	
Dodd	Riegle	Leahy	McClure	3—Illness	
Exon	Rockefeller	Levin	Murkowski	4—Other	
Ford	Sanford	Moynihan	Rudman	SYMBOLS:	
Fowler	Sarbanes	Pell	Simpson		
Harkin	Sasser	Simon	Specter	AY—Announced Yea	
Heflin	Shelby		Stafford	AN—Announced Nay	
Hollings	Stennis		Weicker	PY—Paired Yea	
Inouye	Wirth		Wilson	PN—Paired Nay	

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 71%
Republicans— 57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats— 36 or 60%
Republicans— 24 or 40%

Against (33)
Democrats— 15 or 45%
Republicans— 18 or 55%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 355

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 7, 1988, 11:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15069

PARENTAL LEAVE (CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2488

TITLE: "Parental and Medical Leave Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Adams, et al., motion to close further debate on the Committee substitute amendment for the bill.

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on October 5, 1988, was signed by Senators Adams, Kerry, Fowler, Levin, Matsunaga, Metzenbaum, Bingaman, Pell, Daschle, Kennedy, Cranston, Mitchell, Lautenberg, Dodd, Mikulski, and Rockefeller.

S. 2488: Vote Nos. 339, 344, 349, 355.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (50)			NAYS (46)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (45 or 85%)		Republicans (5 or 12%)	Democrats (8 or 15%)		Republicans (38 or 88%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Boren	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Bentsen— ²	Karnes— ²
Baucus	Kerry	Durenberger	Breaux	Bond	Kasten		Quayle— ²
Biden	Lautenberg	Specter	Dixon	Boschwitz	Lugar		Wallop— ²
Bingaman	Leahy	Stafford	Exon	Cochran	McCain		
Bradley	Levin	Weicker	Heflin	Cohen	McClure		
Bumpers	Matsunaga		Melcher	D'Amato	McConnell		
Burdick	Metzenbaum		Nunn	Danforth	Murkowski		
Byrd	Mikulski		Shelby	Dole	Nickles		
Chiles	Mitchell			Domenici	Packwood		
Conrad	Moynihan			Evans	Pressler		
Cranston	Pell			Garn	Roth		
Daschle	Proxmire			Gramm	Rudman		
DeConcini	Pryor			Grassley	Simpson		
Dodd	Reid			Hatch	Stevens		
Ford	Riegle			Hatfield	Symms		
Fowler	Rockefeller			Hecht	Thurmond		
Glenn	Sanford			Heinz	Trible		
Gore	Sarbanes			Helms	Warner		
Graham	Sasser			Humphrey	Wilson		
Harkin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 88%

For (50)
Democrats— 45 or 80%
Republicans— 5 or 10%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Group
Robert C. Bird, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 356

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 7, 1988, 3:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15103

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (TAX-EXEMPT BONDS)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3586

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: DeConcini, et al., amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that the Senate conferees should oppose and reject any restrictions on the use of tax-exempt bonds by nonprofit organizations building residential rental property.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the conferees should be directed to reject Section 367 of the House bill which would require nonprofit organizations to comply with the same restrictions as private developers with respect to the use of tax-exempt bonds. Private developers can use the proceeds from tax-exempt bonds only for the construction of rental housing and related facilities, such as kitchens or bathrooms. However, applying this restriction to nonprofit organizations would limit their ability to meet the needs of their constituencies: the homeless, senior citizens, and the physically and mentally disabled. Nonprofit organizations would be prohibited from using the proceeds from tax-exempt bonds to construct counseling facilities in homeless shelters and communal eating and medical facilities in senior citizen homes. Moreover, the provision would have an immediate effect on New York City's ten-year plan to rehabilitate 100,000 units of abandoned housing. Since there is no evidence of nonprofit organizations misusing tax-exempt bonds, adding this onerous restriction without hearings and adequate study is unwarranted.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (88)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ⁻²	Bond ^{-2AN}
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar			Fowler ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Chafee	McClure			Simon ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	McConnell				Karnes ⁻²
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski				McCain ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Dole	Nickles				Quayle ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Domenici	Packwood				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Melcher	Durenberger	Pressler				Weicker ^{-2AY}
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Evans	Roth				Wilson ^{-2AY}
Byrd	Mikulski	Garn	Rudman				
Chiles	Mitchell	Gramm	Simpson				
Conrad	Moynihan	Grassley	Specter				
Cranston	Nunn	Hatch	Stafford				
Daschle	Pell	Hatfield	Stevens				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hecht	Symms				
Dixon	Pryor	Heinz	Thurmond				
Dodd	Reid	Helms	Trible				
Exon	Riegle	Humphrey	Warner				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kassebaum					
Glenn	Sanford						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—51 or 58%
Republicans—37 or 42%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 357

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 7, 1988, 4:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15107

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (FEDERAL PAY/COMPARABLE WORTH)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3582

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Evans motion to table the Evans-Cranston-Durenberger modified perfecting amendment (to the Cranston-Evans-Durenberger amendment No. 3581) which establishes a Commission on Compensation Equity to study the Federal wage system in order to determine whether wage discrimination against minority and female employees exists in the Federal pay and classification system and requires the study to include both a job content (comparable worth) analysis and an economic analysis. (The Evans-Cranston-Durenberger modified perfecting amendment No. 3582 fell when the underlying amendment was withdrawn.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that there are concerns both inside and outside the Federal government that the contributions of women to the labor force are not being appropriately recognized, and that inequities have crept into public pay. The proposed study would look systematically at the factors which go into the establishment of Federal pay scales, determine if any inequities exist in the treatment of women and minorities and assess how well the Federal pay system is able to adapt to the challenges of a competitive work environment. Other such studies have led to working situations where workers were happier, more productive, and stayed on the job longer, reducing the need for retraining. Even those who questioned comparable worth agreed that the study would be helpful in evaluating where the Nation stands in terms of treating all Federal workers fairly. The sponsors stated that the amendment was offered to determine the position of the Senate on pay equity and indicated that if the tabling motion failed, the amendment would be withdrawn.

(OVER)

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (14)		NAYS (72)		NOT VOTING (14)	
Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (12 or 31%)	Democrats (45 or 96%)	Republicans (27 or 69%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (7)
Hollings	Armstrong	Baucus	Johnston	Adams ⁻²	Bond ⁻²
Stennis	Garn	Biden	Kennedy	Bentsen ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
	Gramm	Bingaman	Kerry	Chiles ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
	Helms	Boren	Lautenberg	DeConcini ^{-2AN}	Karnes ⁻²
	Humphrey	Bradley	Leahy	Nunn ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
	McCain	Breaux	Levin	Sanford ⁻²	Wallop ⁻²
	McClure	Bumpers	Matsunaga	Simon ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
	Nickles	Burdick	Melcher		
	Roth	Byrd	Metzenbaum		
	Rudman	Conrad	Mikulski		
	Symms	Cranston	Mitchell		
	Thurmond	Daschle	Moynihan		
		Dixon	Pell		
		Dodd	Proxmire		
		Exon	Pryor		
		Ford	Reid		
		Fowler	Riegle		
		Glenn	Rockefeller		
		Gore	Sarbanes		
		Graham	Sasser		
		Harkin	Shelby		
		Heflin	Wirth		
		Inouye			
			Boschwitz		
			Chafee		
			Cohen		
			D'Amato		
			Dole		
			Domenici		
			Durenberger		
			Evans		
			Grassley		
			Hatch		
			Hatfield		
			Hecht		
			Heinz		
			Kassebaum		
			Kasten		
			Lugar		
			McConnell		
			Murkowski		
			Packwood		
			Pressler		
			Simpson		
			Specter		
			Stafford		
			Stevens		
			Tibbles		
			Warner		
			Weicker		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—69%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (14)
Democrats—2 or 14%
Republicans—12 or 86%

Against (72)
Democrats—45 or 62.5%
Republicans—27 or 37.5%

Opponents of the amendment countered that the proposed study is really aimed at investigating and legitimizing the "flawed economic theory" of comparable worth, with the ultimate goal of changing the entire system by which compensation is determined in the private sector. The pay differential between men and women has narrowed throughout the Federal government as increasing numbers of women have taken advantage of favorable promotion opportunities. As more women with higher expectations enter the work force, this gap will narrow further, making the Federal Employee Equity Study Commission unnecessary. In addition, such laws as the Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act protect the rights of workers and make it unnecessary to consider comparable worth.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 358

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 7, 1988, 5:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15116

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (MASS TRANSIT/GAS GUZZLERS)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3587

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Riegle motion to table the D'Amato, et al., amendment which increases the limit on tax-free employer-provided mass transit fringe benefits from \$15 per month to \$38 per month, offset by doubling the gas guzzler tax on automobiles that achieve less than 22.5 miles per gallon.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should promote changes in the tax code that encourage workers to use mass transportation. Under current law, commuters are permitted a \$15 per month tax-free fringe benefit for mass transit costs, which is only a fraction of the cost to use mass transportation for that period. The entire benefit is taxable if it is greater than \$15. Drivers, on the other hand, can write off the entire cost of a parking space, which in cities such as New York can reach \$400 a month. This situation encourages driving and effectively subsidizes pollution in major cities. Increasing the mass transit fringe benefit to \$38 and making only the amount in excess of that taxable would promote the use of mass transit systems and reduce congestion and pollution in major cities. By increasing the gas guzzler tax to fund the benefit, only a handful of very high priced luxury cars would be affected (not trucks, jeeps, or four-wheel drive vehicles). This increase is fair, they argued, since this class of vehicles is more environmentally unsound and wasteful of energy than others.

Opponents of the amendment countered that Congress is likely to establish more stringent clean air requirements in the near future which will force car manufacturers to add clean air equipment to their cars, thereby reducing fuel efficiency by as much as ten percent and bringing more vehicles into the range of the gas guzzler tax. This would add an average surcharge of seven percent to all vehicles, according to industry estimates, reduce sales of American cars by as much as three percent, and affect a greater number of people than just those who own luxury cars. They disapproved of adding a complex tax provision to the technical corrections bill so late in the session.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (43)			NAYS (41)		NOT VOTING (16)	
Democrats (31 or 67%)	Republicans (12 or 32%)		Democrats (15 or 33%)	Republicans (26 or 68%)	Democrats (8)	Republicans (8)
Baucus	Graham	Boschwitz	Bradley	Armstrong	Adams ⁻²	Bond ⁻²
Bingaman	Heflin	Gramm	Cranston	Chafee	Bentsen ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Boren	Hollings	Hecht	Fowler	Cohen	Biden ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
Breaux	Johnston	Helms	Harkin	D'Amato	DeConcini ^{-2AN}	Evans ⁻²
Bumpers	Levin	Humphrey	Kennedy	Dole	Inouye ⁻¹	Karnes ⁻²
Burdick	Matsunaga	Lugar	Lautenberg	Domenici	Kerry ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Byrd	Melcher	McConnell	Leahy	Durenberger	Nunn ⁻²	Wallop ^{-2PY}
Chiles	Proxmire	Nickles	Metzenbaum	Garn	Simon ⁻²	Wilson ^{-2PN}
Conrad	Pryor	Packwood	Mikulski	Grassley		
Daschle	Riegle	Roth	Mitchell	Hatch		
Dixon	Rockefeller	Stafford	Moy nihan	Hatfield		
Dodd	Sanford	Symms	Pell	Heinz		
Exon	Sasser		Reid	Kassebaum		
Ford	Shelby		Sarbanes	Kasten		
Glenn	Stennis		Wirth	McCain		
Gore				McClure		
				Murkowski		
				Pressler		
				Rudman		
				Simpson		
				Specter		
				Stevens		
				Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Warner		
				Weicker		

GENERAL PAIRS

Wallop-Wilson

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—67%
Republicans—68%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (43)
Democrats—31 or 72%
Republicans—12 or 28%

Against (41)
Democrats—15 or 37%
Republicans—26 or 63%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 359

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 7, 1988, 6:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15118

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (ABORTION/D.C. FUNDS)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3607

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Cranston motion to table the Cranston perfecting amendment (to the Bradley amendment No. 3606) which repeals the restriction in the D.C. appropriations bill that prohibits the use of D.C. funds to pay for abortions except where the life of the mother is endangered. (The Cranston perfecting amendment No. 3607 fell when the underlying amendment was withdrawn. See also Vote Nos. 232, 233, 348, 100th-2nd; and 299, 100th-1st.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should clarify its position with respect to the right of the District of Columbia to utilize its own non-Federal funds to provide abortions for needy women. With the passage of the D.C. Appropriations bill, the Senate reversed its previously held position and stripped the D.C. government of the power to fund abortions for poor women. While this amendment would not change the law, it would permit the Senate to reestablish its position without the pressures and time constraints that existed when the D.C. Appropriations bill was passed. The District of Columbia is the only locality in the Nation to be restricted in how it can spend its own tax money. They also noted that cutting assistance for abortions will drive poor women into more dangerous abortions or into the services of those who provide "cut-rate services." The sponsor indicated that if not tabled, the amendment would be withdrawn, since the objective is to clarify the record, not impede the bill.

Opponents of the amendment maintained that it is within the rights of the Federal government to control spending in the District of Columbia and noted that, unlike any other State or locality, the District receives more than \$1 billion a year from the Federal government.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (40)		NAYS (43)		NOT VOTING (17)	
Democrats (13 or 29%)	Republicans (27 or 71%)	Democrats (32 or 71%)	Republicans (11 or 29%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (8)
Boren	Armstrong	Baucus	Lautenberg	Adams ⁻²	Bond ⁻²
Breaux	Boschwitz	Bradley	Leahy	Bentsen ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Conrad	D'Amato	Bumpers	Levin	Biden ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
Dixon	Dole	Burdick	Matsunaga	Bingaman ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Exon	Domenici	Byrd	Metzenbaum	DeConcini ^{-2AY}	Karnes ⁻²
Ford	Durenberger	Chiles	Mikulski	Inouye ⁻¹	Quayle ⁻²
Heflin	Garn	Cranston	Mitchell	Kerry ⁻²	Wallop ^{-2AY}
Johnston	Gramm	Daschle	Moynihan	Nunn ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²
Melcher	Grassley	Dodd	Pell	Simon ⁻²	
Proxmire	Hatch	Fowler	Pryor		
Reid	Hatfield	Glenn	Riegle		
Shelby	Hecht	Gore	Rockefeller		
Stennis	Helms	Graham	Sanford		
	Humphrey	Harkin	Sarbanes		
	Kasten	Hollings	Sasser		
	Lugar	Kennedy	Wirth		
	McCain				
	McClure				
	McConnell				
	Murkowski				
	Nickles				
	Pressler				
	Stevens				
	Symms				
	Thurmond				
	Trible				
	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—71%
Republicans—71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (40)
Democrats—13 or 32.5%
Republicans—27 or 67.5%

Against (43)
Democrats—32 or 74%
Republicans—11 or 26%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 360

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 7, 1988, 8:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15143

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (SATELLITE TV)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3609

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Inouye motion to table the Gore amendment to add the text of S. 889, the Satellite Television Fair Marketing Act, which allows home dish owners to buy satellite television programming that is made available to cable operators; requires programmers who allow cable distributors to sell to home dish owners to establish distribution criteria and not discriminate among distributors; requires Public Broadcasting System and the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service (unless prohibited by a multilateral trade agreement) to maintain an unscrambled signal for home dish reception; requires the Federal Trade Commission to improve the availability of network programming in highly rural areas and monitor the price and availability of decoder equipment; and requires the FTC to investigate anticompetitive activity.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that satellite dish owners are being denied access to competitive program packages because the cable industry is trying to exclude noncable distributors and competing technologies from the market. Consequently, more than two million people, most of whom are located in rural communities and cannot obtain standard television transmissions or cable service, are being denied access to the programming services available to others. In addition, the market is becoming increasingly less competitive as programmer-cable relationships strengthen, and the smaller cable companies are taken over by larger companies. The amendment attempts to remedy this problem by calling for greater competitiveness in the programming market and prohibiting programmers (HBO, Cinemax, etc.) from discriminating against noncable distributors in cost or access.

Opponents of the amendment claimed that most of the objectives of this legislation already have been achieved. Satellite dish owners currently have access to scrambled signals as well as almost 100 unscrambled signals throughout the U.S. Third parties are packaging and distributing programming to

(OVER)

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (43)		NAYS (36)		NOT VOTING (21)	
Democrats (19 or 42%)	Republicans (24 or 71%)	Democrats (26 or 58%)	Republicans (10 or 29%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (12)
Baucus	Armstrong	Adams	Cohen	Bentsen ⁻²	Rond ⁻²
Boren	Boschwitz	Bradley	Domenici	Biden ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Cranston	Chafee	Breaux	Grassley	Bingaman ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
Dixon	D'Amato	Bumpers	Kasten	DeConcini ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Dodd	Dole	Burdick	McConnell	Kerry ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Fowler	Garn	Byrd	Pressler	Nunn ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Glenn	Hatch	Chiles	Roth	Rockefeller ^{-2AN}	Humphrey ⁻²
Harkin	Hatfield	Conrad	Specter	Simon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Inouye	Hecht	Daschle	Trible	Stennis ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Kennedy	Heinz	Exon	Warner		Wallop ^{-2AY}
Levin	Helms	Ford			Weicker ⁻²
Matsunaga	Kassebaum	Gore			Wilson ⁻²
Mikulski	Lugar	Graham			
Moynihan	McCain	Heflin			
Pell	McClure	Hollings			
Reid	Murkowski	Johnston			
Riegle	Nickles	Lautenberg			
Sarbanes	Packwood	Leahy			
Wirth	Rudman	Melcher			
	Simpson	Metzenbaum			
	Stafford	Mitchell			
	Stevens	Proxmire			
	Symms	Pryor			
	Thurmond	Sanford			
		Sasser			
		Shelby			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 58%
Republicans— 71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (43)
Democrats— 19 or 44%
Republicans— 24 or 56%

Against (36)
Democrats— 26 or 72%
Republicans— 10 or 28%

dish owners. The average cost of premium programming is lower for dish owners than cable subscribers. PBS has agreed to maintain one clear satellite feed. The FCC, the National Telecommunications and Information Administration, and the FTC have all concluded that the marketplace is working. Some felt that despite the amendment's merits, it would not survive the conference on the bill, while others feared that it would condone "R" and "X" rated programming by involving the Federal government in program distribution.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 361

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 7, 1988, 10:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15158

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (MANASSAS BATTLEFIELD)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3623

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Bumpers substitute amendment (for the Warner amendment No. 3622) which adds 542 acres to the Manassas National Battlefield Park in order to protect this area from development.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the entire 542 acres of the Williams tract in Manassas is historically significant to the Civil War battle fought on that site and should be added to the Manassas National Battlefield Park to protect it from commercial development. Historians have commented that the Battle of Manassas is probably the most important of the Civil War, but that the Warner amendment, which protects only an 80-acre easement and permits development of the rest of the tract, has no historical significance. They dismissed the threat of a veto, stating there is overwhelming House support for including the entire Williams tract in the park system, and that even if vetoed, the land in question would be protected from development until Congress acted, whereas defeating this amendment and passing the Warner amendment would lead to immediate development of the area. This amendment provides for immediate acquisition of the land, whereas the Warner amendment only authorizes the Secretary of Interior to acquire it at some future time. This acquisition would not be funded from the land and water conservation fund and, therefore, would not affect any other land acquisitions. Opponents countered that only the 80-acre site included in the Warner amendment is historically significant, according to Park Service historians, and therefore only this portion should be added to the park system. This would save the taxpayers millions of dollars and permit the local community to develop the area and expand its tax base to meet the needs of its rapidly growing population. The Warner amendment also recognizes the rights of property owners to utilize their property within the existing framework of the law. The cost of this acquisition could be prohibitive, they argued, noting that expanding the boundaries of Redwoods National Park in 1978 was supposed to cost \$349 million but has now exceeded \$1.4 billion. If this acquisition triggers a sequester under Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the cost would be even more significant.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (50)			NAYS (25)		NOT VOTING (25)	
Democrats (42 or 95%)	Republicans (8 or 26%)		Democrats (2 or 5%)	Republicans (23 or 74%)	Democrats (10)	Republicans (15)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Conrad	Armstrong	Bentsen ⁻²	Bond ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	D'Amato	Exon	Boschwitz	Biden ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Boren	Lautenberg	Kassebaum		Cohen	Bingaman ⁻²	Danforth ⁻²
Breaux	Leahy	Kasten		Dole	Bradley ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Bumpers	Levin	McConnell		Domenici	DeConcini ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Burdick	Matsunaga	Packwood		Garn	Kerry ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Byrd	Melcher	Simpson		Grassley	Nunn ⁻²	Helms ⁻²
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Trible		Hatch	Rockefeller ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Cranston	Mikulski			Hatfield	Simon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Daschle	Mitchell			Hecht	Stennis ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Dixon	Moynihan			Heinz		Rudman ⁻²
Dodd	Pell			Lugar		Stafford ⁻²
Ford	Proxmire			McCain		Wallop ⁻²
Fowler	Pryor			McClure		Weicker ⁻²
Glenn	Reid			Murkowski		Wilson ⁻²
Gore	Riegle			Nickles		
Graham	Sanford			Pressler		
Harkin	Sarbanes			Roth		
Heflin	Sasser			Specter		
Hollings	Shelby			Stevens		
Inouye	Wirth			Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—95%
Republicans—74%

For (50)
Democrats—42 or 84%
Republicans—8 or 16%

Against (25)
Democrats—2 or 8%
Republicans—23 or 92%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 362

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 11, 1988, 2:23 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15403

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (EARNED INCOME CREDIT)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3640

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Baucus motion to table the Bradley amendment which increases the earned income tax credit for low-income individuals from 14 percent to 15 percent, increases the maximum credit from \$875 to \$978, and increases the income level above which the credit is phased out from \$19,400 to \$19,820; offsets the \$1.6 billion revenue loss by deleting most of the revenue-losing provisions of the Committee substitute amendment (except the low-income housing credit, mortgage revenue bonds, and the targeted jobs tax credit) including: the taxpayer bill of rights provision, the six-month extension of the research and development tax credit, the 12-month extensions of group legal services and the tax exemption for employer-provided educational assistance, uniform capitalization rules for artists and writers and for livestock (striking the "heifer" tax), and miscellaneous, noncontroversial provisions.

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that raising the earned income tax credit one percent would provide financial assistance to Americans with the lowest incomes who have not enjoyed any of the benefits of the economic recovery. Since 1980, the average income of the poorest 20 percent of American families declined by \$23, while at the same time it increased by \$23,000 for families in the top five percent. This proposal could be paid for by deleting most of the revenue-losing provisions that were added to the bill, which would make the \$1.5 billion the bill raises in taxes available to those Americans who need it most. Programs such as the R&D tax credit, energy credits, educational assistance, and group legal plans primarily benefit the well-off or businesses that do not need such assistance, they argued.

Opponents of the amendment agreed with the desirability of increasing the earned income tax credit for low-income Americans but were critical of the source of funding proposed. By repealing one-third of the technical corrections bill, the amendment would wipe out programs that benefit people at many

(OVER)

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (85)				NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (48 or 96%)		Republicans (37 or 100%)		Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	McCain	Bradley		Bentsen ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McClure	Dodd		Boren ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McConnell			Lautenberg ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Murkowski			Sasser ⁻²	Humphrey ⁻²
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				Karnes ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				Lugar ⁻²
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				Quayle ⁻²
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman				Wilson ⁻²
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatfield	Symms				
Eaton	Pryor	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Fowler	Riegle	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Gore	Sanford	Kasten					
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats—48 or 56%
Republicans—37 or 44%

Against (2)
Democrats—2 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

income levels, not primarily the wealthy. Moreover, the bill does not include new programs but extends several current programs through the closing of three major tax loopholes. The amendment also would repeal the Taxpayers' Bill of Rights, which has 72 cosponsors and is the product of two years' work. The Finance Committee has held no hearings this year on the proposal to increase the earned income credit, and it is unknown how it would affect overall tax policy. Rather than jeopardize the corrections bill by pushing this proposal through in the last days of the 100th Congress, they suggested considering ways of increasing the earned income tax credit next year.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 363

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 11, 1988. 4:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15426

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (DRUG BILL FUNDING)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3644

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Baucus motion to table the Bradley amendment which strikes the following revenue-losing provisions of the Committee substitute amendment and allocates approximately \$1.6 billion to be saved over three years for an Anti-Substance Abuse Trust Fund to finance the provisions of the drug bill to be passed this year: the low-income housing credit, mortgage revenue bond extension, the targeted jobs tax credit, the taxpayer bill of rights, the six-month extension of the research and development tax credit, the 12-month extensions of group legal services and the tax exemption for employer-provided educational assistance, uniform capitalization rules for artists and writers and for livestock (striking the "heifer" tax), and miscellaneous, noncontroversial provisions. (The provisions listed above would not take effect if a drug bill is not enacted in 1988.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment maintained that the Senate should set its priorities straight. If it is committed to fighting the drug problem, it has to pay for such an omnibus anti-drug program. Addressing the drug problem is more important than increasing research or legal expenditures. Opponents of the amendment noted that the amendment would gut the tax bill to raise revenue for a program, the details of which are unknown at this point. While many favored a trust fund to help fight drug abuse, they objected to getting funding by adversely affecting the low income and poor elderly, hardcore unemployed, farm families, and others who would benefit from the tax corrections proposed in this bill.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (82)				NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (46 or 92%)		Republicans (36 or 97%)		Democrats (4 or 8%)	Republicans (1 or 3%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden	Stafford	Bentsen-2	Cochran-2
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McCain	Bradley		Boren-2	Evans-2
Bingaman	Leahy	Boschwitz	McClure	Dodd		Chiles-2	Gramm-2
Breaux	Levin	Chafee	McConnell	Nunn		Lautenberg-2	Humphrey-2
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski				Karnes-2AY
Burdick	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				Lugar-2
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				Quayle-2
Conrad	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				Wallop-2AY
Cranston	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth				Wilson-2
Daschle	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman				
DeConcini	Pell	Garn	Simpson				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Specter				
Exon	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Ford	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Fowler	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Heinz	Trible				
Gore	Sanford	Helms	Warner				
Graham	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—97%

For (82)
Democrats—46 or 56%
Republicans—36 or 44%

Against (5)
Democrats—4 or 80%
Republicans—1 or 20%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 364

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 11, 1988, 6:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15438

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (IRAQ SANCTIONS)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3645

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Pell-Helms amendment which immediately imposes sanctions against Iraq for the use of chemical weapons in violation of international law that (1) prohibit the export to Iraq of items on the munitions control list and items controlled for national security and (2) require the U.S. representatives to oppose international financial institution loans to Iraq; requires the President to impose additional sanctions, if, by December 31, 1988, Iraq has not halted its use of chemical weapons and has not provided verifiable assurances that it will not again use chemical weapons; includes such additional sanctions to be imposed as: denial of export-import credits, prohibitions on Iraqi imports into the U.S., additional restrictions on exports to Iraq (excluding agricultural commodities), and downgrading of diplomatic relations; and permits the President to waive all sanctions upon certifying to Congress that Iraq has provided assurances that it will not use chemical weapons again.

NOTE: Proponents noted that the language of this amendment encompasses a House compromise version of more sweeping sanctions approved twice by the Senate—as a separate resolution (Vote No. 325) and as part of the Foreign Aid appropriations bill. While demonstrating U.S. moral indignation, it satisfies some apprehensions by including contract sanctity and human rights provisions and would in no way affect agricultural exports or credits. Some believed that sanctions should be extended to other countries involved with use or supply of biological or chemical weapons. Others questioned the usefulness of unilateral trade sanctions and spoke fervently for acting in concert with U.S. trading partners to assure that when American companies leave a market, they will not be replaced immediately by Japanese, French, or other foreign sellers.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (87)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (38 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McCain			Boren ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Biden	Leahy	Boschwitz	McClure			Chiles ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	McConnell			Glenn ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski			Lautenberg ⁻²	Lugar ⁻²
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				Quayle ⁻²
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				Wilson ⁻²
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Symms				
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Gore	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 49 or 56%
Republicans— 38 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 365

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 11, 1988, 7:18 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15445

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS (CROP DISASTER PAYMENTS)

BILL NO.: S. 2238 (H.R. 4333)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3652

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Daschle-Dole, et al., substitute amendment (for the Melcher amendment No. 3650 allowing farmers with sales of less than \$1 million to income average) which clarifies that crop disaster payments received under the Drought Relief Bill of 1988 may be counted as income in 1989, as is the case for other disaster relief payments, and offsets the cost of this clarification by permitting the U.S. to collect estate tax from the foreign spouse of a deceased U.S. citizen.

NOTE: Proponents noted that the Drought Assistance bill had passed Congress in August in record time as a freestanding Act, rather than as an amendment to the permanent farm legislation. Under the permanent legislation, crop disaster assistance payments have been allowed to be included as income in the year after they were received. Otherwise disaster payments could distort a farmer's income by greatly increasing income in one year rather than spreading it over to the year in which he would have received income from the crop. It was not Congress' intent to place the farmer in a worse tax position, and this situation occurred only due to the need to pass legislation quickly. While others supported this underlying substitute, they regretted that the parliamentary situation precluded adoption of the proposal allowing farmers with sales under \$1 million to income average.

S. 2238 (H.R. 4333): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (87)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 97%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1 or 3%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	McCain		Humphrey	Bentsen ⁻²	Cochran ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McClure			Borca ⁻²	Evans ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McConnell			Chiles ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Murkowski			Lautenberg ⁻²	Karnes ^{-2AY}
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				Lugar ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				Quayle ⁻²
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth				Wilson ⁻²
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Rudman			EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE: 1—Official Business 2—Necessarily Absent 3—Illness 4—Other	
Conrad	Mitchell	Durenberger	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Hatch	Stevens			SYMBOLS: AY—Announced Yea AN—Announced Nay PY—Paired Yea PN—Paired Nay	
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Reid	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Glenn	Sanford	Kasten					
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—97%

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats—50 or 57%
Republicans—37 or 43%

Against (1)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 366

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 11, 1988, 8:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15471

TAX REFORM TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 4333 (S. 2238)

TITLE: "Technical Corrections Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which makes technical corrections and modifications to the Tax Reform Act of 1986, and other recently enacted revenue legislation including the Superfund Revenue Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-499), the Harbor Maintenance Revenue Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-662), the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-509), and the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (P.L. 100-203), which includes the Revenue Act of 1987, the Pension Protection Act, the Vaccine Tax Provisions, and Social Security Act Technical Amendments; extends certain expiring tax provisions, including certain energy tax credits (through June 30, 1989) the modified targeted jobs credit for certain individuals, and the research expenditures tax credit (through March 31, 1989); allows all exempted off-highway business users, such as farmers, to buy diesel and nongasoline aviation fuels without paying the excise taxes; permits writers, artists, and photographers to take current deductions for the expenses of their freelance work; contains a number of provisions to close loopholes, including requiring a corporation that uses the annualization method for a prior estimated tax payment to make up the entire shortfall (rather than 90 percent of the shortfall) in the subsequent payment in order to avoid a penalty, modifying the treatment of loans and other amounts received under class of life insurance contracts that are statutorily defined as modified endowment contracts, and limiting the statutory alcohol flavors credit to cases where the flavors remain in the distilled spirits beverage after completion of all distillation; contains the taxpayer bill of rights designed to provide taxpayers fairer treatment in their dealings with the IRS; extends the moratorium on laboratory payment demonstrations from January 1, 1989, until January 1, 1990; requires the immediate imposition of

(OVER)

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report on the bill by voice vote on October 21, 1988. H.R. 4333 became Public Law 100-647, approved November 10, 1988.

H.R. 4333 (S. 2238): Vote Nos. 351-354, 356-366.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (87)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (49 or 98%)		Republicans (38 or 100%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4)²	Republicans (8)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten	Bradley		Bentsen-²	Cochran-²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McCain			Boren-²	Evans-²
Biden	Leahy	Boschwitz	McClure			Chiles-²	Gramm-²
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee	McConnell			Lautenberg-²	Karnes-²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski				Lugar-²
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				Quayle-²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				Warlop-²AY
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				Wilson-²AY
Conrad	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth				
Cranston	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Specter				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Stallford				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Stevens				
Exon	Reid	Hecht	Symms				
Ford	Riegle	Heinz	Thurmond				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible				
Glenn	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner				
Gore	Sarbanes	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats—49 or 56%
Republicans—38 or 44%

Against (1)
Democrats—1 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

sanctions against Iraq for the use of chemical weapons in violation of international law and requires the President to impose additional sanctions if, by December 31, 1988, Iraq has not halted its use of chemical weapons and has not provided verifiable assurances that it will not again use chemical weapons, and permits the President to waive all sanctions upon certifying to Congress that Iraq has provided assurances that it will not use chemical weapons again; directs the Secretary of Treasury in consultation with the Secretary of HHS to conduct a study on the health care costs relating to smoking; and adds 542 acres to the Manassas National Battlefield Park in order to protect the area from development.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 367

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 12, 1988, 12:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15567

MILITARY BASE CLOSINGS (CONFERENCE REPORT)

BILL NO.: S. 2749

SUBJECT: Adoption of the conference report on the bill which authorizes the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure appointed by the Secretary of Defense on May 3, 1988, to recommend a list of military installations to be closed or realigned and submit the list to the Secretary by December 31, 1988; requires the Secretary to submit a report to Congress stating his decision on whether to accept the Commission's recommendations, together with a list of the bases to be closed or realigned, by January 16, 1989; and requires the Secretary to close or realign all military installations, both domestic and overseas, as recommended by the Commission, unless Congress, under expedited procedures, enacts a joint resolution disapproving all of the Commission's recommendations within the 45-day period beginning on March 1, 1989.

NOTE: S. 2749 became Public Law 100-526, approved October 24, 1988.

S. 2749: Vote No. 367.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (82)				NAYS (7)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (45 or 90%)		Republicans (37 or 95%)		Democrats (5 or 10%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten	Bumpers	Hatch	Bentsen—2	Cohen—2PN
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar	Dixon	Specter	Boren—2	Durenberger—2AY
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure	Mitchell		Chiles—2	Karnes—2AY
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McConnell	Pryor		Lautenberg—2AY	McCain—2
Bradley	Levin	Cochran	Murkowski	Simon			Quayle—2
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				Wallop—2AY
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				
Conrad	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Cranston	Moynihan	Evans	Rudman				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Stafford				
Dodd	Proxmire	Grassley	Symms				
Exon	Reid	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Ford	Riegle	Hecht	Trible				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Heinz	Warner				
Glenn	Sanford	Helms	Weicker				
Gore	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Wilson				
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum					
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND

GIVING:

Stevens (PY)

RECEIVING:

Cohen (2N)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats—90%
Republicans—95%

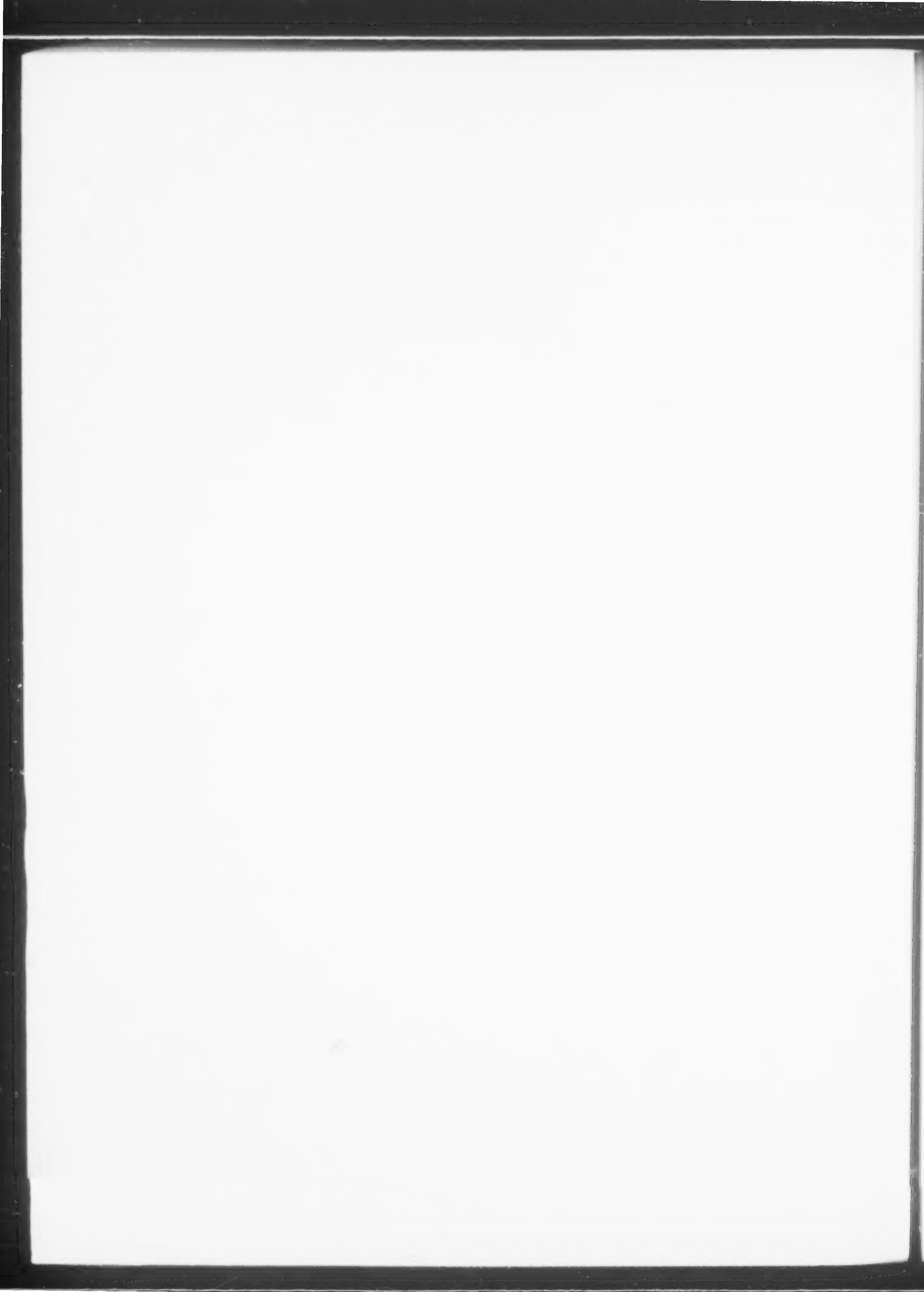
For (82)

Democrats—45 or 55%
Republicans—37 or 45%

Against (7)

Democrats—5 or 71%
Republicans—2 or 29%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 368

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 13, 1988, 3:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15731

DRUG ABUSE (DEATH PENALTY)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3678

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Hatfield-Evans-Levin-Chafee amendment which strikes the death penalty and 20-year minimum sentence for drug-related killings and substitutes in lieu thereof a mandatory life sentence without any possibility of parole. (See also Vote No. 171.)

NOTE: Proponents expressed disappointment that the death penalty was tacked onto this comprehensive anti-drug bill. Election year politics has increased the desire for vengeance—a mentality unworthy of a civilized nation. The death penalty approach fits right into the quick fix solutions of the 1980's to complex problems. If America does not look to the root causes of illegal drug usage, a lasting solution will continue to evade it. Some refused to support the package if it meant sanctioning legalized killing. The death penalty, they asserted, only divides this country, clouds the issues, and is no deterrent to murder. Murder rates are nearly twice as high in States with the death penalty than in those without it. There is no evidence that the abolition of the death penalty generally causes an increase in criminal homicide or that its reintroduction is followed by a decline. The variance of the application of the death penalty shows the inequities and the discrimination involved. The death penalty seldom is applied to the wealthy who can buy the services of an outstanding lawyer. In addition, it has become an impractical, expensive method of punishment because of the legal recourses available which can be dragged out for 10 to 15 years. This proposal would be swift and sure, requiring life imprisonment without parole—not a 20-year minimum sentence. Courts of justice do make mistakes and innocent persons have been sentenced and executed for crimes they did not commit. Some 350 known innocent people have been sentenced to die in this century, and 32 of them have been executed.

(OVER)

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (25)		NAYS (64)				NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (19 or 38%)	Republicans (6 or 15%)	Democrats (31 or 62%)		Republicans (33 or 85%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (6)
Biden	Chafee	Adams	Heflin	Armstrong	McClure	Bentsen—2	Durenberger—2PY
Burdick	Cohen	Baucus	Hollings	Bond	McConnell	Boren—2	Karnes—2AN
Conrad	Danforth	Bingaman	Johnston	Cochran	Murkowski	Cranston—2	Kassebaum—2AN
Glenn	Evans	Bradley	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Nickles	Gore—2	Quayle—2
Harkin	Hatfield	Breaux	Moynihan	Dole	Packwood		Simpson—2
Inouye	Weicker	Bumpers	Nunn	Domenici	Pressler		Wallop—2AN
Kennedy		Byrd	Pryor	Garn	Roth		
Kerry		Chiles	Reid	Gramm	Rudman		
Lautenberg		Daschle	Riegle	Grassley	Specter		
Leahy		DeConcini	Rockefeller	Hatch	Stafford		
Levin		Dixon	Sanford	Hecht	Stevens		
Matsunaga		Dodd	Sarbanes	Heinz	Symms		
Melcher		Exon	Sasser	Helms	Thurmond		
Mikulski		Ford	Shelby	Humphrey	Trible		
Mitchell		Fowler	Wirth	Kasten	Warner		
Pell		Graham		Lugar	Wilson		
Proxmire				McCain			
Simon							
Stennis							

LIVE PAIRS (1)	
PRESENT AND GIVING:	RECEIVING:
Boschwitz (PN)	Durenberger (PY)
EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:	
1—Official Business	
2—Necessarily Absent	
3—Illness	
4—Other	
SYMBOLS:	
AY—Announced Yea	
AN—Announced Nay	
PY—Paired Yea	
PN—Paired Nay	

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND
GIVING:

Boschwitz (PN)

RECEIVING:

Durenberger (PY)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—62%
Republicans—85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (25)
Democrats—19 or 76%
Republicans—6 or 24%

Against (64)
Democrats—31 or 48%
Republicans—33 or 52%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents argued that the death penalty is an effective deterrent to killing. It has a legitimate role in dealing with crime and ought to be reserved for the most egregious cases. For example, professional burglars often make a conscious decision not to carry a weapon because of fear of the death penalty. The provisions of this amendment meet the standards required by the Supreme Court, and the death penalty would not be imposed unless it is a clear-cut case of a heinous crime for which no other penalty will suffice. Although the system has done everything possible to minimize the possibility of a mistake, there still remains such a possibility. However, this possibility must be balanced against the effectiveness of the death penalty in dissuading criminals and thereby saving innocent lives. Life sentencing without parole, they asserted, can be commuted. Drug dealers threaten the domestic tranquility of the citizens of this country, and the American people have consistently demonstrated in opinion polls that they strongly support the death penalty.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 369

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 13, 1988, 5:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15755

DRUG ABUSE (DEATH PENALTY/RACIAL BIAS)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3683

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kennedy amendment which prohibits the imposition or execution of a death sentence under Federal law if that sentence furthers a racially disproportionate pattern and provides that if a defendant can establish with real evidence, including statistical evidence, that race played a role in the capital sentencing, the government is required to provide clear and convincing evidence that the statistical disparity resulted from other, nonracial factors, such as differences in the nature of the crimes or in the conviction records of the defendants.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment would ensure that the death penalty is not imposed in a racially discriminatory manner. Some 30 studies show that a defendant is far more likely to receive the death penalty if the victim is white. This amendment simply would allow intentional race discrimination to be proved through circumstantial statistical evidence. After the McCloskey Supreme Court decision, death penalty cases are the only cases where this type of evidence is not admissible.

Opponents maintained that current capital sentencing jurisprudence contains adequate safeguards against racial discrimination. They also cited a Justice Department study showing that capital punishment has been disproportionately inflicted upon white defendants rather than blacks. They claimed that studies to the contrary contained faulty statistics. A difference purportedly based on race is actually explained by differences in the types of crimes committed. Statistical justice, they argued, is no justice at all. In effect, the amendment would make imposing the death penalty impossible by rendering the death penalty language unconstitutionally vague.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (35)		NAYS (52)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (29 or 59%)	Republicans (6 or 16%)	Democrats (20 or 41%)	Republicans (32 or 84%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Chafee	Bingaman	Armstrong	Bentsen-2	Boschwitz-2
Baucus	Evans	Breaux	Bond	Boren-2	Durenberger-2PY
Biden	Hatfield	Bumpers	Cochran	Cranston-2	Heinz-2
Bradley	Specter	Byrd	Cohen	DeConcini-2	Karnes-2
Burdick	Stafford	Chiles	D'Amato	Gore-2	Kassebaum-2
Conrad	Weicker	Daschle	Danforth		Quayle-2
Dodd		Dixon	Dole		Simpson-2
Glenn		Exon	Domenici		Wallop-2PN
Harkin		Ford	Garn		
Inouye		Fowler	Gramm		
Kennedy		Graham	Grassley		
Kerry		Heflin	Hatch		
Lautenberg		Hollings	Hecht		
Leahy		Johnston	Helms		
Levin		Nunn	Humphrey		
Matsunaga		Pryor	Kasten		
Melcher		Rockefeller			
Metzenbaum		Sanford			
Mikulski		Shelby			
Mitchell		Stennis			
Moynihan					
Pell					
Proxmire					
Reid					
Riegle					
Sarbanes					
Sasser					
Simon					
Wirth					

GENERAL PAIRS
Durenberger-Wallop

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 59%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (35)
Democrats— 29 or 83%
Republicans— 6 or 17%

Against (52)
Democrats— 20 or 38%
Republicans— 32 or 62%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 370

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 13, 1988, 6:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15759

DRUG ABUSE (DEATH PENALTY)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3684

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: D'Amato motion to table the Simon amendment which makes the death penalty applicable only for the drug-related killing of a police officer or a bystander not engaged in furthering a criminal enterprise. (See also Vote No. 175.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the death penalty included in the bill is primarily a drug dealers' protection act without this modification since most drug-related killings are of other drug dealers, not innocent bystanders or police officers. This bill treats a killer of a policeman the same as it treats a killer of a drug kingpin by applying the same penalty to both. Opponents of the amendment insisted that the death penalty is a very useful prosecutor's tool which would provide a means of obtaining greater cooperation in exposing drug rings and apprehending their leaders. This is especially true since 13 States have no death penalty.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (72)				NAYS (16)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (37 or 74%)		Republicans (35 or 92%)		Democrats (13 or 26%)	Republicans (3 or 8%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	McCain	Burdick	Evans	Bentsen- ²	Boschwitz- ²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McClure	Conrad	Hatfield	Boren- ²	Durenberger- ²
Biden	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell	Harkin	Weicker	Cranston- ²	Heinz- ² AY
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski	Inouye		Gore- ²	Karnes- ²
Bradley	Metzenbaum	Cohen	Nickles	Kennedy			Kassebaum- ²
Breaux	Mikulski	D'Amato	Packwood	Lautenberg			Quayle- ²
Bumpers	Moynihan	Danforth	Pressler	Levin			Simpson- ²
Byrd	Nunn	Dole	Roth	Matsunaga			Wallop- ² AY
Chiles	Pryor	Domenici	Rudman				
Daschle	Reid	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Riegle	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Rockefeller	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Sanford	Hatch	Symms				
Exon	Sarbanes	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Sasser	Helms	Trible				
Fowler	Shelby	Humphrey	Warner				
Glenn	Stennis	Kasten	Wilson				
Graham	Wirth	Lugar					
Heflin							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

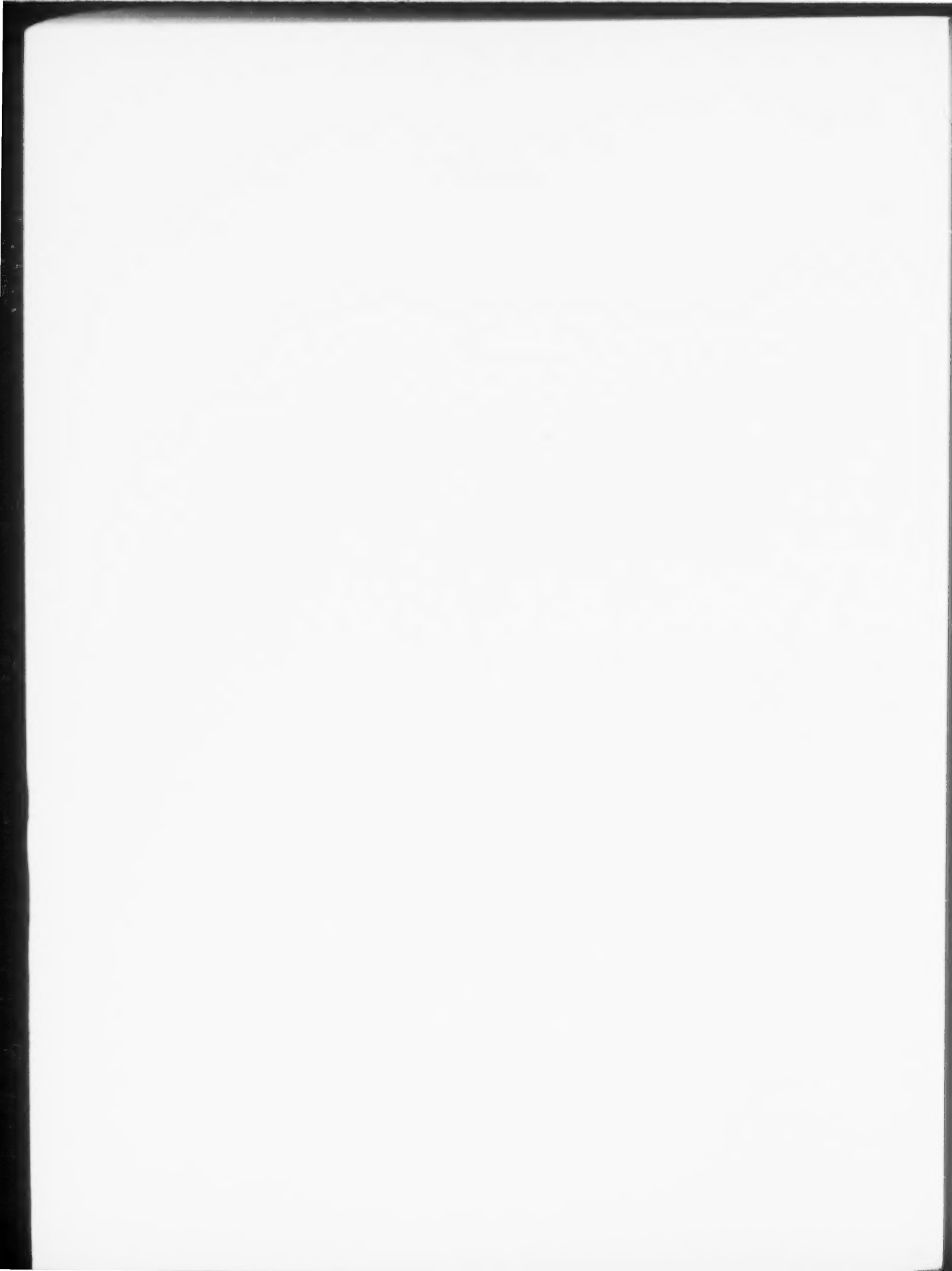
Democrats— 74%
Republicans— 92%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats— 37 or 51%
Republicans— 35 or 49%

Against (16)
Democrats— 13 or 81%
Republicans— 3 or 19%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 371

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 13, 1988, 7:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15763

DRUG ABUSE (CIVIL PENALTY)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3685

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Domenici, et al., amendment which permits the Attorney General, as an alternative to criminal prosecution, to impose a civil penalty of up to \$10,000 on any individual caught possessing a controlled substance; prohibits the civil penalty from being assessed more than twice on any individual; allows the individual's record to be expunged after three years if he/she has paid the fine and complied with any other imposed conditions, has not been fined again or convicted of any drug offense, and submits to a drug test which shows the individual to be drug-free; and requires that the individual's ability to pay be taken into account in determining the amount of the fine.

NOTE: Proponents contended that the war on drugs is being lost because it has been waged on only two fronts—interdiction, which is destined to fail, and education, which has not been very effective. Penalties and sanctions are needed to deal with the estimated 23 million casual users of illegal drugs who create the bulk of the demand for drugs and the propensity of the profits for the drug rings. This provision will put a tool in the hands of U.S. prosecutors that they can use against casual drug users. This approach, coupled with the proposal (Vote No. 372) permitting judges to revoke certain privileges, creates strong incentives to stay drug-free.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (88)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (38 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (8)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Lugar			Bentsen ⁻²	Boschwitz ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	McCain			Boren ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Biden	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure			Cranston ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	McConnell			Gore ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski				Kassebaum ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles				Quayle ⁻²
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood				Simpson ⁻²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Rudman				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pell	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Proxmire	Hatch	Symms				
Dodd	Pryor	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Reid	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Riegle	Helms	Warner				
Fowler	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Weicker				
Glenn	Sanford	Kasten	Wilson				
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Simon						
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—50 or 57%
Republicans—38 or 43%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 372

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 14, 1988, 12:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15976

DRUG ABUSE (FEDERAL BENEFITS DENIAL)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3695

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Gramm-Domenici amendment which allows courts to deny Federal benefits, including means-tested benefits, to individuals who are convicted in any Federal or State court of drug trafficking for up to five years for a first offense, 10 years for a second offense, and mandates permanent cutoff for a third offense; allows courts to deny non-means-tested Federal benefits to those convicted of drug use for up to one year for a first offense and up to five years for a second offense; provides that drug treatment program benefits would not be cut off if the convicted individual could show that he is addicted to drugs and will submit to a long-term drug treatment program; and states that Federal benefits may not be denied for Social Security, Medicare, railroad retirement, veterans' benefits, or other benefits for which payments or services are required for eligibility.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that drug users should be held responsible for the consequences of their actions and claimed that failing to do so would weaken the drug program. While most of the 23 million Americans who use illegal drugs are not addicts, the money they spend on drugs finances the international drug cartel and other criminal enterprises, puts drug pushers at the doors of high schools, and creates drug addicts. The amendment would hold users responsible by suspending their eligibility for unearned Federal benefits for various lengths of time, based upon the number of convictions. Veterans' benefits, they stressed, would not be affected in any way by this amendment.

Opponents countered that since strong criminal penalties have failed to deter drug use, the threat of losing Federal unearned benefits is not a likely deterrence either. Moreover, enforcement of this type of provision would burden the Federal courts, which already have a heavy backlog of cases dealing with more serious crimes. The amendment ignores the problem of reintegrating drug users and traffickers into society after completing jail terms. Many of these people are functionally illiterate, have no trade or skill, and remain dependent on drugs. Denying them unearned Federal benefits would force them to return to a life of crime. The Senate should take an integrated approach to the drug problem that includes some method of reintegrating people into society.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (78)				NAYS (11)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (43 or 86%)		Republicans (35 or 90%)		Democrats (7 or 14%)	Republicans (4 or 10%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (7)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Bumpers	Evans	Bentsen ⁻²	Domenici ⁻²
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain	Dodd	Hatfield	Boren ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure	Heflin	Kassebaum	Rockefeller ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell	Kennedy	Specter	Sanford ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski	Levin			Stafford ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Nickles	Pell			Stevens ⁻²
Burdick	Melcher	D'Amato	Packwood	Proxmire			Wallop ^{-2AY}
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler				
Chiles	Mikulski	Dole	Roth				
Conrad	Mitchell	Garn	Rudman				
Cranston	Moynihan	Gramm	Simpson				
Daschle	Nunn	Grassley	Symms				
DeConcini	Pryor	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dixon	Reid	Hecht	Trible				
Exon	Riegle	Helms	Warner				
Ford	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Weicker				
Fowler	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Glenn	Shelby	Kasten					
Gore	Simon						
Graham	Stennis						
Harkin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 86%
Republicans— 90%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (78)
Democrats— 43 or 55%
Republicans— 35 or 45%

Against (11)
Democrats— 7 or 64%
Republicans— 4 or 36%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 373

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 14, 1988, 2:47 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15989

DRUG ABUSE (DRUG TESTING/DRIVER'S LICENSE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3696

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Wilson, et al., amendment which directs the Secretary of Transportation to design and implement a pilot program for testing individuals who apply for a driver's license for the unlawful usage of a controlled substance; selects four States (one each from the Southern, Northeastern, and Central States, and California) from those that volunteer to participate in the pilot for one year; requires each participating State to deny an individual driving privileges for one year if the tests show he/she has used illicit drugs; provides that random testing for drug usage may be performed (1) prior to granting the license and (2) during the first year after granting the license; and authorizes \$5 million to be appropriated from the Highway Trust Fund.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Senate should address the problems of growing drug use among teenagers and traffic fatalities caused by drug-intoxicated drivers. Drug use in the Nation's high schools is continuing to rise, and as much as 22 percent of all auto fatalities are drug-related, according to the National Highway Transportation Safety Administration. To dissuade teenage drug use and reduce drug-related auto accidents, the amendment would set up a pilot program in four volunteer States to test first-time driver's license applicants randomly for illicit drug use over the first year of their driving, and suspend the licenses of those who are found to be using drugs. Such a program would be effective, they argued, because teenagers highly value their drivers licenses and would think twice about using drugs if it put their licenses at risk. The program would be funded through the innovative highway safety programs within the DOT budget.

Opponents countered that the proposed program is better suited for the college-aged, who are more likely to own a car and have access to illegal drugs than high school students who are more likely to abuse alcohol. Because the program would be launched in States that volunteer to participate, chances are that, regardless of the program's actual effectiveness, figures would be produced alleging success. This would spur the creation of a national program that would cost billions of dollars, create a bureaucratic nightmare, but would not control the drug problem. They also feared that if some drivers are made subject to random drug testing, it could be extended to all drivers. Because there has not been a proper finding by Congress, the amendment is unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Constitution.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (77)				NAYS (10)		NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (40 or 85%)		Republicans (37 or 93%)		Democrats (7 or 15%)	Republicans (3 or 8%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (6)
Baucus	Kerry	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams	Evans	Bentsen ²	Domenici ²
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Bond	McCain	Biden	Lugar	Boren ²	Durenberger ²
Bradley	Levin	Boschwitz	McClure	Cranston	Weicker	Johnston ²	Heinz ² AY
Breaux	Matsunaga	Chafee	McConnell	Dodd		Kennedy ²	Quayle ²
Bumpers	Melcher	Cochran	Murkowski	Hollings		Sanford ²	Stafford ²
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Cohen	Nickles	Inouye		Simon ²	Wallop ²
Byrd	Mikulski	D'Amato	Packwood	Leahy		Stennis ²	
Chiles	Mitchell	Danforth	Pressler				
Conrad	Moynihan	Dole	Roth				
Daschle	Nunn	Garn	Rudman				
DeConcini	Pell	Gramm	Simpson				
Dixon	Proxmire	Grassley	Specter				
Exon	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Ford	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Fowler	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Helms	Tinley				
Gore	Sarbanes	Humphrey	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Karnes	Wilson				
Harkin	Shelby	Kassebaum					
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

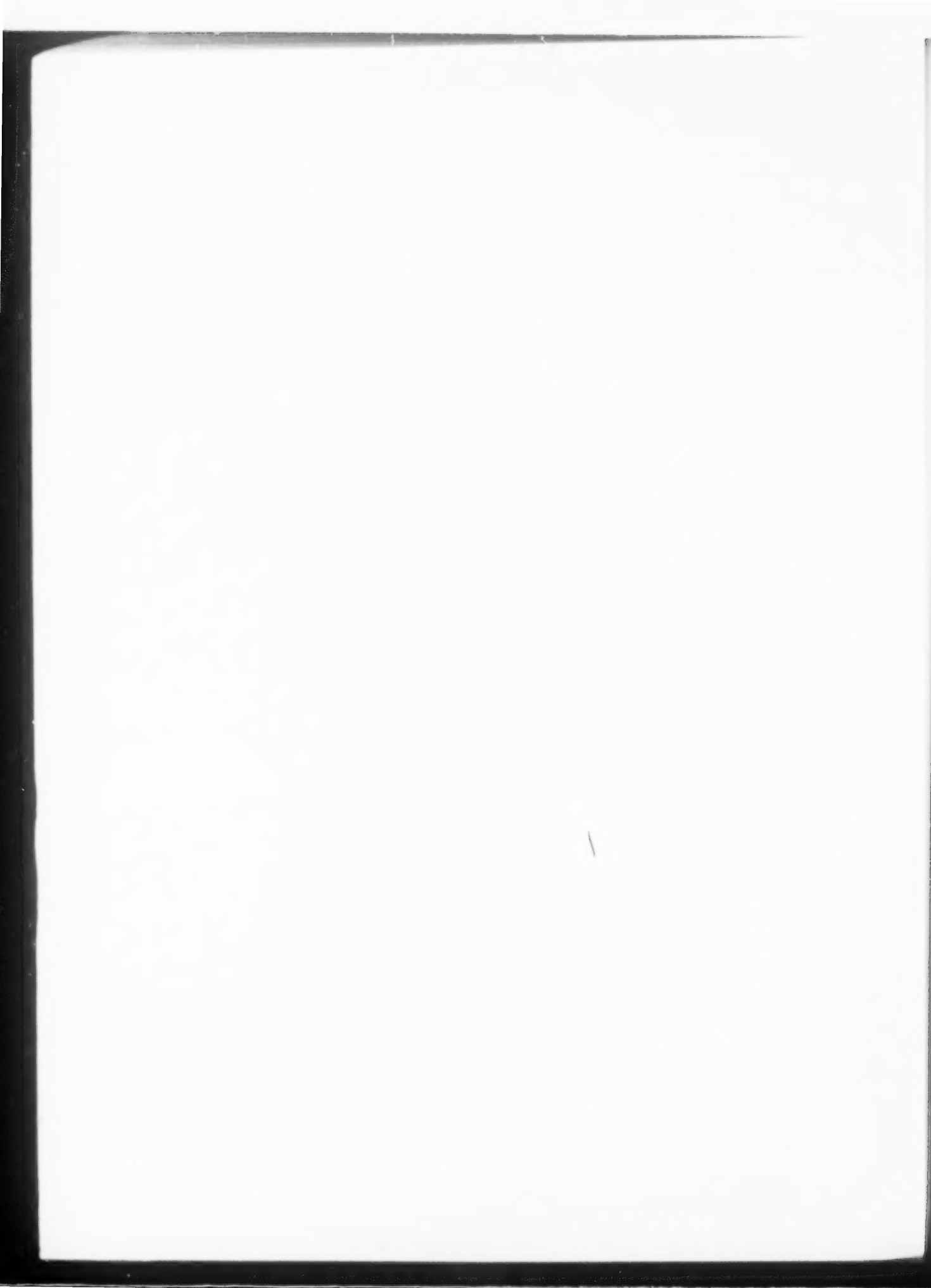
Party Cohesion

Democrats—85%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats—40 or 52%
Republicans—37 or 48%

Against (10)
Democrats—7 or 70%
Republicans—3 or 30%



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 374

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 14, 1988, 3:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15999

DRUG ABUSE (MONEY LAUNDERING)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3697

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Kerry, et al., amendment which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into negotiations with foreign governments in an attempt to require foreign banks to keep records of U.S. currency transactions in excess of \$10,000 including documentation of the person initiating the transaction, and requires the President to impose appropriate penalties and sanctions against the countries that are engaged in currency transactions (money laundering) that affect U.S. narcotics trafficking.

NOTE: Proponents stated that a loophole in the U.S. banking structure aids the laundering of more than \$100 billion in illegal drug profits each year. While current law requires banks to report cash transactions over \$10,000, banks with offshore branches do not have to report transactions to those branches, which allows large amounts of drug money to be moved in and out of the U.S. without any record. To close this loophole, the amendment would require the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into negotiations with those countries that are the likeliest locations for laundering money in order to reach an agreement to require their banks to record—not report—cash transactions in U.S. currency over \$10,000, and to cooperate with the U.S. Attorney General in drug investigations. The President would have the authority to impose certain penalties against countries unwilling to reach an agreement. This would give the law enforcement community the necessary tools to trace and seize illegal assets and prosecute drug traffickers.

No opposing arguments were presented.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (85)				NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (12)	
Democrats (48 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 93%)		Democrats (9 or 0%)	Republicans (3 or 8%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	Kasten		Evans	Bentsen ⁻²	Domenici ⁻²
Baucus	Inouye	Bond	McCain		Lugar	Boren ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Biden	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McClure		Symms	Johnston ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	McConnell			Sanford ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Bradley	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski			Simon ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Breaux	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles			Stennis ⁻²	Wallop ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Levin	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Matsunaga	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Melcher	Dole	Roth				
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Garn	Rudman				
Conrad	Mikulski	Gramm	Simpson				
Cranston	Mitchell	Grassley	Specter				
Daschle	Moynihan	Hatch	Stevens				
DeConcini	Nunn	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Dixon	Pell	Hecht	Trible				
Dodd	Proxmire	Helms	Warner				
Exon	Pryor	Humphrey	Weicker				
Ford	Reid	Karnes	Wilson				
Fowler	Riegle	Kassebaum					
Glenn	Rockefeller						
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats—48 or 56%
Republicans—37 or 44%

Against (3)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—3 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 375

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 14, 1988, 4:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16003

DRUG ABUSE (PLASTIC GUNS)

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

AMENDMENT NO.: 3698

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Metzenbaum-Kassebaum, et al., amendment which bans undetectable firearms (plastic guns) manufactured after March 1, 1988.

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Senate should take steps to foreclose the introduction of firearms which cannot be detected by existing security equipment. Firearms constructed with very little metal could be on the market in the near future, while the technology needed to detect such weapons is years away from availability. This situation aids criminal and terrorist activities and presents a serious security risk in such settings as airplanes, courthouses, and public buildings. The amendment, which is identical to a measure passed earlier in the year by voice vote (S. 2180), would require that firearms meet a minimum exemplar standard for metal content tied to the detectability of 3.7 ounces of stainless steel and that the Secretary of the Treasury revise this standard and present a recommendation to Congress as the technology for metal detectors improves. The amendment, which would not ban any gun currently manufactured or possessed in the U.S., has the support of numerous police and interest groups, including the National Rifle Association.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (89)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (40 or 100%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten			Bentsen ⁻²	Domenici ⁻²
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Lugar			Boren ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Biden	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McCain			Johnston ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McClure			Kennedy ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
Bradley	Levin	Cochran	McConnell			Sanford ⁻²	Stafford ⁻²
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mitchell	Evans	Roth				
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Rudman				
Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Riegle	Helms	Trible				
Ford	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Warner				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker				
Glenn	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 49 or 55%
Republicans— 40 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman



SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 376

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 14, 1988, 4:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16079

DRUG ABUSE

BILL NO.: H.R. 5210

TITLE: "Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill to prevent the manufacture, distribution, and use of illegal drugs by providing a two-year authorization totaling \$1.4 billion in outlays (\$2.5 billion in budget authority), of which 60 percent is for demand reduction programs such as treatment and education and 40 percent for supply reduction programs including law enforcement and eradication.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on October 21, 1988. H.R. 5210 became Public Law 100-690, approved November 18, 1988.

H.R. 5210: Vote Nos. 368-376.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (87)				NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (49 or 98%)		Republicans (38 or 95%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (6)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Proxmire	Evans	Bentsen ⁻²	Domenici ⁻²
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain		Hatfield	Boren ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz	McClure			Johnston ⁻²	Heinz ^{-2AY}
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McConnell			Sanford ^{-2AY}	Quayle ⁻²
Bradley	Leahy	Cochran	Murkowski				Stafford ^{-2AY}
Breaux	Levin	Cohen	Nickles				Wallop ^{-2AY}
Bumpers	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Packwood				
Burdick	Melcher	Danforth	Pressler				
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Roth				
Chiles	Mikulski	Garn	Rudman				
Conrad	Mitchell	Gramm	Simpson				
Cranston	Moynihan	Grassley	Specter				
Daschle	Nunn	Hatch	Stevens				
DeConcini	Pell	Hecht	Symms				
Dixon	Pryor	Helms	Thurmond				
Dodd	Reid	Humphrey	Trible				
Egon	Riegle	Karnes	Warner				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Weicker				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Kasten	Wilson				
Glenn	Sasser						
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats—49 or 56%
Republicans—38 or 44%

Against (3)
Democrats—1 or 33%
Republicans—2 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Director of Drug Control Policy: Creates a Cabinet level position of Director of Drug Control Policy responsible for coordinating all Federal anti-drug efforts.

Death Penalty: Provides for the imposition of the death penalty, with certain exceptions, upon individuals convicted of (1) engaging in a continuing criminal drug enterprise and intentionally killing or participating substantially in the killing of any person, and (2) killing a law enforcement officer during the course of committing, or in furtherance of, a drug felony; requires a separate sentencing trial in capital punishment cases; specifies a series of aggravating and mitigating factors for use by the courts in determining if the death penalty is warranted; requires the government to prove any aggravating factor beyond a reasonable doubt and the jury to be unanimous in imposing the death penalty.

Possession of Controlled Substances: Permits the Justice Department to assess civil penalties of up to \$10,000 for possession of personal use amounts of marijuana, cocaine, and other illegal drugs; establishes increased penalties for possession of "crack" cocaine; increases penalties for operating common carriers while under the influence of alcohol or drugs; makes distribution of anabolic steroids without a prescription subject to penalties of up to three years in prison and/or fines and imposes a penalty of up to six years in prison for distribution to minors; imposes a mandatory life imprisonment sentence for third serious drug felony convictions and provides enhanced penalties for numerous other offenses, including drug importation.

Denial of Federal Benefits: Gives the courts discretion to deny Federal benefits (such as mortgage guarantees, Social Security, Medicare, etc.) to individuals convicted of drug distribution or use offenses and provides for waivers in certain circumstances.

Drug Testing: Requires mandatory drug and alcohol testing programs, including random testing, for certain workers employed by airlines, the FAA, railroads, trucking and bus companies, certain mass transit systems, workers in safety-sensitive jobs at NRC-licensed nuclear facilities and DOE nuclear programs, and all persons on probation or supervised release after Federal convictions for felonies or drug-related misdemeanors; requires the imposition of sanctions (such as mandatory participation in drug treatment programs and imprisonment) upon persons testing positive on two separate drug tests; provides one-year pilot programs in four states for drug testing of new driver's license applicants; establishes a program to certify labs performing drug testing.

Other Law Enforcement Provisions: Codifies the 1984 Supreme Court case *U.S. v. Leon*, which created a limited "good faith exception" to the exclusionary rule by allowing introduction of evidence obtained in a search in which a law enforcement officer relied in good faith on a warrant issued by a neutral magistrate that is later determined to be defective; requires the 101st Congress, in the First Session, to expeditiously consider legislation modifying Federal *habeas corpus* procedures based on the recommendations of the Special Committee on *Habeas Corpus* Review chaired by former Justice Lewis Powell; requires the immediate expulsion of foreign diplomats when there is probable cause to believe that a serious criminal offense has been committed, unless the foreign nation involved waives immunity; makes corruption of Federal, State, or local officials in furtherance of drug violations a Federal offense; reverses the June 1987 Supreme Court decision in *McNally v. U.S.* by (1) including violations of the "intangible rights" of citizens to honest government and the rights of organizations to honest services from employees and others, and redefining "fraud" in Federal mail-and-wire-fraud statutes, and (2) creating a public corruption statute that makes it a crime for Federal, State, or local officials to deny citizens those intangible rights; includes several anti-money laundering provisions; establishes new recordkeeping and reporting requirements and controls on certain chemicals that can be used to produce illegal drugs and establishes penalties for diversion of chemicals into illegal drug manufacturing; requires the revocation of parole, probation, and supervised release for those found to be in possession of an illegal drug; requires that passports of individuals convicted of drug trafficking or money laundering offenses be revoked for up to 10 years with no waiver; bans the manufacture, import, sale, and possession of firearms that do not meet certain detectability standards by walk-through metal detectors or airport x-ray machines; increases the authorizations and reauthorizes various criminal justice assistance programs and authorizes increased funding for various Federal drug-related law enforcement programs.

Drug-Free Workplaces: Prohibits the awarding of any Federal grant or contract to businesses that do not maintain a drug-free workplace by establishing a drug education program for employees.

Treatment and Education: Authorizes or reauthorizes a number of programs aimed at drug abuse education and prevention, including the Drug Free Schools program which is reauthorized at a level of \$405 million in 1989; makes provision of substance abuse treatment on request an explicit goal, and authorizes therefor \$5.9 billion over the next three years; authorizes the use of Federal grant money to build new substance treatment centers; authorizes \$95 million in FY 1989 for drug treatment/prevention grants to public and nonprofit entities for programs to reduce transmission of AIDS by intravenous drug abusers; creates five substance abuse demonstration grants serving adolescent addicts, addicted women with infant children, and minorities; increases, from \$23 million to \$52 million, current spending on demonstration grants for substance abuse prevention among high risk youth; authorizes increased Federal spending in drug and alcohol abuse research and creates a \$14 million grant program for training health personnel in substance abuse treatment, counseling, and research.

Foreign and International Narcotics Control: Waives the current ban on military aid to foreign police forces to permit up to \$2 million in international military training funds to police forces for anti-drug training; earmarks \$1 million in military aid funds for aircraft for foreign nations to use in anti-drug efforts; authorizes \$101 million in FY 1989 for international narcotics control programs; directs the President to negotiate with Latin American countries for the creation of an anti-narcotics strike force; and earmarks \$5 million for Colombia for protection against narco-terrorist attacks.

Child Pornography: Specifies that Federal child pornography statutes cover video depictions of child pornography transmitted by computer; imposes a prison term of 20 years to life upon anyone who facilitates the use of a child for producing sexually explicit materials; makes the buying and selling of children for the purpose of producing child pornography a Federal crime.

Adult Obscenity: Authorizes the seizure of any real or personal property "used to commit or to promote the commission" of any obscenity offense; authorizes the Federal government to file lawsuits seeking civil fines against individuals who produce, transport, mail, ship, or receive articles that have been judged to be obscene in a State or Federal criminal proceeding anywhere in the country; makes possession of obscene material on Federal property a Federal crime subject to imprisonment of up to six months and a fine of up to \$5,000.

Alcohol Warning Labels: Requires health warnings on all alcoholic beverage containers that alcohol consumption poses a risk of birth defects and impairs an individual's ability to drive.

Drunk Driving: Authorizes \$125 million to assist States in establishing drunk driving enforcement programs that require the suspension of driver's licenses of persons found driving under the influence of alcohol, and supplemental grants to States that require mandatory blood alcohol tests for drivers involved in serious accidents; prohibits the possession of open alcoholic containers in vehicles; and establishes effective systems to prevent the purchase of alcohol by persons under 21 years of age.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 377

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 18, 1988, 2:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16496

MONTANA WILDERNESS (UNTIED LOANS)

BILL NO.: S. 2751

AMENDMENT NO.: 3717

TITLE: "Montana Natural Resources Protection and Utilization Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Symms amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the President should instruct the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, and Commerce to consult immediately with allied governments on the impact on Western security of various types of private and public sector credit flows and debt reschedulings to the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba, Vietnam, Libya, and Nicaragua; and calls for a multilateral voluntary initiative, supervised by the Office for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), to end untied general purpose lending to these countries for reasons both of national security and prudent commercial banking. (See also Vote No. 183.)

NOTE: Proponents were critical of the number of untied loans that have been made to the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc states. Such loans are used to finance purposes inimical to Western security interests and are costing Americans billions of dollars annually in additional defense and foreign assistance spending, they argued. The Senate should work with the United States' allies to phase out untied general purpose lending to the Soviet Union and should take this position now in order to allow enough preparation time to bring the matter before the OECD at its April, 1989 meeting. The OECD requires at least six months to gather data and negotiate an allied consensus on a new major family of issues before it can be adopted. In addition, the matter must be formally discussed on the agenda of the OECD Ministerial meeting before it can be considered at the Economic Summit, to be held May-June, 1989.

(OVER)

S. 2751: Vote Nos. 377, 378.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (64)			NAYS (2)		NOT VOTING (34)	
Democrats (37 or 95%)	Republicans (27 or 100%)		Democrats (2 or 5%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (15)	Republicans (19)
Adams	Lautenberg	Armstrong	Matsunaga		Bentsen-2	Bond-2AY
Baucus	Leahy	Boschwitz	Pell		Bingaman-2	Chafee-2
Biden	Levin	Cochran			Bradley-2	Danforth-2
Boren	Melcher	Cohen			Breaux-2	Durenberger-2AY
Burdick	Metzenbaum	D'Amato			Bumpers-2	Garn-2
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole			Chiles-2	Gramm-2
Conrad	Moynihan	Domenici			DeConcini-2AY	Hecht-2
Cranston	Proxmire	Evans			Dixon-2	Heinz-2AY
Daschle	Pryor	Grassley			Dodd-2	Karnes-2AY
Exon	Reid	Hatch			Fowler-2	Nickles-2
Ford	Riegle	Hatfield			Gore-2	Quayle-2
Glenn	Rockefeller	Helms			Kennedy-2	Roth-2
Graham	Sanford	Humphrey			Mikulski-2	Rudman-2
Harkin	Sarbanes	Kassebaum			Nunn-2	Simpson-2
Heflin	Sasser	Kasten			Stennis-2	Stafford-2
Hollings	Shelby	Lugar				Trible-2
Inouye	Simon	McCain				Wallace-2AY
Johnston	Wirth	McClure				Weicker-2
Kerry		McConnell				Wilson-2
		Murkowski				
		Packwood				
		Pressler				
		Specter				
		Stevens				
		Symms				
		Thurmond				
		Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 95%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 37 or 58%
Republicans— 27 or 42%

Against (2)
Democrats— 2 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents countered that the OECD would never support efforts to limit public or private lending to Eastern bloc countries because European leaders are philosophically and historically opposed to doing so. The Senate should not go on record as trying to isolate Eastern Europe economically from its Western neighbors at a time when reforms are occurring throughout the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc. Instead, the Senate should concentrate on those functions the OECD is willing to undertake that are in the U.S.' interests. Citing a letter from Colin Powell, they noted that the Administration opposes the amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 378

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 18, 1988, 4:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16508

MONTANA WILDERNESS (NICARAGUA)

BILL NO.: S. 2751

AMENDMENT NO.: 3718

TITLE: "Montana Natural Resources Protection and Utilization Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Pell motion to table the McCain modified amendment (as amended by the Harkin perfecting amendment No. 3719, to recognize the people of Chile for the clear expression of their desire for the restoration of democratic processes and procedures in Chile) stating the sense of the Senate that: the Senate condemns the continued suppression of human rights and blatant violations of the Esquipulas II Accord by the Sandinistas and calls upon all who seek both peace and freedom in Central America to join in that condemnation; the U.S. should respond to these violations by continuing efforts to strengthen the internal democratic opposition and the independent media in Nicaragua and by reaffirming its support of humanitarian assistance to the Contras; the Sandinista regime and the Nicaraguan people should understand that the U.S. economic embargo could be lifted if the Sandinistas comply with their commitments to democratize; and the Sandinista regime should understand that continued violations of the Esquipulas II Accord will very likely cause the Congress to approve additional military assistance to the Contras. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote and the bill, as further amended, was passed by voice vote. President Reagan pocket vetoed the measure, stating that it would disrupt the balance of the National Forest System Land and Resource Management Plans for Montana; injure the economy of Montana, cost jobs, eliminate mineral development opportunities, reduce the flexibility of the Federal government to manage the Nation's natural heritage; and increase the Federal deficit by exchanging revenue-producing Federal land for nonrevenue-producing land.)

(OVER)

S. 2751: Vote Nos. 377, 378

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (12)		NAYS (54)		NOT VOTING (34)	
Democrats (11 or 28%)	Republicans (1 or 4%)	Democrats (29 or 73%)	Republicans (25 or 96%)	Democrats (14)	Republicans (20)
Adams	Hatfield	Biden	Armstrong	Bentsen-2	Bond-2
Baucus		Boren	Boschwitz	Bingaman-2	Chafee-2
Cranston		Bumpers	Cochran	Bradley-2	Danforth-2
Inouye		Burdick	Cohen	Breaux-2	Durenberger-2
Leahy		Byrd	D'Amato	Chiles-2	Garn-2
Melcher		Conrad	Dole	DeConcini-2	Gramm-2
Pell		Daschle	Domenici	Dixon-2	Hecht-2
Proxmire		Eaton	Evans	Dodd-2	Heinz-2PN
Sanford		Ford	Grassley	Fowler-2	Karnes-2
Simon		Glenn	Hatch	Gore-2	Nickles-2
Wirth		Graham	Helms	Johnston-2	Packwood-2
		Harkin	Humphrey	Kennedy-2	Quayle-2
		Heflin	Kassebaum	Mikulski-2	Roth-2
		Hollings	Kasten	Nunn-2	Rudman-2
		Kerry	Lugar		Simpson-2
		Lautenberg	McCain		Stafford-2
		Levin	McClure		Trible-2
		Matsunaga	McConnell		Wallace-2
		Metzenbaum	Murkowski		Weicker-2PY
		Mitchell	Pressler		Wilson-2
		Moynihan	Specter		
		Pryor	Stevens		
		Reid	Symms		
		Riegle	Thurmond		
		Rockefeller	Warner		
		Sarbanes			
		Sasser			
		Shelby			
		Stennis			

GENERAL PAIRS

Weicker-Heinz

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

2—Necessarily Absent

SYMBOLS:

PY—Paired Yea

PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 73%
Republicans— 96%

For (12)

Democrats— 11 or 92%
Republicans— 1 or 8%

Against (54)

Democrats— 29 or 54%
Republicans— 25 or 46%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate must reaffirm the link between Sandinista compliance with the Esquipulas II peace agreement, signed on August 7, 1987, and the provision of lethal aid to the Contras. The only hope for peace and democracy in Nicaragua is the Contra resistance movement, they claimed. Without it, the U.S. would either have to spend billions of dollars to contain Nicaragua or send in American troops. Some also expressed support for the Harkin second degree amendment, stating that the Senate should give its full support to the return of democracy in Chile and urge its government to ensure the rights of its people to engage in a fair presidential election next year.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the policy of providing military assistance to the Contras has failed and that even the Contras themselves are recognizing this fact. Moreover, the Senate already has passed legislation that contains procedures for the President to request the release of military assistance for the Contras if he believes the situation warrants it. They pointed out that the President has not requested military assistance at this time and that the Contra leadership and the Sandinista government appear to be moving toward the resumption of talks.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 379

100th Congress
2nd Session

October 18, 1988, 6:39 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16589

VETERANS' BENEFITS (GI BILL/FLIGHT TRAINING)

BILL NO.: S. 2011 (H.R. 4741)

AMENDMENT NO.: 3722

TITLE: "Veterans' Benefits and Programs Improvement Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: Murkowski motion to table the Daschle, et al., amendment to implement a four-year test period beginning September 30, 1989, to permit the use of the GI bill for commercial flight training and to require the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration to conduct and report to Congress by January 31, 1993, an evaluation of paying educational assistance for flight training. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote; then H.R. 4741 was passed by voice vote after the text of S. 2011, as amended, was inserted.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that making veterans eligible for flight training benefits under the new GI bill would accomplish two goals: increase employment opportunities for veterans and reduce the Nation's critical shortage of pilots. Over the last 15 years, the number of student pilot starts has dropped by 30 percent, instrument rating issuances by 49 percent, and commercial pilot certifications by 58 percent. At the same time, the demand for pilots has increased at such a rate that there will be a shortage of more than 4,000 pilots by 1992, according to the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association. The amendment has been designed with safeguards to ensure that flight training is used only for vocational reasons and not for recreational training or vocation ancillary to flying. Flight schools participating in this program must meet FAA standards, and the training received must be geared toward jobs that are available.

Opponents of the amendment claimed that flight training under the GI bill was ended in 1981 because veterans abused the program by using it for recreational training. Only 16 percent of the flight-trained veterans had full-time jobs relating directly to their training, according to a 1979 GAO report.

(OVER)

S. 2011 (H.R. 4741): Vote No. 379.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (15)		NAYS (47)		NOT VOTING (38)	
Democrats (1 or 3%)	Republicans (14 or 52%)	Democrats (34 or 97%)	Republicans (13 or 48%)	Democrats (19)	Republicans (19)
Proxmire	Armstrong	Adams	Lautenberg	Bentsen ⁻²	Bond ⁻²
	Cochran	Baucus	Leahy	Biden ⁻²	Chafee ⁻²
	Dole	Boren	Matsunaga	Bingaman ^{-2AN}	Danforth ⁻²
	Evans	Bumpers	Melcher	Bradley ⁻²	Durenberger ⁻²
	Grassley	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Breaux ⁻²	Garn ⁻²
	Hatch	Byrd	Mitchell	Chiles ⁻²	Gramm ⁻²
	Hatfield	Cranston	Moynihan	Conrad ⁻²	Hecht ⁻²
	Helms	Daschle	Pell	DeConcini ⁻²	Heinz ⁻²
	Lugar	Exon	Reid	Dixon ⁻²	Karnes ⁻²
	McClure	Ford	Riegle	Dodd ⁻²	Nickles ⁻²
	Murkowski	Glenn	Rockefeller	Fowler ⁻²	Packwood ⁻²
	Rudman	Graham	Sanford	Gore ⁻²	Quayle ⁻²
	Symms	Harkin	Sarbanes	Johnston ⁻²	Roth ⁻²
	Thurmond	Heflin	Sasser	Kennedy ⁻²	Simpson ^{-2AY}
		Hollings	Shelby	Levin ^{-2AN}	Stafford ⁻²
		Inouye	Simon	Mikulski ⁻²	Trib'e ⁻²
		Kerry	Wirth	Nunn ⁻²	Waliop ⁻²
				Pryor ⁻²	Weicker ⁻²
				Stennis ⁻²	Wilson ⁻²

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—97%
Republicans—52%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (15)
Democrats—1 or 7%
Republicans—14 or 93%

Against (47)
Democrats—34 or 72%
Republicans—13 or 28%

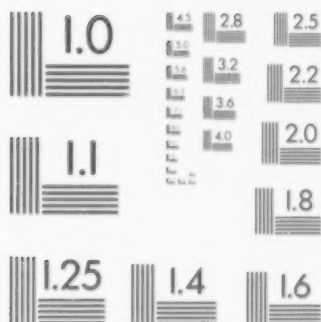
Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Moreover, the training provided for in the amendment follows criteria established in the 1950s that have been outpaced by changes in air frame, engine, and electronic technologies. Consequently, this training is least likely to secure employment in today's pilot market. They also claimed that the amendment is unnecessary since veterans' education benefits are available now for pilot training if it is part of a college degree curriculum. The air transport industry recognizes the value of combining college and pilot training and several of the airlines either have or are developing pilot training programs in conjunction with two- and four-year college degree programs. Some pointed out that there is not a "critical" veterans unemployment problem. Among Vietnam veterans, the unemployment rate is 3.6 percent, compared to a national average of 5.5 percent. The VA opposes the amendment as stated in a letter from its Administrator.

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